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# Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS:

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

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VOL. I.

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The SECOND EDITION.

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Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέχουσα μὴ καλάνου, ἐς αὐταῖς τῶ ἐπιήσους ἀκόπως, ἅπασιν ἑτέροις σωτήριον  
ἐγκόπως.  
Bafil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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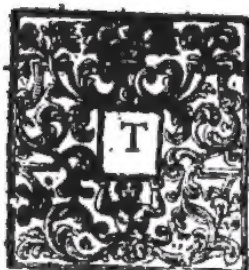






TO HIS GRACE

## *The Duke of Marlborough.*



THE Nature and Design of this Work, may, in some Degree, atone for the Liberty we take in prefixing to it the immortal Name of *Marlborough*. For whose Protection should we court in publishing an *Universal History*, wherein are displayed the Atchievements of all the Heroes of former Ages, if not Your GRACE's, who are Grandson to the greatest Heroe of our Age? Whoever impartially peruses the following History, and compares the so much exalted Heroes of Antiquity with the late Duke of *Marlborough*, will find that their mighty Acts now serve but as Foils to set off his more glorious Enterprises and Successes. Most of those great Conquerors were, we may say, but licensed Thieves, Subverters of States and Empires, Plunderers of the Substance, and Enemies to the Rights of Mankind; whereas the generous Duke of *Marlborough* drew his Sword in the noble Cause of Liberty, against the ambitious Attempts of a powerful and insulting Nation, defeated its best-concerted Measures, and delivered not *Britain* only, but all *Europe* from impending Slavery.

NOR have Arms alone reflected an extraordinary Lustre on Your GRACE's Family; Letters too have greatly contributed to its Splendor. The Earl of *Sunderland*, Your Father, tho' engaged in the most arduous Scenes of publick Life, has enriched this Nation with a Monument of his Love and Value for the liberal Arts, which other Nations may well envy, but few can equal. No wonder then that your GRACE, in whom the eminent Prerogatives of two such illustrious Families have centred, should be so much the Darling of this happy Nation. But it is

not



not the Lustre alone, which is derived on You from Your noble Progenitors, that entitles You to the Love and Esteem of Mankind. The Excellency of Your own Virtues heightens the Glory which You received by Inheritance ; Among the many good Qualities, which we might here take Occasion to celebrate without risking the usual Censure incurred by Dedicators, we shall only single out that truly noble and generous Spirit which is so becoming Persons of Your eminent Station. Providence seems to have put Wealth into Your Hands merely that You might despise it, and shew by Your Example in these Times of Corruption, that the Value of Gold is to be measured only by the Opportunities it gives of exerting Good Nature. That Greatness of Mind, which You happily join to Greatness of Fortune, will make the Duke of *Marlborough* live, when mean Men, of the same Rank, are, in spite of their Treasures so carefully hoarded up, buried in Oblivion. The Humanity of Your Temper, Your obliging Affability and Condescension, might be a noble and just Subject of Panegyric : But it is not our Intent here to enter into a Detail of your GRACE's Virtues and Perfections. We are too conscious of our own Inabilities to attempt it. We shall therefore only add, that if Your GRACE's Patronage can recommend this our Performance to all who love and honour the Duke of *Marlborough*, its Reception will be Universal. What we lay before You has been hitherto kindly received by the Public, both at Home and Abroad ; which, we hope, will in some Measure excuse the Liberty we take in suing for Your GRACE's Protection. To have intirely depended on Your Good Nature, without any kind of Merit in the Work itself, would have been unpardonable.

BUT we have already trespassed too much upon Your GRACE's Patience ; wherefore we shall only beg Leave to assure You, that our greatest Ambition is, that this Address, and the following History, be acceptable to Your GRACE, and that we may be allowed the Honour of subscribing ourselves,

MY LORD,

*Your Grace's*

*Most Obedient,*

*Most Devoted,*

*Humble Servants,*

The Authors.

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# T H E P R E F A C E.



**H**ISTORY is, without all doubt, the most instructive and useful, as well as entertaining, Part of Literature ; more especially when it is not confined within the narrow Bounds of any particular Time or Place, but extends to the Transactions of all Times and Nations. Works of this Nature carry our Knowledge, as *Tully* observes, beyond the vast and devouring Space of numberless Years, triumph over Time, and make us, though living at an immense Distance, in a Manner Eye-witnesses to all the Events and Revolutions, which have occasioned astonishing Changes in the World. By these Records it is that we live, as it were, in the very Time when the World was created ; we behold how it was governed in its Infancy, how overflowed and destroyed in a Deluge of Water, and again re-peopled ; how Kings and Kingdoms have risen, flourished and declined, and by what Steps they brought upon themselves their final Ruin and Destruction. From these and other like Events occurring in History, every judicious Reader may form prudent and unerring Rules for the Conduct of his Life, both in a private and public Capacity. But as the eminent Advantages accruing to us from this valuable Branch of Learning, have been sufficiently displayed by many others, we shall not trouble our Readers with a minute Detail of them, but hasten to what is peculiar to the Work, which we now offer to the Publick.



WE promised in our first Number to prefix to this Volume, when it was compleated, a Preface, wherein, after some Account of the Method we have observed, and the Authors we have chiefly followed in the Work, we should examine the different Computations of Time, the Coins, Weights and Measures used by the several Nations whose Histories should be therein delivered, with such other Particulars as we should judge useful and necessary. This Promise is what we now intend to discharge, and to begin with a succinct Account of the Method we have pursued.

OUR Intent was to write a General History of Mankind, from the earliest Account of Time to the present. Pursuant to this Design, before we enter upon the History itself, we have thought it necessary to premise, by way of Introduction, an Account of the Cosmogony or Production of the Earth, as being the Theatre on which the Scenes of the ensuing History were to be acted. In this preludious Discourse, after having related, without omitting any thing that was really curious and entertaining, the various Opinions both of the antient and modern Philosophers, concerning the Formation of the animate and inanimate World, we proceed to the only authentick and genuine History of the Creation, that which has been left us by *Moses*. The Opinions of the Philosophers are, for the most Part, absurd, incoherent, and contradictory; whereas the *Mosaick* Account, if rightly understood, carries with it all the Marks of Truth and Probability, even though it be regarded only as a human Composition, abstracted from divine Authority. Having attended the Earth through its several Degrees of Formation, seen it perfected, cloathed with Trees and Plants, replenished with Animals, and at last Man, for whom the Whole was designed, and to whom the Dominion of it was expressly given by its Maker, introduced and placed in it; we take some Notice of the Opinion of those who think Mankind were in being before *Adam*, whom they suppose to have been the Progenitor of the *Jews* only; we touch upon several Enquiries that have been made concerning the Time and Season of the Creation, the Place where *Adam* was created, &c. and close the Introduction with some Account of the Creation of the Angels, of the Nature, Power, Employments, &c. of those spiritual Beings that so eminently concerned themselves in the Affairs of Mankind, at least in the first Ages of the World. The Introduction, we hope, will not be thought of a disproportionable Length; so copious a Subject as the Origin of the World and Mankind, could not well be reduced into a narrower Compass. If there should be some little Obscurities or Inconsistencies, where we  
have



have delivered or explained the Opinions of the old Philosophers, we need not say much to excuse ourselves to those who know in what Uncertainty and Confusion the History of those Philosophers and their Opinions have been left by the Antients.

FROM the Cosmogony or Formation of the Earth and Things that were made for the Use of Man, we proceed to the General History of the World till the Flood, but premise several curious Enquiries touching the Situation of the Garden of *Eden*, the State of Innocence, and its Continuance, the two Trees, the Prohibition laid on the first Pair, the Tempter and his Punishment, the Fall of Man, and the Effects it had on human Nature, and on the Earth, with the different Opinions touching the manner in which the Change in the Constitution of Man and of the Earth was effected. The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge is what we likewise thought necessary to settle, before we entred upon the History of the Antediluvian World. As *Moses* has not set down the particular Time of any Transaction before the Flood, except only the Years of the Patriarchs, all we can do in this Period is to determine that Point, which might easily have been done, were there no Variations in the several Copies we now have of *Moses's* Writings. But as the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and *Greek* Version of the *Septuagint* vary very much from one another, and some Writers prefer one Copy and some another, we have exhibited these Variations in several Chronological Tables of the Years of the Patriarchs, adding to the Computation of the *Hebrew*, of the *Septuagint*, and of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, the Numbers of the Years of the Patriarchs, as delivered by *Josephus*, and corrected by Dr. *Willis* and Mr. *Whiston*, the Numbers in the present Copies of that Historian being greatly corrupted. Having thus stated the Chronology before the Flood, we deliver the History of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, as transmitted to us in the Writings of *Moses*, which are the only to be depended upon in those early Times. However, we have thought it not amiss to collect the most material Pieces of History to be found in profane Authors, relating to the Times preceding the Flood; among which, though there be some which bear apparent Marks of Truth, yet we believe the greater Part will be judged to deserve little Credit: However, as every Thing which has the least Pretence to so great Antiquity cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our Labour in collecting them will not be condemned as useless.

From the History of the Antediluvian World, we pass to that of the Flood, where we produce profane Testimonies of that wonderful



wonderful Catastrophe, relate various Conjectures of antient and modern Writers, as to the Manner in which that dreadful Devastation was brought on the Earth, give some Account of the Ark, whereby *Noah* and his Family, with such Kinds of living Creatures as he took in with him, were delivered from this Destruction; and lastly, before we dismiss the History of the old World, take a transient View of the Antediluvian State of Mankind, of their Religion, Policy, Arts and Sciences, of the Alterations which have been wrought in Nature by the Flood, of the Longevity of the Antediluvians, and the Causes of it, as well as of the prodigious Fertility of the first Earth. To these we add an Enquiry touching the Situation of Mount *Ararat*, and the various Opinions about it.

HAVING thus collected, in the best Manner we could, what we have found worth Notice, from Writers of various Times, Religions and Countries, relating to the Antediluvian World, we proceed to the General History from the Deluge to the Birth of *Abraham*; but first settle the Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of *Abraham* from *Haran*. This is one of the most difficult Periods to settle in all Chronology, not only because we have no Assistance therein from profane History, but also on Account of the great Diversity between the several *Mosaick* Writings. However, it is no small Satisfaction, that the great Differences between the several Copies end here, and that being once got below the Birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain Series of Time, about which Chronologers do more generally agree; the Variety of the Copies making a Difference of but a few Years, not of several Ages, as we find before this Period: For the better exhibiting of which we have inserted Chronological Tables of the Years of the Postdiluvian Patriarchs to the Call of *Abraham*, according to the Computation of the *Hebrew*, of the *Septuagint*, and of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. Having stated the Chronology, we come to the History of *Noah* after the Flood, and of his Descendants to *Abraham*, presenting the Reader with whatever we find curious or entertaining, not only in sacred, but profane Writers, namely in the small Remains which are left us of the *Phœnician* Antiquities, collected by *Sanchoiatho*, and which are supposed to relate to the earliest Times. As the planting of Nations in the two first general Migrations, the forming of Societies and Governments, the Rise of Arts and Sciences, the Beginning of States and Monarchies, fall within this Period, we give the Reader as distinct an Account of these important Facts, as the Records which have reached us will allow of.

FROM

FROM the general History of the Migrations of the Children of *Noah*, of the peopling the Earth by them, and the settling of the first Governments, we descend to the particular Histories of each Kingdom, beginning with that of *Egypt*, which is without doubt one of the most antient Nations of the World, having been peopled either by *Ham*, or his Son *Mizraim*, with his own Issue, which inhabited several Parts of it, under the Names of *Mizraim*, *Pathrusim*, *Coslukim*, and *Caphthorim*. This History we pursue from the first Original of the *Egyptian* Nation to its Conquest by the *Persians*, when the severe Prediction of the Prophet \* was fulfilled, *There shall be no more a Prince in the Land of Egypt*. And here to acquaint the Reader, in a few Words, with the Method we have followed in delivering the particular Histories of each Nation; we begin with accounting, in the best Manner we can, for the Name or Names which each Nation bears; then we proceed to a Description of the Country, containing an Account of its Situation, Extent, Climate, Divisions, Fertility; of its animal and vegetable Productions, of the natural and artificial Curiosities it contains; of its Cities, Rivers, Mountains, Lakes, and whatever else worthy of Notice is to be found in each Province. Next we enquire into the Original and Antiquity of the Inhabitants, consider their Laws, Government, Religion, Customs, Institutions, Language, Commerce, Learning, Trade, Navigation, and also endeavour, as far as so intricate a Subject will allow, to settle the Chronology of each Nation. Lastly, we deliver the Series and History of their Kings, which comprizes the Wars, Treaties, Revolutions, and all the most remarkable Events of each Country. Thus we may say, without Vanity or Ostentation, that no History has hitherto appeared in any Language, which can with more Justice challenge the Title of an Universal History than the present, since it comprizes not only the History of all Nations and Countries, but of all Religions, and religious Ceremonies, of all Arts and sciences, of the Laws that have been any where observed, of Trade and Navigation, and, in short, of whatever has been invented for the Use and Convenience of human Race. But to return to the Sequel of our History:

AFTER delivering the Succession of the Kings of *Egypt*, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, we thought it might be deemed an Omission, if we should take no Notice of the Series of the *Egyptian* Kings given us by the oriental Writers. Wherefore

\* Ezek. xxx. 13.

we have set down their Names, and briefly mention their principal Actions as related by the Eastern Historians, leaving the Reader to judge what Credit ought to be given them.

NEXT to the History of the *Egyptians* we give that of those Nations with whom the Children of *Israel* waged War before or upon their settling in the Land of *Canaan*, namely the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*. From these we proceed to the History of the antient *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and that of the *Jews*, from *Abraham*, Founder of the *Jewish* Nation, to the *Babylonish* Captivity. We have enlarged somewhat on the latter, giving a distinct Account of their Patriarchs from *Abraham* to *Moses*, of their *Egyptian* Bondage, Deliverance, and 40 Years wandering in the Wilderness, of their Wars with the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, and the neighbouring Nations; of their Religion, Government, Laws, Customs, Learning, Arts, Commerce, with an accurate Description of the Land of Promise, &c. We have also settled the *Jewish* Chronology, from the Call of *Abraham* to the *Babylonish* Captivity, and then proceeded first to the History of the Judges that governed *Israel*, from the Death of *Joshua* to *Saul* their first King, and thence to the Reign of *Zedekiah*, when the City of *Jerusalem* was burnt, and the whole Nation carried into Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Having thus delivered the Histories of the most antient Kingdoms, till they were severally subdued by the great Empires, and became Parts or Provinces of them, we enter upon the History of the said Empires, and close this Volume with the Histories of the *Assyrian* Empire to its Conquest by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and of the *Babylonian* Empire to its Destruction by *Cyrus*.

Now to say something of the Authors we have chiefly followed in the Work, for we have advanced nothing without quoting our Authors, that the Reader may, for his fuller Satisfaction, recur, if he pleases, to the Originals; *Moses* is the only authentick Writer of what happened before, and for several Ages after the Flood. He is by universal Consent allowed to be the most antient Historian now extant; for whether he was contemporary with *Inachus*, as *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Julius Africanus*, *Josephus*, *Tatian*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Porphyrius*, and others suppose, or lived in the Time of *Cecrops*, the first King of *Athens*, as *Eusebius* affirms, it is certain that his History was composed, not only before all the Histories, but even before the Fables of the *Greeks*; since, according to the Calculation of the former, he wrote 675 Years before the *Trojan*



jan War, and according to that of the latter 275 Years before that Æra. His History, as well as the *Jewish* Laws, whereof he was Author, are comprized in five Books, known under the Title of the *Pentateuch*, which is universally received both by the *Jews* and *Christians*, as penned by him, if we except *Aben Ezra* and *Spinoza* among the former, and some modern Criticks among the latter, if their avowed Principles can permit us to call them *Christians*, who denied him to be Author of it, and who have been learnedly confuted by a late Writer <sup>b</sup>. Besides the *Pentateuch*, there have been some other Works ascribed to *Moses*, though without any Certainty, such as the Book of *Job*, which some suppose to have been composed by him, during his 40 Years Abode in *Midian*, and have this Argument on their Side, that it appears to have been written before the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from the *Egyptian* Bondage; otherwise it were absurd to suppose, that either *Job* or his Friends, considering what Kindred and Country they were of, could be so ignorant of the Wonders which God had wrought in Favour of that oppressed People, or so forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the strongest Terms, during their long and intricate Controversy about the various Dispensations of Providence. *Moses* is also supposed to have wrote eleven Psalms, *viz.* the 90th, 91st, and so on to the 100th. *Origen* <sup>c</sup> believes him to have translated the Book of *Job* out of the *Syriack* into *Hebrew*. Some few Fragments of other Books are likewise quoted by several of the Antients as wrote by him; such as, 1. his *Apocalypse*, out of which *St. Paul* is by them supposed to have taken those Words, *For in Christ Jesus neither Circumcision availeth any thing* <sup>d</sup>, &c. 2. his *lesser Genesis*; 3. his *Ascension*; 4. *Assumption*; 5. his *Testament*, and other mysterious Books. *St. Jerom*, who quotes a Passage or two out of his *lesser Genesis*, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his Time <sup>e</sup>. The *Sethites*, an antient Sect of Hereticks, quoted his *Testament* and his *Mysterious Books* or *Discourses*; but all these were so far from bearing any Authority in the Church, that they fell into Contempt and Oblivion, in Proportion as Christianity prevailed.

THOUGH the Writings of *Moses* be the only Records to be depended upon in the early Times, yet we have not omitted to give some further Accounts relating to the same Period, transmitted to us by profane Writers, namely by *Sanhoniatho*, *Menetho*, and *Berosus*. *Sanhoniatho*, a *Tyrian*, according to *Athenæus* and

<sup>b</sup> Abbadie. Verit. de la Relig. Chrétien. vi. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. 127. ad Fabiol.

<sup>d</sup> *Origen* in *Job*.

<sup>e</sup> *Gal.*

*Suidas*, according to others of *Berytus*, is said by *Porphyrus* the Philosopher<sup>f</sup>, *Eusebius*<sup>g</sup>, and *Theodore*<sup>h</sup>, to have lived about the Time of the *Trojan War*; whence *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and others, suppose him to have been contemporary with *Gedeon*. But these Writers are certainly mistaken in their Chronology, and *Sanchoniatho* must be of a much later Date, since he speaks of *Tyre*, which was built but 91 Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, as a very antient City. He must therefore have lived, as *Suidas* thinks, some considerable Time after that War, but the Number of Years we cannot precisely determine. If what is said of *Sanchoniatho* be true, viz. that he dedicated his Book to *Abibal* King of *Tyre*, who was *Hiram's* Father, and *Solomon's* Ally, he must have been Contemporary with *David*, who did not begin his Reign till several Years after the *Trojan War*. He compiled the *Phœnician History*, according to *Porphyrus*, from the antient Monuments and Memoirs which were imparted to him by one *Hierombalus* a Priest, whom *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and some others take to be *Gedeon*, he being in the Book of *Judges* sometimes named *Jerobaal*. But this Conjecture is refuted by others<sup>i</sup>. He is said to have likewise made use of the Registers of the Cities of *Phœnice*, which he found lodged in the Temples, and to have carefully sought out, as *Philo Biblius* informs us, the Writings of *Taaut*, knowing him to have been the first Inventor of Letters, and the same whom the *Egyptians* call *Thoth*, the *Greeks* *Hermes*, and the *Latins* *Mercury*. He wrote also the History of *Egypt*, and another Book of the Cosmogony and Theogony of the *Phœnicians*. These Works were translated out of the *Phœnician* into the *Greek Tongue* by *Philo Biblius*, a famous Grammarian, who lived in the Reigns of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*. *Philo* digested them into nine Books, though *Porphyrus* mentions but eight, perhaps not counting, as *Bochart* conjectures, his Cosmogony and Theogony. He begins his History with the Origin of the World, and of Mankind: But his Work being apparently written with a Design to apologize for idolatry, instead of deducing the History, as *Moses* has done, from *Adam* in the Line of *Seth*, the Worshipers of the true God, he has, according to the Hypothesis of *Bishop Cumberland*, given us that of the idolatrous Line of *Cain*, that the Religion which this Author, or those he transcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder Branch, a Circumstance which they might think

<sup>f</sup> Lib. 4. adversus Christian.  
curat. Græcar. affect. p. 28.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. 1. Præparat. Evangel.  
<sup>i</sup> Vandalen. Dissert. de Sanchoniath.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. 2. de

gave it no small Lustre and Reputation. In the few Fragments of his Works that are remaining, we might be justly surprized to find not so much as the least mention of the Deluge, did we not consider that Destruction was a Judgment on the idolatrous World, with which the Professors of the true Religion probably reproached the Heathens, and which the latter were therefore desirous to conceal, and to bury, if possible, the very Memory of so extraordinary a Monument of Divine Vengeance, and their own Shame. Bishop *Cumberland* suspecting, with a great deal of Reason, the *Phœnician* Records, where they deliver the Pedigree of *Cain's* Line, to have been corrupted, proposes an Amendment of them; for which we refer the Reader to that learned Prelate's Book on *Sanchoniatho*, or to Page 133, Note C of the present History. We must not forget to acquaint the Reader, that some Writers have, upon very slight Grounds, endeavoured to prove all that has been said of *Sanchoniatho* to be an arrant Fable; and the Work, which goes under his Name, as well as the Name itself, to have been forged by *Philo Biblius*, in Opposition to the Books which *Josephus* had wrote not long before against *Apion*. But their Arguments are so frivolous, that they scarce deserve an Answer.

*MANETHO*, an *Egyptian* by Birth, High-Priest and Keeper of the sacred Records of that Nation, flourished in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by whose Order he undertook the History of *Egypt*, translating out of the *Egyptian* Language, into the *Greek*, the sacred Registers that were committed to his Care. This Work he divided into three Parts, whereof the First contained the History of the Gods; the Second, that of the Demi-gods; and the Third, the Dynasties; which ended in *Nectanebus*, the last king of *Egypt*, who was driven out by *Ochus* in the 107th Olympiad, a few Years before the Conquest of *Persia* by *Alexander*. Besides his History of *Egypt*, he wrote several other Books, viz. one of the *Theology of the Egyptians*, commonly stiled the *holy Book*: one of the *antient and religious Ceremonies of the Egyptians*, called by *Porphry*, the *Book of Antiquity and Picty*; one of *Physick*; and one concerning the *Manner of preparing Incense to be used by the Egyptian Priests*: The two latter Books are ascribed by *Suidas* to another *Manetho*, by Birth a *Mendesian*; but his Authority in Matters of this Nature is little to be depended upon. He likewise wrote six Books in Verse on the Influence and Power of the Stars, which he dedicated to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This Piece is still extant, and was published in the original *Greek*, with a *Latin* Explanation

and Notes by *Gronovius* in 1698, from the only Manuscript that was remaining and lodged in the *Medicean Library* at *Florence*. To this *Work Paulinus Nolanus* alludes in the following Verses:

*Nunc tria miremur texentem fata Platonem,  
Aut Arati numeros, aut picta Manæthonis astra.*

He published also a Book of the *Jews*, which *Josephus* refutes in his first Book against *Apion*, as filled with fabulous Accounts. Of all his Works except his Astronomy, there are now but a few Fragments remaining in *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*. The Credit of this Author has been called in question by several Writers, not only on account of the incredible Antiquity to which his History is supposed to have ascended, but from the Account which, it is said, he himself gave of the Records from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain Pillars in the *Seriadic Land*, on which Inscriptions had been made in the sacred Dialect and Letters by *Thoth*, the first *Hermes*, and were translated, after the Flood, out of the sacred Dialect into *Greek*, and laid up by *Agathodæmon*, the Son of the second *Hermes*, the Father of *Tat*, in the inner Recesses of the *Egyptian Temples*. Now it is impossible that the first *Hermes*, who lived in the earliest Years of the *Egyptian Monarchy*, could write a History of so many Generations, which came into the World after his Death; and if *Manetho* could assert this, it must necessarily have overthrown the Credit of his whole Work. But we do not think that Writer could mean any such thing; the Words cited from him, do not say he took his whole History from those Pillars; though he might probably quote those Records to support the antient History, which preceded the Time of *Thoth*; and such Pillars, or at least some Pillars of great Antiquity, and by the Priests attributed to *Thoth*, must have been extant in the Days of *Manetho*, or he could never have appealed to them in so public a Manner, especially in writing to his Prince. The stronger Prejudice against the Credit of this Writer, arises from his Chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an excessive Antiquity, and to have certain Records for a prodigious Length of Time past. This appears not only from the old *Egyptian Chronicle*, but from the extravagant Numbers of Years their Priests imposed upon *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and *Diodorus*; but *Manetho* seems to have been much more modest, though the Sum of his 32 Dynasties, from *Menes* to fifteen Years before *Alexander*, (without taking the Reigns of the Gods and Demi-

gods



gods into the Account) if cast up, will amount to above 5300 Years, which will reach higher than the Creation of the World; and *Joseph Scaliger* has accordingly settled their Chronology in such manner, that by his own Way of reckoning, it exceeds the Epoch of the Creation 1336 Years. After *Cambyſes* had carried away the *Egyptian* Records, the Priests, in all Probability, to supply their Loss, and keep up their Pretences to Antiquity, began to write new Records, wherein they not only necessarily made great Mistakes, but added a good deal of their own Invention, especially as to distant Times. From these Materials, for want of better, *Manetho* collecting his History, must have intermixed a good deal of Fable, as there is indeed in the Antiquities of all Nations; since it cannot be expected that People could have begun to keep Records till some Ages after their Settlement. It is unjust therefore to lay the whole Blame of the Confusion and Uncertainty, we find in the *Egyptian* History, at the Door of *Manetho*: He collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the Records he had, and we have so little genuine Remains of him, and what we have, has been so mangled by Transcribers and Pretenders to correct him, that they scarcely bear any Resemblance of that antient and venerable Historian. Several antient Writers of good Judgment, as *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, *Eusebius*, and *Josephus*, looked upon him as a Writer, whose Authority was to be depended on; and the curious Fragment transcribed from him by *Josephus*, before his Copies had been corrupted, seems to confirm this good Opinion, being the most valuable and authentic Piece of *Egyptian* History of so great Antiquity, that is extant, and the Series of Kings, which we have thence exhibited, p. 234, is a pretty exact one, connecting the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Histories, by acquainting us, that *Sethosis* was *Ægyptus*, and his Brother *Armais*, *Danaus*.

*BEROSUS*, by Birth a *Chaldean*, flourished under *Antiochus Soter*, or his Son *Antiochus Theos*, and not in the Time of *Moses*, as some, grossly mistaken, have imagined. For he dedicated his Work to *Antiochus*, the third King after *Alexander*, as *Tatian* informs us, that is, to *Antiochus Theos*; *Alexander* was succeeded by *Seleucus Nicanor*; *Seleucus Nicanor* by *Antiochus Soter*; and he by his Son *Antiochus Theos*. He tells us himself in his first Book of the History of *Babylon*, that he was born during the Minority of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote in Three Books the *Chaldean* and *Babylonish* History, which took in that also of the *Medes*. *Pliny* tells us<sup>a</sup>, that his History

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Natur. l. 6. c. 55.

contains the Events of 480 Years. But of that Work we have now remaining only some few Fragments, quoted by *Josephus* in his Books against *Apion*, and by *Alexander Polyhistor*; for the *Berosus* published by *Annius of Viterbo*, is, without all Doubt, a spurious Piece. *Josephus* says, that he agreed with *Moses* in his Accounts of the Deluge, the Fall of Man, the Ark, in which the Restorer of Mankind was saved; and adds, that he mentions the Descendants of *Noah*, and their respective Ages, to *Nabulassar*, King of *Babylon*; and that relating the Actions of that Prince, he speaks of the taking and burning of *Jerusalem* by his Son *Nebuchadonosor*; on which Occasion, says he, the *Jews* were carried Captives to *Babylon*; whence ensued the Desolation of that City for 70 Years, till the Reign of *Cyrus*. He is quoted by *Pliny*, *Tatian*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Vitruvius*, and *Eusebius*, which shews him to have been a Writer of good Authority. In the Series he gives us of the ten Kings, whom he supposes to have reigned at *Babylon* before the Flood, there are some small Variations in the Authors, who have transcribed that Historian, which has induced us to exhibit them to the Reader's View, pag. 90 of the present History. As these ten Successions exactly answer the ten Generations from the Creation to the Flood, the first King, by Name *Alorus*, has been supposed to be the same with *Adam*, as *Xisuthrus*, the last in the Series, plainly appears to be *Noah*. The Reader will find his Account of the *Chaldean* and *Babylonian* Cosmogony, p. 14, and the Substance of the few Fragments that are still remaining and relate to the earliest Times, p. 90.

To *Berosus* we may add *Abydenus*, who flourished some time after him, and, in many Things, follows him. *Abydenus* wrote the History of the *Chaldean* Empire, whereof there are but a few Fragments remaining in *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Syncellus*. In one of these Fragments he gives the Names and Reigns of the ten first Kings of *Chaldea*, copied with some small Variation from *Berosus*, as the Reader may see, p. 99. In another he speaks of the Tower of *Babel*, and the Confusion of Languages, agreeable to the Account we have in Holy Writ. These Fragments *Scaliger* has illustrated with learned Notes in his Book *De emendatione temporum*. Some confound this *Abydenus* with *Palæphatus*, called also *Abydenus*, from the City of *Abydus*, the Place of his Birth. *Palæphatus* was contemporary with *Alexander*, a favourite Disciple of *Aristotle's*, and wrote the Histories of *Cyprus*, *Delos*, and *Arabia*.

E R A-

*ERATOSTHENES* the *Cyrenæan* was a Man of eminent Learning, Keeper of the famous Library of *Alexandria*, and greatly in favour with *Ptolemy Evergetes*, by whose Order he wrote the History of the *Theban* Kings of *Egypt*, the Catalogue of which has met with a very favourable Reception among the Learned, not only as a Supplement to *Manetho*, who has entirely omitted that Succession, but as a certain Foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* Chronology. His Authority has been by several Writers preferred to that of *Manetho*, in regard he was not an *Egyptian*, and took his List from the sacred Records of *Thebes*, or had it from the sacred Scribes there. He has given, together with the *Egyptian* Names of the Kings, their Interpretation in *Greek*, which the Skilled in the *Coptic* Tongue allow to be just in some Instances; but several of them are corrupted and unintelligible. This Author wrote a great Number of Books, whereof the Catalogue may be seen in *Fabricius*, *Galeus*, *Vossius*, &c. but the only Piece now remaining entire, is his Description and fabulous Account of the Stars. He starved himself thro' Grief for the Dimness of his Sight in the 10th or 12th Year of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 196 Years before Christ.

IN the History of *Egypt*, besides *Manetho*, we have chiefly followed *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*. *Herodotus*, or, as others call him, *Erodotus*, is the most antient Writer among the *Greeks*, whose Works have reached us. There is no Room left to doubt of the Place of his Birth, he himself having inserted, at the Beginning of his History, both his Name and Country: *This is*, says he, *the Book of Herodotus of Halicarnassus*. He was also surnamed the *Thurian*, having accompanied a Colony, which was sent from *Athens*, to settle at *Thurium*, a City of *Magna Græcia* on the *Tarentin* Gulf. This happened the third Year of the 83d Olympiad, during the Prætorship of *Callimachus*. Here, if we believe *Pliny*<sup>1</sup>, he wrote his History, being then forty Years old, in the first Year of the 84th Olympiad, 310 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, and 444 before Christ. Before he began his History, he travelled all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Egypt*, to enquire into the Origin, Traditions and Records of the Nations he was to write of. His main Design was, to write the Wars of the *Persians* against the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Cyrus* to that of *Xerxes*; but he extended it to the History of other Nations, namely, of the *Lydians*, *Egyptians*, and *Scythians*. This History he divided into nine Books, giving to each

<sup>1</sup> Lib. 12. c. 2.

of them the Name of one of the nine Muses ; wherein he has since been followed by *Cephalion*, *Bion* the Rhetorician, and *P. Aurelius Opilius* ; tho' some are of Opinion, that his Books were not by himself distinguished with those Titles, but by the Admirers of his Performance. He recited his History, as *Lucian* informs us, on the publick Theatre at *Olympia* to a crowded Auditory of the chief Men of all *Greece*, met to celebrate the Olympic Games, and was more admired even than those who carried the Prizes. *Eusebius* says, that this happened, not at *Olympia*, but at *Athens*, on the Festival of the *Panathenæa*. On this Occasion it was that *Thucydides*, tho' then eighty Years old, was so touched with Emulation, that he resolved to undertake the writing of an History, and strive to equal or excel *Herodotus*. The History of *Herodotus* has been proposed by *Tully*, *Hortensius*, *Quintilian*, and all the best Judges of Antiquity, as a Pattern to all Historians. As for the Truth of his Accounts, we must own that it has been called in question by Men of no mean Character. *Ctesias* doubts the Truth of what he writes concerning the *Medes* and *Assyrians* ; but we shall prove hereafter this Historian less worthy of Credit than *Herodotus*. *Manetho* censures him, for advancing many Falsties, with regard to the *Egyptian* History ; which Charge is not quite groundless, since he himself owns, that what he relates to have happened before the Reign of *Psammitichus*, and on the Credit of others, is far from certain. But none ever attacked with more Virulency, if we may be allowed the Expression, the Credit of *Herodotus*, than *Plutarch*, whose Judgment would be of great Weight, had he not himself declared, that the Reputation of his Country had engaged him in the Dispute. *Herodotus* relates, that in the Expedition of *Xerxes*, the *Thebans*, to consult their own Safety, abandoned the Common Cause, and joined the *Persians*. Tho' this was Matter of Fact, and *Demosthenes* afterwards reproached the *Thebans* with it, yet *Plutarch*, who was a Native of *Charonæa*, a *Theban* City, could not bear the base Behaviour of his Countrymen to be transmitted to Posterity, but vented his Resentment against the Publisher of their Cowardice in a Book wrote for that Purpose, and entituled, *Of the Malignity of Herodotus*. But his Exceptions are either trifling, or turn upon Facts, which *Herodotus* himself delivers as doubtful. Besides, he betrays throughout the whole Work a great deal of Passion, Prejudice and Ill-nature. On the other Side, all *Greece*, by their solemn Approbation, gave an ample Testimony of his Veracity, at a Time when most of the Transactions which he describes, were very well known.

In

In his whole Work there appears an Air of Sincerity, which even his Enemies have been forced to acknowledge: He examines the Truth of the Facts which he relates, and for the most part acquaints his Readers with what others have said on the same Subject. When he relates extraordinary Events, he tells us that he copied them from others, and declares which he believes, and which he suspects, adding, *as it is said; as I have been told; this does not at all seem probable; those, who feign such Stories, relate, &c.* He often repeats, that what he relates ought not to be depended on, any further than it appears probable; that the Character of an Historian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that the Readers are not bound to believe whatever he has been told. As to the *Lydian* History, which some look upon as fabulous, it cannot be denied, but that he was acquainted with the Transactions of that Nation, which bordered on the *Asiatic Greek* Cities, in one of which *Herodotus* was born, not above 60 Years after the Destruction of the *Lydian* Empire. He seems very sincere in his *Egyptian* History; for he ingenuously owns, that all he relates before the Reign of *Psammetichus*, is uncertain, and that he reports the early Transactions of that Nation on the Credit of the *Egyptian* Priests, on which he did not much depend. His History of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* does not at all agree with that which the modern Chronologists have followed; but most of the Antients have preferred *Herodotus* to all others. In his History of *Persia*, he differs in many Particulars from *Xenophon's Cyropædia*; but we must observe with *Tully*, that the *Cyropædia* is rather an instructive Piece, than an History. The Chronology of *Herodotus* is far from being exact, especially with relation to the *Egyptian* Affairs, extravagant Numbers of Years having been imposed upon him, as well as upon *Diodorus* and *Plato*, by the *Egyptian* Priests, who piqued themselves mightily on the Antiquity of their Nation. *Herodotus* wrote other Books besides the History now extant; for *Aristotle* <sup>m</sup> finds fault with him for saying that an Eagle drank during the Siege of *Nineveh*, whereas no Bird with hooked Talons, as that Philosopher affirms, ever drinks. This Passage is not to be found in his Works now extant, which has made some Authors imagine, that *Aristotle* quoted it from the History of *Assyria*, which, in two Places of his first Book, he promised to write. But if he had ever published it, we can scarcely believe that none of the Antients would have so much as mentioned it. It is more likely, that his present History was

<sup>m</sup> Lib. 8. de Anima, c. 18.

more compleat in *Aristotle's* Time, than it is now; or even that *Aristotle* thro' Mistake quoted *Herodotus* instead of some other Author, whereof we have Instances in other antient Writers. Some ascribe to *Herodotus* the Life of *Homer*, which in most Editions is annexed to his History; but the Diversity of Stile, and the Disagreement between *Herodotus* and the Author of that Piece, plainly evince these two Works to have been penned by different Hands. We refer the Reader for further Particulars concerning *Herodotus* to *Henry Stephens*, *Joachimus Camerarius*, and *Montfaucon* in his Book on *Judith*.

*Diodorus Siculus* was born at *Argyrium* or *Agyrium*, a Town of *Sicily*, and thence called *Siculus*, or the *Sicilian*. He flourished under *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and began his History after the Death of the former, as he himself informs us. He travelled with no small Danger over great Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and all *Egypt*, to acquaint himself with the Geography of the Places, as well as the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants. He wrote a General History from the earliest Times to the 180th Olympiad, that is, to *Cæsar's* War with the *Gauls*. This History he intituled the *Bibliothèque* or *Library*, having copied his Accounts from the Writers of different Nations, who flourished before. In his History of the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians* and *Rhodians*, he follows *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Berosus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Philistus*, *Calisthenes*, *Theopompus Cbicus*, &c. in what relates to the *Macedonians*, he depends on *Cardianus* and *Marsias*; in his History of *Crete* he quotes *Epimenides*, *Dosiadas*, *Sofocrates*, and *Laosthenides*: Of the forty Books of his History, fifteen only are now remaining, viz. the five first, the eleventh, and the following to the twentieth. The four first Books comprehend the Theology and Histories preceding the *Trojan War*, of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans*, *Indians*, *Scythians*, *Arabians*, *Ethiopians*, *Africans* and *Greeks*. This Part is interwoven with many Fables, which however were believed by those Nations, whose Histories he writes. In the 5th Book he gives an Account of the Origin and Antiquities of the greater Islands. The five following Books contained the Antiquities of all the Eastern Nations, the Origins of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the most remarkable Transactions that happened in any Part of the World from the taking of *Troy* to the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*. The 11th Book begins with the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, and



ends in the Year which preceded the Expedition of the *Athenians* into *Cyprus* under the Conduct of *Cimon*. The five following Books continue the History of all Nations to the Time of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose Exploits are related in the 16th, as those of his Son *Alexander* in the 17th, and of his Successors to the Death of *Antigonus* in the three next. In the other twenty Books our Author pursued the History of all Nations, from the Death of *Antigonus*, which happened in the 119th Olympiad, to *Cæsar's* War with the *Gauls*, that is, to the 180th Olympiad. The 11th Book and the following were written in the Nature of Annals, with the Names of the *Athenian Archons* and *Roman Consuls* to each Year. But *Diodorus* is not so exact in his Computations, with regard to the *Roman* Affairs, as could be wished; for he places the Beginning of *Xerxes's* War in the first Year of the 75th Olympiad, which, according to him, concurred with the Consulship of *Spurius Cassius* and *Proclus Virginus Tricostus*; but these had been Consuls six Years before, and those of that Year were *Cæso Fabius* the second Time, and *Spurius Furius Fusus*, a Mistake which is continued through the whole Sequel of his Annals. In the Affairs of *Egypt* he was likewise greatly imposed upon, as to the Numbers of Years, by the *Egyptian* Priests.

IN the History of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, &c. we chiefly follow the Scripture and *Josephus*, from whom however we dissent, when he takes the Liberty, as he frequently does, to dissent from holy Writ. *Josephus* wrote his History of the *Jewish* War and Destruction of *Jerusalem* first in *Hebrew*, or, as some say °, in *Syro-Chaldaic*, for the Use of his own Nation, and afterwards translated it into *Greek* about the seventh Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Vespasian*, to whom he dedicated it. This Work was, by the Emperor's Order, placed in the publick Library at *Rome*, and the Author, as *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* inform us †, distinguished with a Statue, an Honour conferred upon very few. Besides his History he wrote twenty Books of the *Jewish* Antiquities, which he dedicated to *Epaphroditus* his great Patron. In these Books he gives us the History of the *Jews* from their first Origin to the 12th Year of *Nero*, when they began to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. This Work, as *Josephus* himself informs us, was compleated in the 13th Year of *Domitian*, that is, in the 93d of *Christ*. In his Chronology he often disagrees both with the *Septuagint*, and the Writers of other Nations; nay, he is

° Sam. Basnagius, Exercit. in Baronium.  
Hieron, c. 13. catalog.

† Euseb. l. 3. Hist. Ecclesiast. &



frequently inconsistent with himself, which we may impute to the Carelessness and Ignorance of his Transcribers, seeing there appears such a Disagreement between the antient Manuscripts of the ten last Books of his Antiquities, and the printed Copies, that some have imagined, <sup>q</sup> him to have left two different ones. The Veracity of this Writer, especially in the Books of his Antiquities, has been often called in question; and truly, his Accounts sometimes not only vary from holy Writ, but are diametrically opposite to what we read in the History of *Moses* and the Prophets, and this after having solemnly protested that his Design was to add nothing of his own, but faithfully to transcribe, without the least Alteration, what he found in the sacred Records of his Nation. He wrote also two Books against *Apion*, who, in the third and fourth Book of his *Egyptian History*, had defamed and traduced the *Jews*. In this Work he shews himself conversant not only in the History of his own, but of all other Nations, and to have perused, as St. *Jerom* expresses it <sup>r</sup>, all the Libraries of the *Greeks*. This Book likewise *Josephus* dedicated to *Epaphroditus*, whence it is manifest, that it was published before the 95th Year of *Christ*, for in that Year *Epaphroditus* was, by Order of *Domitian*, put to Death. Besides his History and Antiquities, he wrote the History of his own Life; and, according to some, a Discourse on the Empire of Reason, in Commendation of the seven *Maccabees*; a Book also against the *Greeks*, namely against *Plato*, is ascribed to him; but it is uncertain whether he was the Author of the two latter, some affirming, some denying him to have wrote them.

IN our History of the antient *Syrians*, we have had always before our Eyes the Books of the Kings, the Chronicles, and the Prophets, and have left *Josephus* and the prophane Historians, where they seem to contradict holy Writ, but at the same time acquainting the Reader in our Notes with their various opinions, and the Reasons that are alledged to support them. The History of the *Phœnicians* we have taken chiefly from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, *Curtius*, *Pausanias*, *Appian*, *Orosius*, *Plutarch*, and from *Dius*, *Menander*, and *Philostates*, as quoted by *Josephus*. *Dius* and *Menander* wrote the History of *Phœnice*, and are both commended by *Josephus* as very exact in their Accounts, having compiled their Histories from the antient Records that were lodged in the Temples. *Dius* was by Birth a *Phœnician*, and *Menander* an *Ephesian*; the Accounts of both perfectly agreed,

<sup>q</sup> Emericus Bigot. epistolæ Reinesii ad Bosium, p. 381.  
Mag. Orator.

<sup>r</sup> Epist. 84. ad

as *Josephus* often repeats, with Scripture. Besides the History of *Phœnice*, *Menander* wrote the Life of *Ithobal* King of *Tyre*, where he mentioned the Drought that happened in *Abab's* Reign. *Philostrates* likewise wrote the History of *Phœnice*, and, as *Josephus* informs us, gave an exact Account of the Siege of *Tyre*.

THE Account we give of the *Phœnician* Kings from the ancient fabulous History of the *Greeks*, is chiefly extracted from *Apollodorus*. This Writer was by Birth an *Athenian*, by Profession a Grammarian, Disciple of *Aristarchus* the Grammarian, and *Panætius* a *Rhodian* Philosopher, who lived in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*. He wrote his History, which he intituled *the Bibliothéque of the Gods*, in the Reign of *Attalus Philadelphus*, King of *Pergamus*, who died in the third Year of the 160th *Olympiad*, that is, 138 Years before *Christ*. Of this Work there are now but three Books remaining, tho' there is no doubt but it contained several others; for *Macrobius* quotes the 14th, *Hermolaus* the 16th; and *Photius* tells us, that *Sopater* the Sophist, handling the same Subject, copied several Passages out of this Work from the first to the 24th Book. This Piece, in *Scaliger's* Opinion, is a very judicious Performance, and tho' mostly fabulous, yet such as may give us some Insight into ancient History, the Fables being founded on historical Truth, and the Persons such as have existed, tho' their Actions be exaggerated or disguised. The same Author adds, that we may extract from *Apollodorus* a more certain and better grounded Chronology, than from the Rhapsodies of *Beroaldus*; and *Vossius* is of Opinion, that by separating the fabulous Stories from real Events, we may form from his Writings a true History. He begins with *Inachus*, who is believed to have founded the Kingdom of the *Argivi*, in *Abraham's* Time, and brings his History down to the Time of *Theseus* Prince of *Athens*. The Books that are lost reached to the 1040th Year after the *Trojan* War, or to the 258th *Olympiad*.

IN the History of the *Jews* we have followed the Scripture and *Josephus*, where he agrees with the sacred History, not neglecting to acquaint the Reader in our Notes with the Traditions of the Rabbies.

THE History of the *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Babylonians* we have likewise delivered agreeable to what we have found in Scripture relating thereto. We have rejected as an arrand Fable the *Assyrian* History of *Ctesias*; but as it has been, we may say, from all Antiquity admitted into the Body of History, we shall here give some Account of that Writer. *Ctesias* was a Native of *Cnidos*,  
and

and accompanied *Cyrus* in his Expedition against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, on which Occasion he was taken Prisoner; but having cured *Artaxerxes* of a Wound he received in the Battle, he became a great Favourite at the Court of *Persia*, where he continued practising Physic for the Space of 17 Years. Thus far *Diodorus Siculus*. *Photius* likewise informs us, that he flourished in the Time of *Cyrus*, the Son of *Darius*, and Brother of *Artaxerxes*, who possessed himself of the Kingdom of *Persia*. *Strabo* speaking of the great Men of *Cnidos*, mentions *Ctesias*, who, says he, cured *Artaxerxes*; and *Xenophon*, who was his Contemporary, tells us, that *Ctesias* of *Cnidos* was a Physician, and being taken Prisoner, dressed the Wound, which *Artaxerxes* received in the Engagement. He was employed, as he himself witnesses, by *Artaxerxes* in Negotiations with the King of *Salamis*, with *Conon*, and the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors; which shews what Credit he was in at the Court of that Prince. *Ctesias* wrote the History of *Persia* in 23 Books, whereof the first Six contain the History of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, the other Seventeen the whole History of *Persia* from *Cyrus* to the Author's Death. He also wrote the History of the *Indies*. But these Works are lost, and all we have remaining of them is an Abridgment compiled by *Photius*, which is also imperfect, he having omitted the History of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. However, we have that History too abridged in *Diodorus*, and the Names of the Kings, which *Diodorus* left out, carefully set down by *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*. *Ctesias* has always been looked upon by the most judicious among the Antients, as a fabulous Writer. *Aristotle*, who was almost his Contemporary, declares him a Writer unworthy of Credit. *Antigonus Caristius*, who lived in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, says, that he frequently lyes, and relates what is altogether incredible. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, calls him a vain Man, and a notorious Lyar. *Lucian* charges him with relating in his *Indica* what he had never seen or heard; and truly, whoever peruses that Work, must immediately conclude him to have been a Man of no Sort of Sincerity. His History of *Assyria* is most evidently calculated to astonish, amaze, and to strain Credulity beyond all possible Bounds. His List of the *Assyrian* Kings seems to be a gross Forgery, it being a Medley of *Greek*, *Persian*, *Egyptian* and other Names. Again, in all long Lists of Kings the same Names, or some bearing a near Resemblance to them, are observed often to recur. But the Names in *Ctesias* are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of Forgery; the Length of the Reigns may be urged as another Argument against him; except

cept it be answered, that in those very early Days, so nearly bordering on the Times of the Deluge, such Length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no Answer at all; for at least three fourths of them must have lived, when the Life of Man was reduced to its present Standard. But yet, several of the antient Historians, and, what is more surprizing, of the modern *Christian* Writers, have blindly followed him, in opposition to Scripture, *Herodotus*, and other more undoubted Authorities. *Diodorus Siculus* transcribed him; *Cephaleon*, *Castor*, *Trogus* and *Velleius Paterculus* have copied several Accounts from him. *Julius Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* have adopted, in part, his Chronology of the *Assyrian* Kings, wherein they have been followed by most of the modern Chronologers.

WE shall now give a succinct Account of several Authors quoted by us in this Volume, with whom perhaps every Reader may not be acquainted. These are,

*Zoroaster*, a *Bactrian*, whom some suppose to have been contemporary with *Nimrod* and King of the *Bactrians*. *Cluverius* takes him for *Adam*; *Procopius*, *Gazeus* and *Epiphanius*, for *Abraham*; *Huetius*, for *Moses*; *Gregory of Tours*, for *Shem*, &c. We are in no less Uncertainty as to the Time wherein he flourished; *Epiphanius* making him contemporary with *Nimrod*, *Eusebius* with *Semiramis*, and *Apuleius* with *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*. *Plato* calls him the most antient of all the *Persian* Sages: *Eudoxus*, *Pliny* and *Hermippus* tell us, that he lived five thousand Years before the *Trojan War*: *Xanthus* of *Lydia*, according to the Testimony of *Laertius*, reckons but 600 Years from *Zoroaster* to *Xerxes*. As to his Works, *Hermippus* says that he wrote two Millions of Verses. *Suidas* gives us the Titles of some of his Works, viz. Four Books of Nature; one of precious Stones, and five of Astronomical Predictions. *Eusebius* quotes a Passage from his sacred History of *Persia*, containing an excellent Description of the Divine Attributes. *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, treating of the Magic of the *Persians*, produces *Zoroaster's* Hypothesis, admitting two Principles. *Proclus* collected the pretended Oracles of *Zoroaster* in 280 Hexameter Verses. He is said to have been the Inventor of Magic among the *Eastern Nations*; but by Magic nothing was meant in those Days besides *Phyfic* and *Theology*, as *Naudæus* proves with very convincing Arguments.

*Mochus* or *Moschus*, a *Sidonian*, lived before the *Trojan War*, as *Strabo* informs us, and wrote the History of *Phœnice*. He is quoted by *Josephus* in the first Book of his Antiquities, by *Athe-*

*næus* and *Tatian*, who names two other *Phœnician* Writers, viz. *Theodotus* and *Hisicrates*. His History was translated into Greek by *Chætus* or *Lætus*; but we have now only a few Fragments of it remaining in the above-mentioned Writers.

*ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR*, a celebrated Writer in the Reign of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, and by *Sylla* carried Captive to *Rome*, wrote a great many Histories, as his Name Witnesses, and among others that of *India* and *Egypt*. *Clement of Alexandria* quotes a Book of his, concerning the *Jews*, wherein were inserted *Solomon's* Letters to the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* Kings, with their respective Answers. *Eusebius* also recites a Fragment of the same Author, relating to the *Jews*.\*

*ORPHEUS*, surnamed the *Librethian*, was a *Thracian*, and is famous among the Antients, not only for Poetry and Music, but also for Theology. He is said to have been the first that taught the *Greeks* the *Egyptian* Mysteries. *Clement of Alexandria* says, that *Homer* borrowed several Passages from his Poems. The Antients mention many Pieces that went under his Name, some of which are still extant, viz. an Epic Poem, intitled, *The Argonautics*; 86 Hymns; a Poem on precious Stones and their Virtues, and several Fragments of other Works, ascribed to him by *Proclus*, *Tzetzes*, and other Writers. *Plato* mentions the Hymns of this Author in his eighth Book of Laws: *Stobæus* and *Suidas* ascribe the Hymns to *Onomacritus*, and others, with *Clement of Alexandria*, to *Pythagoras*. We also find several Verses cited by *Justin Martyr*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*, out of the Testament of *Orpheus*; but the bare reading of them will convince us that they are the Performance of a more modern Writer.

NEITHER have *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, *Africanus* and *Syncellus*, been excluded from our History. In their Time the Libraries of *Greece* were furnished with excellent Manuscripts, which have been since lost. From them they made their Collections; and we may judge of their Sincerity by the Authors which remain, and which they have faithfully quoted; so that where other Writers were at a loss, they have often put us in the way in our Pursuit of Truth.

IN the Descriptions of Countries we have chiefly followed, among the Antients, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dionysius Periegetes*. *Strabo* flourished under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, and visited most of the Places which he describes, whence his Descriptions are very

\* Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9.

exact, if we except those of *Germany*, wherein he depended on the Relations of others. He published several Works; but his XVII Books of Geography, are the only that have reached us. In these he not only describes the Situation of the Places, but often the Manners, Customs, Laws and Religions of the Inhabitants.

*PTOLEMY* was of *Pelufum* in *Egypt*, and flourished in the Reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. In his Geography he followed *Marinus Tyrius* who was almost his Contemporary. He is often mistaken as to the Degrees of Longitude and Latitude, and sometimes speaks of Cities which had been destroyed many Years, not to say Ages before his Time, as still extant. Most of his Mistakes have been carefully corrected by *Ortelius* and *Ghe-rardus*, *Mercator*, *Cluverius*, *Velferius*, and others. His *Canon* is so exactly agreeable to Scripture History, that if this latter could possibly stand in need of Confirmation, so far as it relates to the History of the great Empires of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this *Canon*, which has given Birth to one of the most famous prophane *Æra*'s, that of *Nabonassar*, the first King in it, and without which there would be the greatest Obscurity in the Affairs of these People. Nothing is more surprizing than that this most noble Monument should have been so little examined by the Light naturally reflected on it from the sacred Pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole Body of Chronologers and Historians from out of the Labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by the Extravagances of *Ctesias*, a fabulous Writer, who has been blindly followed by the Antients, and most of the Moderns. This *Canon* takes Date from about the 23d Year of *Pul*'s first Appearance on this Side the *Euphrates*, about the Year 2252 after the Flood, according to our Computation, and 747 Years before Christ; which shews the Kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Assyrian* Origin, according to the Prophet<sup>f</sup>: *Behold the Land of the CHALDE-ANS; this People was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the Wilderness; they set up the Towers thereof, they raised up the Palaces thereof.*

*DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES*, born at *Charax*, a Town situated on the Gulph of *Arabia*, flourished in the Reign of *Augustus*, by whom he was sent, as *Pliny* informs us<sup>g</sup>, to survey the Eastern Countries, namely *Armenia*, *Parthia* and *Arabia*. His Geographical Description of the World was ori-

<sup>f</sup> *Isai.* 23. 13.

<sup>g</sup> *Lib.* 5. c. 27.



ginally wrote in *Greek Verse*, and translated into *Latin Verse* by *Rufus Festus*, *Avienus* and *Priscian*. *Eustathius* Archbishop of *Thessalonica* wrote in *Greek* a learned Commentary on this Work.

THUS we have taken the Materials to compose this Volume from the purest Sources of Antiquity. However we must own, that as to the History of antient Times, and the Original of particular Nations, we have not been able to give such satisfactory Accounts as we could wish, not one of the Histories of those antient Nations, whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the Natives, or extracted immediately from their Records, having reached us. What Fragments of them have been preserved here and there in other Writers, we have connected together, filling up the Chasms of one Writer with the Testimony of another, and melting down together the most precious Metals of Antiquity, in order to form a new one, less precious indeed, but perhaps more serviceable.

BUT as the Authors that we have had occasion to follow, or even to transcribe in this Volume, are such as have transmitted to us Accounts of the earliest Times, we must here, in a few Words, remove the Prejudices which some Criticks have raised against the profane Writers in general, who have treated of the original and early Antiquities of Nations. In most Nations, say they, Poets were the first Historians, who of course interspersed their Accounts with a thousand Fables. From such infected Sources the Historians in After-ages, for want of better Materials, copied, and consequently deserve no more Credit than those they transcribed.

TO answer this Objection, we must with *Varro* divide the whole Series of Time into three Periods; the first, from the Beginning of the World to the Deluge; the second, from the Deluge to the first Olympiad; and the third, from the first Olympiad to the present. The first Period he calls an Age intirely unknown; and truly we find nothing in profane Historians, relating to that Time, which has any Appearance of Truth, if we except two or three, quoted by *Josephus*, whose Accounts of the Deluge, and the Times preceding it, agree, as he informs us, in many Particulars, with that of *Moses*. The second Period *Varro* stiles the fabulous Time, by reason of the many Fables with which the Accounts of it, that have been transmitted to Posterity, are interwoven: The last he calls the Historical Time. *Diodorus Siculus* extends the fabulous Age no farther than the *Trojan War*; and indeed from that Time the impenetrable Mist, which had overcast the preceding Ages, begins to clear up, and  
some



some Rays of Truth to break out. Now to answer the Objection, we do not pretend to give any tolerable Account of the first Ages, from profane Authors. In After-ages, when the Use of Letters was introduced, Poets, it is true, are said to have been the first Historians; but we must not suppose whatever they wrote to be a mere Fable; their Ground-work was often Truth, though embellished with various Fictions. Thus for instance, *Homer's* Poems ought not to be regarded only as an excellent poetical Performance, but as the most ancient History of *Greece*; insomuch that if we had no other Remains of Antiquity than *Homer's* Works to convince us of the *Trojan* War and the taking of that City, we could not call in question the Truth of that Event. *Homer*, tho' a Poet, discovers to us the State of *Greece* at that time; he gives us an Account of their Kings and Generals; describes their States, Cities and Government; shews us that *Greece* was divided into several small Dynasties, each of which had their respective Sovereigns, of which *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, *Sycyon* and *Corinth* was the most powerful, &c. These and a great many other Events are purely historical, and confirmed by creditable Historians; so that *Homer's* Work is both a Poem and a History. And what we have instanced in one Poet, may in the same manner be applied to others: For tho' their Works were interspersed with many fabulous Strokes, yet they might have furnished a judicious Historian, that could distinguish between Truth and Fiction, with good materials for a History: Besides, it is not to be doubted but that ever since the Use of Characters was first introduced, Men have left behind them Monuments of such Things as might concern their Posterity; Fathers, what regarded their domestic Affairs; Princes and Magistrates, what related to the Public. These were the first Histories of Mankind, and the most ancient Historians have done nothing else but digest them into a better Form. Thus *Manetho* compiled his History from the Memoirs of *Jerombalus* an *Egyptian* Priest; *Berosus*, from the Registers of the *Babylonians*; *Sanchoniatho*, from those of the *Phœnicians*, &c. And indeed there is Reason to suppose that most Cities and States had Registers, in which from Year to Year they wrote down the most remarkable Occurrences and Archives, wherein they lodged Letters, Treaties, and other Pieces, which might serve as Evidences to Posterity. They also transmitted the Memory of Things by the Institution of Festivals, the building of Cities, erecting of Stones, Pillars, Altars, Tombs and the like Monuments. The Custom of engraving on Stone is, without doubt, very antient, and the

Number of these most faithful Monuments of Antiquity was almost infinite, as is plain from all the ancient Historians, who often appeal to them. From these, as well as from the Poets, it is reasonable to suppose that the first Historians extracted their Histories, and therefore they deserve the same Credit; nay, the Poets themselves often worked upon Materials already prepared, and only put into Verse what they found registred in the Annals of their Country. But who can warrant that the Priests, who in most Nations were the first Annalists, did not through Superstition insert many Fictions? Priests, zealous for the Worship of their Gods, and whose Interest it was by false Prodigies to deceive People, may have scatter'd such up and down in their Accounts, and made their Gods interpose in the principal Actions. And in this Point the best Historians have suffered themselves to be imposed on. But as to the Substance of the Narrations in Matters of War, Politicks, new Settlements, Treaties, Deaths of Princes, &c. what Motive could the Priests have to be guilty of Forgeries? The relating of Prodigies is an Abuse, which Superstition has brought into all the Histories of the World. Has not Credulity inserted even into the modern Histories a thousand Prodigies? and are these Histories less true with respect to the great Events?

'Tis true that most of the Monuments of Antiquity are now lost; but they were in great part extant, when those Historians wrote whose Works have reached us. Besides tho' many of the public Monuments have been destroyed by Wars, Time, misguided Zeal, and other Casualties; yet they are not all lost. What few facts we have still remaining in the most ancient Writers, furnish a Stock of Materials, which, with the help of Criticism, whose Province it is to distinguish between Truth and Fiction, may be made use of, without Danger of our being imposed upon. The Fragments of those venerable Historians, preserved here and there in other Writers, are like so many Rays, which in the midst of the Darkness thrown over the early Times, serve to discover a Way through the Ruins.

NEITHER is the Disagreement of Authors among themselves any certain Proof that they deserve no Credit. Oftentimes, with respect to Things that have happened in our Days, and almost in our Sight, we find a Difference in the Accounts given by those who were Eye-witnesses to what they relate. The Particulars of a Battle are not always told the same way by those who distinguished themselves in it. The nearest Objects appear differently according to the different Views of the Spectators. Imagination, Prejudice and Partiality often set a Bias on Mens Understandings, and

and hence arise all those Variations we find in the Writings, which have served as Memoirs to the first Historians of particular Nations. This Disagreement among Authors has very much encreased the Labour of collecting them into one Body : We have often been in Suspense about the Choice and Preference, and always taking care to relate, at least in the Notes, the Variations we found among different Authors, it not being reasonable to confine the Reader to our own Sentiments.

AN exact Distribution of Time is, as it were, the Light of History: Without this it would be only a Chaos of Facts, heap'd together. An exact Chronology is like *Ariadne's* Clue, which conducts our Steps through all the Windings of the Labyrinth. By the means of certain fixed Epochas we perceive the Progress of States, the Variations of their Fortunes, and the changes made in their Government. For this Reason we have thought it necessary to settle the Chronology, and refer the Facts we have collected, to their proper Dates. Our general *Æra's* are, the *Creation*, the *Flood*, and the *Years before or after Christ*. The Mind being thus conducted, the Ideas we retain from reading, are more distinct, and more easily fixed in the Memory.

GEOGRAPHY is another essential part of History. Every Historian that neglects it, must of necessity be confused in his Relations. We have therefore endeavoured to be exact in the Situation of the Towns, Rivers, Forests, Lakes, and Mountains, whither the Course of Events has led us. Our Guides in this were not only the Historians, who are not always very exact, but also the most eminent Geographers of Antiquity, whom we have mentioned above; and in doubtful Cases we have had Recourse to the Moderns, particularly to *Cluverius*, *Ortelius*, *Cellarius*, and such of the modern Travellers as have surveyed the Places, and are generally look'd upon as exact and faithful in their Accounts. From all these together we have got Maps drawn by a skilful Hand, where we thought them necessary. Thus the Reader will be able with one Cast of an Eye to run over the several Countries which he reads of. There are many Nations, which have not the same Limits at this Day that they had formerly; neither are all Towns, which have ancient Names, unquestionably situated in the very Places, where the Towns of the same Name stood heretofore. We have therefore chose rather to describe most of the Places mentioned in our History, by their ancient Names; but at the same time we have constantly taken care to reconcile the ancient Geography with the modern

modern in our Notes, and to mark the different Limits of the new Nations and the old.

IT is not usual to publish Histories with Notes, or at least to crowd them with so great a Number: But tho' no other History perhaps has need of them, yet they are necessary to this which we have undertaken. The Manners, Customs, Religions, Arms, Dress, Government, &c. of the various Nations we describe, are not only so different among themselves, but from any thing we now see or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly possible to give just Ideas of them without Explications, which could not have well been brought into the Text. The Thread of the most beautiful Story would have been often broke, and no Point of History would have been brought to its Conclusion but in a languid manner. It was necessary therefore to throw into *Notes* the great Number of instructive Observations, without which the History would have been imperfect. Besides, abundance of Disputes have been raised by learned Men upon several Events, which we are obliged to inform the Public of, in order to make our Work more complete. But this could not have been, if we had not taken notice of the Variations of the several Authors who have transmitted to us the same Facts. Historians often disagree as to the Circumstances, and on the other hand, the Thread of the History will not admit but of one way of relating the Event. We have therefore placed in the Body of the History what seemed to us most probable, and the Rest in the Notes, lest those Readers who peruse but one Author, should charge us with Falshood, if we differed from his Historian. The Length of some of our Notes ought not to frighten the Reader: Every judicious Person will perceive that we have taken pains to be as concise as the Subject would allow us, having often brought within the Compass of a few Lines, Dissertations with which learned Men have filled large Volumes.

THE Knowledge of the Coins, Weights and Measures of the Antients, is necessary for the right understanding of their Writings, as well as of the present History, where we could not avoid using now and then their Terms and Phraseology. But as it cannot be expected that we should enter here into a minute Discussion of a Subject which has supplied Matter to whole Volumes, we shall only exhibit some Tables, wherein the Value of the ancient Coins, Weights and Measures is with great Care and Exactness reduced by Dr. *Arbuthnot*, to the *English* Standard. Several Writers of great Abilities, namely Bishop *Cumberland*, Mr. *Greaves*, and  
Dr.





## 3.

## ROMAN MEASURES of LENGTH.

										Engl. Paces. Feet. Inch. Dec.		
Digitus transversus . . . . .										0—0—	0,725	$\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{7}$	Uncia . . . . .									0—0—	0,967	
4	3	Palms minor . . . . .								0—0—	2,901	
16	12	4	Pes . . . . .							0—0—	11,604	
20	15	5	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Palmipes . . . . .						0—1—	2,505	
24	18	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{7}$	Cubitus . . . . .					0—1—	5,406	
40	30	10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{7}$	Gradus . . . . .				0—2—	5,01	
80	60	20	5	4	$3\frac{1}{2}$	2	Passus . . . . .			0—4—	10,02	
10000	7500	2500	625	500	$416\frac{2}{3}$	250	125	Stadium		120—4—	4,5	
80000	60000	20000	5000	4000	$3333\frac{1}{3}$	2000	1000	8	Milliare	967—0—	0	

## 4.

## SCRIPTURE MEASURES of LENGTH.

										Engl. Feet. Inch. Dec.		
Digit . . . . .										0—	0,912	
4	Palm . . . . .									0—	3,648	
12	3	Span . . . . .								0—	10,944	
24	6	2	Cubit . . . . .							1—	9,888	
96	24	8	4	Fathom . . . . .						7—	3,552	
144	36	12	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Ezekiel's Reed . . . . .					10—	11,328	
192	48	16	8	2	$1\frac{1}{7}$	Arabian Pole . . . . .				14—	7,104	
1920	480	160	80	20	$13\frac{1}{4}$	10	Schoenus measuring line			145—	11,4	

## 5.

## The LONGER SCRIPTURE MEASURES.

Note. The East used another Span, equal to  $\frac{1}{7}$  of a Cubit.

										Engl. Miles. Paces. Feet. Dec.		
Cubit . . . . .										0—	0—	1,824
400	Stadium . . . . .									0—	145—	4,6
2000	5	Sab. days Journey . . . . .								0—	729—	3,0
4000	10	2	Eastern Mile . . . . .							1—	403—	1,0
12000	30	6	3	Parasang . . . . .						4—	153—	3,0
96000	240	48	24	8	a Day's Journey : . . . . .					33—	172—	4,0

## 6. ENGLISH

## 6.

## ENGLISH SQUARE MEASURES.

Inches						
144	Feet					
1296	9	Yards				
3600	25	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	Paces			
39204	272 $\frac{1}{4}$	30 $\frac{1}{4}$	10,89	Poles		
1568160	10890	1210	435,6	40	Rood	
6272640	43560	4840	1743,6	160	4	Acres

## 7.

### ENGLISH MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

### Wine Measure.

Solid Inches									
28 $\frac{7}{8}$	Pint								
231	8	Gallon							
4158	144	18	Rundlet						
7276 $\frac{1}{2}$	252	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Barrel					
9702	336	42	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Tierce				
14553	504	63	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Hoghead			
19279	672	84	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Punchion		
29106	1008	126	7	4	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Butt	
58212	2016	252	14	8	6	4	3	2	Tun

8.

## ENGLISH CORN MEASURES.

Are raised from a *Winchester Gallon*, which contains 272  $\frac{1}{2}$  Solid Inches, and as far as serves our purpose, are,

Solid Inches				
34 71	Pints			
27 2 1	8	Gallon		
544 1	16	2	Peck	
2178	64	8	4	Bushel
17424	512	64	32	8 Quarter

## 9. GRECIAN

## 9.

## GRECIAN SQUARE MEASURE.

PLETHRON, by some said to contain 1444, others, 10000 Square Feet;  
ARURA, the Half of the PLETHRON.

The ÆGYPTIAN ARURA was the Square of 100 Cubits.

## ROMAN SQUARE MEASURE.

The ROMANS divided their As, LIBRA, or any INTEGER, after the following Manner; so the JUGERUM was reckoned the INTEGER.

JUGERUM contained

	Uncia:		Sq. Feet.	Scruples.	Engl. Roods.	Sq. Poles.	Sq. Feet.	
1	As	—12	As	—28800	—288	2	—18	—250,05
$\frac{1}{2}$	Deunx	—11	Deunx	—26400	—264	2	—10	—183,85
$\frac{3}{8}$	Dextans	—10	Dextans	—24000	—240	2	—2	—117,64
$\frac{3}{4}$	Dodrans	—9	Dodrans	—21600	—216	1	—34	—51,42
$\frac{5}{8}$	Bes	—8	Bes	—19200	—192	1	—25	—257,46
$\frac{7}{8}$	Septunx	—7	Septunx	—16800	—168	1	—17	—191,25
$\frac{1}{2}$	Semis	—6	Semis	—14400	—144	1	—9	—125,03
$\frac{3}{4}$	Quincunx	—5	Quincunx	—12000	—120	1	—1	—58,82
$\frac{1}{2}$	Triens	—4	Triens	—9600	—96	0	—32	—264,85
$\frac{1}{4}$	Quadrans	—3	Quadrans	—7200	—72	0	—24	—198,64
$\frac{1}{8}$	Sextans	—2	Sextans	—4800	—48	0	—16	—132,43
$\frac{1}{12}$	Uncia	—1	Uncia	—2400	—24	0	—8	—66,21

NOTE. Actus Major was 14400 Square Feet, equal to a Semis-Clima 3600 Square Feet, equal to a Sescuncia.

Actus Minimus was equal to a Sextans.

## 10.

## ATTICK MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things LIQUID.

## ENGLISH Wine Measure.

									Gall.	Pints.	Sol.	Inch.	Dec.
Kolliarion	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{128}$	—	0,356	$\frac{1}{128}$
2	Cheme	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{64}$	—	0,712	$\frac{1}{64}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Myfron	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{32}$	—	0,089	$\frac{1}{32}$
5	$2\frac{1}{2}$ 2 Konche	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{16}$	—	0,178	$\frac{1}{16}$
10	5 4 2 Kyathos	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{8}$	—	0,356	$\frac{1}{8}$
15	$7\frac{1}{2}$ 6 3 $1\frac{1}{2}$ Oxybaphon	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{4}$	—	0,535	$\frac{1}{4}$
60	30 24 12 6 4 Kotyle	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	2,141	$\frac{1}{2}$
120	60 48 24 12 8 2 Xestes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	1	—	4,283	
720	360 288 144 72 48 12 6 Chus	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0—	6	—	25,698	
8640	4320 3456 1728 864 576 144 72 12 Metretres	10—	2	—	19,626								

## 11. ATTICK

II.

ATTICK MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things DRY.

English Corn Measure.

Kochliarion						Pecks.	Gall.	Pints.	Sol.	Inch.
10	Kyathos					0—0—0—	0	276	$\frac{2}{3}$	
15	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Oxybaphon				0—0—0—	1	763	$\frac{1}{2}$	
60	6	4	Kotyle			0—0—0—	1	444	$\frac{1}{2}$	
120	12	8	2	Xestes		0—0—0—	16	579		
180	18	12	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Choinix	0—0—0—	33	158		
8640	864	576	144	72	48	0—0—1—	15	705	$\frac{1}{2}$	
					Medimnos	4—0—6—	3	501		

Note, 1. Besides this Medimnos, which is the Medicus, there was a Medimnos Georgicus, equal to six Roman Modii.

Note, 2. There are some other measures (mentioned by Authors) of uncertain Value, easily reducible to those of the Tables.

12.

ROMAN MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things LIQUID.

English Wine Measure.

Ligula										Gall.	Pints.	Sol.	In.	Dec.
4	Cyathus									0—Q—	1	117	$\frac{1}{2}$	
6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Acetabulum								0—Q—	1	469	$\frac{1}{2}$	
12	3	2	Quartarius							0—O—	1	704	$\frac{1}{2}$	
24	6	4	2	Hemina						0—O—	1	409		
48	12	8	4	2	Sextarius					0—O—	1	818		
288	72	48	24	12	6	Congius				0—1—	5	636		
1152	288	192	96	48	24	4	Urna			0—7—	4	942		
2304	576	384	192	96	48	8	2	Amphora		3—4—	5	33		
46080	11520	7680	3840	1920	960	160	40	20	Culeus	7—1—	10	66		
Note. 1 Quadrantarius										143—3—	11	95		

Note, 1. Quadrantal is the same with the Amphora, Cadus, Congiarius and Doli-um, and denotes no certain Measure.

Note, 2. The Romans divided the Sextarius, as the Libra, into twelve equal Parts, called Cyathi; and therefore they denominated their Calices, Sextantes, Quadrantes, Trientes, according to the Number of Cyathi which they contained.

[ k ]

13. ROMAN

## 13.

## ROMAN MEASURES of CAPACITY, for Things DRY.

						<i>English Corn Measure.</i>			
Ligula						Pecks.	Gall.	Pints.	Sol. In. Dec.
4	Cyathus					0—0—0	$\frac{1}{4}$	0,01	
6	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Acetabulum				0—0—0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0,06	
24	6	4	Hemina			0—0—0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0,24	
48	12	8	2	Sextarius		0—0—1		0,48	
384	96	64	16	8	Semimod	0—1—0		3,84	
768	192	128	32	16	2	Modius	1—0—0	7,68	

## 14.

## JEWISH MEASURES of CAPACITY, for Things LIQUID.

						<i>English Wine Measure.</i>			
Caph						Gall.	Pints.	Sol. Inch.	
$1\frac{1}{4}$	Log					0—0—0	$\frac{1}{4}$	0,177	
$5\frac{1}{4}$	4	Cab				0—0—3	$\frac{1}{4}$	0,844	
16	12	3	Hin			1—2		2,533	
32	24	6	2	Seah		2—4		5,67	
96	72	18	6	3	Bath Epha	7—4		15,2	
960	720	180	60	30	10	Coron, Chomer	75—5	7,625	

## 15.

## JEWISH MEASURES of CAPACITY, for Things DRY.

						<i>English Corn Measure.</i>			
Gachal						Pecks.	Gall.	Pints.	Sol. In. Dec.
20	Cab					0—0—0	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0,031
36	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Gomor				0—0—2	$\frac{1}{2}$	0,073	
120	6	$3\frac{1}{4}$	Seah			1—0—1		4,036	
360	18	10	3	Epha		3—0—3		12,107	
1800	90	50	15	5	Leteah	16—0—0		26,500	
3600	180	100	30	10	2	Chomer, Coron	32—0—1	18,969	

## 16. ENGLISH



16.

## ENGLISH TROY WEIGHT.

Grains			
24	Penny-weight		
480	20	Ounce	
5760	240	12	Pound

17.

## The Most Antient GRECIAN WEIGHTS, reduced to TROY WEIGHT.

Drachma		Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
100	Mna	00	00	06	$2\frac{2}{3}$
6000	60 Talanton	01	01	60	$4\frac{2}{3}$
		65	00	12	$5\frac{2}{3}$

18.

## The Less Antient GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS, reduced to English TROY WEIGHT.

Lentes										Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
4	Siliquæ									0	0	00	$0\frac{1}{12}$
12	3	Obolus								0	0	00	$3\frac{1}{4}$
24	6	2	Scriptulum							0	0	00	$9\frac{1}{8}$
72	18	6	3	Drachma						0	0	00	$18\frac{1}{2}$
96	24	8	4	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Sextula					0	0	02	$6\frac{3}{4}$
144	36	12	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Sicilicus				0	0	03	$0\frac{9}{7}$
192	48	16	8	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Duella			0	0	04	$13\frac{3}{7}$
576	144	48	24	8	6	4	3	Uncia		0	0	06	$1\frac{5}{7}$
6912	1728	576	288	96	72	48	36	12	Libra	0	0	18	$5\frac{1}{7}$
										0	10	18	$13\frac{1}{7}$

The Roman Ounce is the English Avoirdupois Ounce, which they divided into seven Denarii, as well as eight Drachms; and since they reckon'd their Denarius equal to the Attick Drachm, this will make the Attick Weights  $\frac{1}{7}$  heavier than the correspondent Roman Weights.

Note. The Grecians divided their Obolus into Chalci and Lepta. Some, as Diodorus and Suidas, divided the Obolus into six Chalci, and every Chalcus into seven Lepta: Others divided the Obolus into eight Chalci, and every Chalcus into eight Lepta or Minuta.

19. The

19.

The GREATER WEIGHTS, reduced to *English* TROY WEIGHT.

				Pounds.	Ounces.	Penwt.	Grains.
Libra	.	.	.	0	10	18	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Mina Attica communis	.	.	0	11	07	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Mina Attica Medica	.	1	02	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
$62\frac{1}{2}$	60	$46\frac{1}{2}$	Talentum Atticum comm.	56	11	00	17 $\frac{1}{2}$

Note. There was another Attick Talent, by some said to consist of 80, by others of 100 Minæ.

Note. Every Mina contains 100 Drachmæ, and every Talent 60 Minæ; but the Talents differ in Weight, according to the different Standard of the Drachmæ and Minæ, of which they are composed. The Value of some different Minæ and Talents in Attick Drachmæ, Minæ, and English Troy Weight, is exhibited in the following Table.

20.

				Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
MINA							
Ægyptiaca	.	.	.	133 $\frac{1}{2}$	01	05	06 : 22 $\frac{1}{2}$
Antiochica	.	.	.	133 $\frac{1}{2}$	01	05	06 : 22 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cleopatrar Ptolemaica	.	.	.	144	01	06	14 : 16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Alexandrina Dioscoridis	.	.	.	160	01	08	16 : 07 $\frac{1}{2}$
				est Drachm. Atticar.			
TALENTUM							
Ægyptiacum	.	.	.	80	86	03	16 : 08
Antiochicum	.	.	.	80	86	03	16 : 08
Ptolemaicum Cleop.	.	.	.	86 $\frac{1}{2}$	93	11	11 : 00
Alexandriæ	.	.	.	96	104	00	19 : 14
Insulanum	.	.	.	120	130	01	04 : 12
Antiochiæ	.	.	.	360	390	03	13 : 11
				est Minarum Atticar.			

21.

JEWISH WEIGHTS, reduced to *English* TROY WEIGHT.

				Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
Shekel	.	.	.	00	00	09	02 $\frac{1}{2}$
60	Maneh	.	.	02	03	06	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
3000	50	Talent	.	113	10	01	10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Note. In reckoning Money, 50 Shekels made a Maneh; but in Weight, 160 Shekels.

22.

The Value and Proportion of the GRECIAN COINS.

										l. s. d. q.				
Lepton	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
7	Chalcos	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
14	2	Dichalcos	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$1\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
28	4	2	Hemiobolion	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$2\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
56	8	4	2	Obolos	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
112	16	8	4	2	Diobolon	.	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
224	32	16	8	4	2	Tetrobolon	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
336	48	24	12	6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Drachme	.	.	.	0	0	0	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
662	96	48	24	12	6	3	2	Didrachmon [Stater		0	1	3	2	
1324	112	96	48	24	12	6	4	2	Tetradrachmon	0	2	7	0	
1660	384	120	60	30	15	$7\frac{1}{2}$	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Pentadrachm.	0	3	2	3	

Note 1. Of these the Drachma, Didrachm, &c. were of Silver, the rest, for the most part, of Brass; the other Parts, as Tridrachm, Triobolus, &c. were sometimes Coined.

Note 2. I have supposed, with the Generality of Authors, that the Drachma and Denarius were equal, tho' there is Reason to believe the Drachma was somewhat the weightier.

23.

The GRECIAN GOLD COIN was

		l. s. d.		
The Stater Aureus, weighing two Attick Drachms, or half of the Stater Argenteus, and exchanging usually for 25 Attick Drachms of Silver, in our Money	}	00	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
According to our Proportion of Gold to Silver		01	00	9
There were likewise the Stater Cyzicenus, exchanging for 28 Attick Drachms, or	}	00	18	1
Stater Philippicus, and Stater Alexandrinus, of the same Value				
Stater Darius, according to Josephus, worth 50 Attick Drachms, or		01	12	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Stater Cræsius, of the same Value				

24.

The GRECIAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money, was by

		l. s. d.			
DRACHMÆ.	{	1 . . . . .	0	: 00	: 07 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
		10 . . . . .	0	: 06	: 05 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
		100 equal to a Mina . . . . .	3	: 04	: 07
MINÆ.	{	1 . . . . .	3	: 04	: 07
		10 . . . . .	32	: 05	: 00
		60 equal to a Talentum . . . . .	193	: 15	: 10
TALENTA.	{	1 . . . . .	193	: 15	: 00
		10 . . . . .	1937	: 10	: 00
		100 . . . . .	19375	: 00	: 00



## 27.

The ROMAN GOLD COIN was the AUREUS, which weighed generally double the DENARIUS.

<i>The Aureus, according to the first Proportion of Coinage, mentioned by Pliny, Lib. XXXIII. Cap. III. was worth</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
<i>According to the Proportion that obtains now amongst us, worth</i>	1—04—3 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>According to the Decuple Proportion, mentioned by Livy and Julius Pollux, worth</i>	1—00—9
<i>According to the Proportion mentioned by Tacitus, and which afterwards obtained, whereby the Aureus exchanged for 25 Denarii, its Value</i>	0—12—11
	0—16—1 $\frac{1}{2}$

## 28.

*Some Alterations of the Value of the ROMAN COIN, mentioned by Pliny.*

<i>In the Reign of Servius</i>					
<i>A. Urb. 490</i>	} <i>the As weighed of Brals</i>			1	Pound
<i>A. Urb. 537</i>				2	Ounces
<i>A. Urb. 586</i>				1	Ounce
<i>A. Urb. 485</i>				$\frac{1}{2}$	Ounce
<i>A. Urb. 537</i>	} <i>Denarius exchang'd for</i>			10	Asses
<i>A. Urb. 547</i>				16	Asses
<i>Scruple of Gold worth</i>				20	Sestertii
<i>Coin'd afterwards of the Pound of Gold</i>				20	Denarii
<i>In Nero's Time of the Pound of Gold</i>				45	Denarii
					} <i>Aurei</i>

## 29.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money, reduc'd to the ENGLISH STANDARD.

SESTERTII NUMMI.					<i>l. s. d. q.</i>
Sestertius	.	.	.	.	0—00—01—3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Decem	.	.	.	.	0—01—07—1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Centum	.	.	.	.	0—16—01—3
Mille equal to a Sestertium	.	.	.	.	8—01—05—2
SESTERTIA.					
Sestertium	.	.	.	.	8—01—05 $\frac{1}{2}$
Decem	.	.	.	.	80—14—07
Centum.	} <i>This Sum the Romans express'd thus, Debet mihi centum, debet mihi centum Sestertia; vel debet centum millia Sestertium</i>				807—05—10
Sestertium					
Mille					8072—18—04
DECIES SESTERTIUM, &c. <i>The Adverb Centies being understood.</i>					
Decies Sestertium, <i>vel</i> Decies centena millia nummum	.	.	.	.	8072—18—04
Centies, <i>vel</i> Centies H. S.	.	.	.	.	80729—03—04
Millies H. S.	.	.	.	.	807291—13—04
Millies Centies H. S.	.	.	.	.	888020—16—08



30.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning INTEREST of MONEY.

Asses usuræ vel Centesimæ usuræ	1	} per Cent. a Month.	12	} p. Cent. a Year.
Semisses usuræ	$\frac{1}{2}$		6	
Trientes usuræ	$\frac{1}{3}$		4	
Quadrantes usuræ	$\frac{1}{4}$		3	
Sextantes usuræ	$\frac{1}{6}$		2	
Unciæ usuræ	$\frac{1}{12}$		1	
Quincunces usuræ	$\frac{1}{5}$		5	
Septunces usuræ	$\frac{1}{7}$		7	
Besses usuræ	$\frac{1}{8}$		8	
Dodrantes usuræ	$\frac{1}{3}$		9	
Dextantes usuræ	$\frac{1}{6}$		10	
Deunces usuræ	$\frac{1}{11}$		11	

31.

JEWISH MONEY reduced to the *English* Standard.

Gerah				l. s. d. q.
				0—00—1, $\frac{1}{16}$
10	Bekah			0—01—1, $\frac{1}{8}$
20	2	Shekel		0—02—3, $\frac{1}{4}$
1200	120	50	Maneh, Mina Hebraica	5—14—0, $\frac{1}{2}$
60000	6000	3000	60 Talent	342—03—9
Solidus Aureus or Sextula, worth				0—12—0, $\frac{1}{2}$
Siclus Aureus, worth				1—16—6
A Talent of Gold, worth				5475—00—0

Note. In all the Tables of Money, I reckon Silver at 5 Shillings, and Gold at 4 Pounds the Ounce.

Now to say something of the Different Computations of Time; *Berosus* wrote his Chronology by the Computation of *Sari*, *Neri*, and *Sofi*; which being antient Measures of Time, and well known when the original Records were written, could not then have wanted Explanation. But *Berosus*, or some later Writer, has either out of Ignorance or Design magnified these Measures beyond all Imagination, and tells us, that *Sarus* contained the Interval of three thousand six hundred Years; the *Nerus*, of six hundred, and the *Sofus* of sixty. But other Authors have

have taken those Years for Days only<sup>a</sup>; and indeed with a great deal of Reason; for not to insist on the incredible Length of the Reigns of the *Chaldean* Princes in the first Hypothesis, which no Writer of common Sense could offer to impose on the World, it plainly appears that they were no more than Days, from the Reign of the sixth King of *Chaldea*, which is expressed in the first Table of those Kings exhibited p. 90. to be ninety nine Years, but in others by the round Number of ten *Sari*, or 100 Years. The Word *Sarus*, throwing away the Termination, is no other than the *Chaldee* or *Syriac* *Sar, ben*. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thousand six hundred Days, or just ten old *Chaldean* Years, of three hundred and sixty Days each; and that before the Deluge, not only the Civil, but also the Tropical, Solar and Lunar Year consisted of twelve Months, of thirty Days a piece, or three hundred and sixty Days in the whole, has been fully proved by a modern Writer<sup>w</sup>.

THE *Egyptians*, who addicted themselves to the Study of Astronomy in the earliest Ages, and were well acquainted with the Motions, Periods, and Stations of the Planets, were the first that adjusted the Length of the Year to the annual Revolution of the Sun, by adding to their twelve Months of 30 Days a-piece five additional Days and six Hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* used the more rude and inconvenient Form of Lunar Years, intercalating a Month every third Year. However, the five additional Days, as *Synellus*<sup>x</sup> informs us, were not introduced till a thousand Years after the Deluge, and never were look'd upon as proper Parts either of the Year, or of any of its Months, but as Days belonging to the Nativity of five several *Egyptian* Deities, who, as it is observed in a famous Tradition related by *Plutarch*<sup>y</sup>, were to be born neither in any Year, nor in any Month.

THE *Jewish* Year, as is plain from the Calculations which *Moses* gives us of the Days of the Flood and elsewhere, consisted of 365 Days, and consequently of 12 Solar Months, the last of which had 35 Days. As *Moses* had been brought up in *Egypt*, it is very likely he learned that way of reckoning there; and besides, it must have been the most known and easy Method to the *Jews*, who had been accustomed to it during their long Abode in *Egypt*. *Scaliger*<sup>z</sup>, and others after him, have indeed supposed that they had an intercalary Month, once every 120 Years; but it is plain that the Scripture hints nothing like such an Inter-

<sup>a</sup> *Synellus*, p. 17.  
 ory, Book 11. p. 144.  
 ger, de emend. temp. l. 2.

<sup>w</sup> *Allin's* Disc. on the antient Year, in Mr. *Whiston's* Theory, p. 123.    <sup>y</sup> *Plut.* de Isid. & Osirid.    <sup>z</sup> *Scaliger*.

calation or Year of 13 Months; tho' it is not easy to guess how they disposed of the six additional Hours of the *Egyptians*, without some such Supposition. However, *Moses*, by express Command of God, did afterwards compute the Years by Moons.

THE antient Year of *Greece*, *Lydia*, and the *Grecian Colonies* in *Asia*, as well as the first *Roman* Year, before the Correction of *Numa Pompilius*, consisted likewise of 360 Days, as the learned Writer we have quoted above, fully proves<sup>a</sup>.

BESIDES the Computation of Months and Years, the *Greeks* reckoned their Time by *Olympiads*, each *Olympiad* containing the Space of four Years. This Method of Computation had its Rise from the *Olympic Games*, which were celebrated every 4th Year, and became so considerable, that the *Greeks* made them their Epoch. They commenced, according to some, the Year of the World 3208, 776 Years before *Christ*, and 22 before the Founding of *Rome*; according to others, in the Year of the World 3251.

THE *Romans* computed by *Lustrums*, or purifying Sacrifices, which were instituted by *Servius Tullus*, about the Year 180 of *Rome*, and were to be renewed every five Years, immediately after the *Census*; whence the *Lustrum* contained the Space of five Years. But they must have been for some time disused, as appears from the *Fasti Capitolini*, where the 50th *Lustrum* is said to have been made in the 574th Year of *Rome*.

AS to the Chronology of the Antients, there is no depending upon it. That of the Eastern Nations has been strangely depraved by Contentions arising among them about their Antiquity, each claiming the Preference in that Point. Thus *Herodotus* tells us<sup>b</sup>, that the Priests of *Egypt* reckoned from the Reign of *Menes* to that of *Sethon*, who put *Sennacherib* to Flight, 341 Generations, as many Priests of *Vulcan*, and an equal Number of Kings of *Egypt*. He adds, that three Generations make an hundred Years; so that, according to this Computation, the whole Time from the Reign of *Menes* to that of *Sethon*, was eleven thousand three hundred and forty Years. The *Chaldeans* also piqued themselves on their Antiquity, and pretended to have observed the Stars 473,000 Years; and *Callisthenes*, the Disciple of *Aristotle*, sent Astronomical Observations from *Babylon* to *Greece*, said to be of 1903 Years standing. The Chronology of the antient *Greek* Authors is no less uncertain. Those who wrote of Antiquities, as *Pherecydas*, *Epimenides*, *Hellanicus*, *Hippias* the *Elvan*, *Ephorus*, &c. digested their Works by Genealogies, or

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Allin, ubi supra,

<sup>b</sup> Herod. l. 2.

the Ages and Successions of the Priestesses of *Juno Argiva*, of the *Ephors*, of the Kings of *Sparta*, and the *Archons* of *Athens*, &c. nor did they begin to set down the Generations, Reigns and Successions in Numbers of Years, till some time after the Death of *Alexander*, which makes their Chronology very uncertain. And such it was reputed by the *Greeks* themselves, as is manifest from several Passages in *Plutarch*. The Chronology of the *Latins* is still more uncertain. *Plutarch* and *Servius* represent great Uncertainties in the Original of *Rome*. The old Records of the *Latins* were burnt by the *Gauls*, about 64 Years before the Death of *Alexander*; and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the most antient *Latin* Historian, lived 200 Years after that King, and copied the greatest Part of his History from *Diocles Peparethus* a *Greek*. Not one of the *European* Nations had any Chronology at all before the Time of the *Persian* Empire, and whatever Chronology they now have of antient Times, has been formed since by Reasoning and Conjecture: So that on a strict View and due Examination of the Antiquities of Nations, and the Records which have been left us, those of the *Jews*, exclusive of their Divine Authority, will evidently appear to be the most certain and authentic, and consequently the surest Foundation to build our Chronology upon.

HOWEVER, it must be confessed, that there is no certain Uniformity in the *Jewish* Computation, and that the several Copies of their Records, viz. the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, *Pentateuch*, and *Septuagint*, differ very much from one another. Which Disagreement hath arisen from two Things; 1. Corruption, or Errors of frequent transcribing; and 2. The Want of computing from some fixed *Æra*, and digesting the History as it was written, into a chronological Method: For besides the great Disagreement among the various Copies, with regard particularly to the Ages of the Patriarchs, there is a seeming Difference at least betwixt the whole Numbers of several Intervals. Thus, for instance, the Interval from the *Exodus* to the building of *Solomon's* Temple, is expressly mentioned<sup>d</sup> to be four hundred and eighty Years; whereas the Sum of all the Patriarchs given in the Book of *Judges*, &c. amount to about five hundred and ninety two Years. Which Particulars not being adjusted by the Years of some certain *Æra*, we are at a loss for the true Distance of Time, not knowing by what Standard the Measure of the Intervals is to be taken.

THIS Variety of Computations hath left room for Chronologers to enlarge, or contract the Space of Time betwixt the

<sup>c</sup> Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. & Solon;

<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings vi. 1;

Flood and the Birth of *Christ*, by adhering to one Copy rather than another; or by rejecting, or retaining the whole Numbers, or the Particulars, just as it suited their Humour of making the Sacred History agree with the Prophane; or otherwise of reducing the Prophane to the Sacred. And as the Disagreement among the Heathen Writers is great also, and every Author hath followed the Historian he liked best, hence a wide Difference hath arisen amongst modern Chronologers, as appears by the various Computations several of them have made of the Years of the World to the Birth of *Christ*, which we here give, as collected by *Strauchius*<sup>e</sup>, *Chevreau*<sup>f</sup>, and others.

*A TABLE of the Years of the World to the Birth of CHRIST, according to the Computation of several Chronologers.*

	Years.	Mon.		Years.	Mon.
<i>Alphonfus King of Castile</i> (in <i>Muller's Tables</i> )	6984		<i>Ado, Archbishop of Vienna</i>	4832	
The same (in <i>Strauchius</i> )	6484	9	<i>Josephus corrected</i>	4698	
<i>Onuphrius Parvinius</i>	6310		<i>Odiato, or Ebwico</i>	4320	
<i>Suidas</i>	6000		<i>Marianus Scotus</i>	4192	9
<i>Lactantius, Philastrius</i>	5801		<i>Laurentius Codomannus</i>	4141	9
<i>Nicephorus</i>	5700		The same (L. Godomeau in <i>Chevreau</i> )	4140	
<i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i>	5624		<i>Ribera</i>	4095	
The Author of the <i>Fasti Siculi</i>	5608	9	<i>Genebrard</i>	4090	
<i>Isaac Vossius, and the Greeks</i>	5598		<i>Arnold de Pontac</i>	4088	
The same (in <i>Chevreau</i> )	5590		<i>Michael Mæstlinus</i>	4079	3
<i>Theophilus Antiochenus</i>	5515		<i>J. Baptist Riccius</i>	4062	3
The Constantinopolitans and <i>Grabe's Septuagint</i>	5508	3	<i>R. Moses Maimonides</i>	4058	
<i>Cedrenus (in Chevreau)</i>	5506		<i>Jacobus Saliarius (in Strauchius)</i>	4053	9
<i>Julius Africanus, Theophanes, Eutychius, &amp;c.</i>	5500		The same (in <i>Chevreau</i> )	4052	
The Ethiopians	5499	9	<i>Henr. Spondanus</i>	4051	9
<i>Cedrenus (in Strauchius)</i>	5493	9	<i>Torniellus</i>	4051	
<i>Panodorus</i>	5493		<i>Gul. Langius (in Strauchius)</i>	4041	9
<i>Maximus Monachus</i>	5491	9	The same (in <i>Chevreau</i> )	4040	
<i>Sulpitius Severus</i>	5469		<i>Erasmus Rbeinold</i>	4021	3
<i>Victor Gisellius, in his Remarks on Sulpitius</i>	5419		<i>Jacobus Capellus</i>	4005	9
<i>St. Austin (in Genebrard)</i>	5351		<i>John Wickman</i>	4004	9
<i>Isidorus Pelusiota</i>	5336		<i>Thomas Lydiat, and Laurence Eichstadt</i>	4004	
<i>Abunazar</i>	5328		<i>Edward Simpson, and Archbishop Usher</i>	4003	9
<i>Rabanus Maurus</i>	5296		<i>M. Ant. Capellus, and Archbishop Usher (in Chevreau)</i>	4000	
<i>Isidor. Hispalensis (in Strauchius)</i>	5210		<i>Diomsfus, Petavius, Decker, Kepler, &amp;c. (in Chevreau)</i>	3984	
<i>Paulus de Fossembrona</i>	5201		<i>Petavius (in Strauchius)</i>	3983	3
<i>Eusebius</i>	5200	9	<i>Krentzheim</i>	3971	9
<i>Beda (in Strauchius)</i>	5199		<i>Abraham Bucholtzer (in Strauchius)</i>	3970	9
<i>Philippus Bergamensis, Orsius, &amp;c.</i>	5198		The same, <i>J. Cluverius (in Chevreau)</i> <i>Pantaleon, Boxbornius, Jansenius, M. Dresser,</i>	3970	
<i>Philo the Jew, Sigebert</i>	5096				
<i>Epiphanius</i>	5049				
<i>Metrodorus</i>	5000				

<sup>e</sup> Breviarum Chronologicum, lib. 4. cap. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. du Monde, l. 1. c. 1.



	Years. Mon.		Years. Mon.
<i>Christ. Matthias, and J. Clu-</i>		<i>Origen, Argoli, John Seybor</i>	3949
<i>verius (in Strauchius)</i>	3968 9	<i>Christianus Scotanus</i>	3948 3
<i>Henry Bunting (in Strauchius)</i>	3967 9	<i>Johannes Micrælius</i>	3948
<i>The same (in Chevreau) and</i>		<i>Scaliger, Calvisius, Helvicus,</i>	
<i>Andrew Soelmatter</i>	3967	<i>(in Chevreau) Alsted, &amp;c.</i>	3947
<i>Christ. Longomontanus</i>	3966 3	<i>Hermannus Contractus (in</i>	
<i>Peter Opemmer</i>	3966	<i>Strauchius)</i>	3945 9
<i>Christ. Longomontanus, in his</i>		<i>John Carrion</i>	3944
<i>Hypothesis in Astronomiam</i>		<i>St. Jerom in his Hebraic Que-</i>	
<i>Danicam, Iostatus, Philip.</i>	3964	<i>stions</i>	3941
<i>Melancthon, Funccius and o-</i>		<i>Gerard Mercator</i>	3928
<i>thers (in Strauchius)</i>		<i>Matthæus Beroaldus</i>	3927 3
<i>Melancthon, Funccius, &amp;c. (in</i>		<i>B. Arias Montanus</i>	3849
<i>Chevreau)</i>	3963	<i>Andreas Helvigius</i>	3836
<i>Jacobus Haynlinus</i>	3963 3	<i>Some Talmudists</i>	3784
<i>Sixtus Senensis</i>	3962	<i>R. David Ganz (in Cbe-</i>	
<i>Job. Lucidus, Sculter, John</i>		<i>vreau)</i>	3761
<i>Lighfoot, and several others</i>	3960	<i>The Jewish vulgar Computa-</i>	
<i>Alph. Salmeron (in Chevreau)</i>		<i>tion</i>	3760 3
<i>John Picus Count of Mi-</i>		<i>R. David Ganz (in Strau-</i>	
<i>randola, and others</i>	3959	<i>chius)</i>	3760
<i>Lamberg, and Salmeron (in</i>		<i>Hieron. à Sancta Fide, Paulus</i>	
<i>Strauchius)</i>	3958	<i>de S. Maria, Galatinus, Geor-</i>	
<i>J. G. Herwart ab Hohenburg</i>	3955	<i>gius Venetus</i>	3760
<i>Beda, Hermannus Contractus,</i>		<i>R. Habson, in his Treatise of</i>	
<i>George Herwart (in Cbe-</i>		<i>the Cycles of Passover</i>	3740
<i>vreau)</i>	3952	<i>R. Jason Nosen</i>	3734
<i>Cornelius a Lapide</i>	3951	<i>R. Abraham Zaccutb</i>	3671
<i>Scaliger, Calvisius, Ubbo Em-</i>		<i>The lesser Chronicon of the</i>	
<i>mius, Bechmius, and Helvi-</i>		<i>Jews</i>	3670
<i>cus (in Strauchius)</i>	3949 3	<i>R. Lippoman.</i>	3616

It would be endless, as well as unnecessary, here to examine into the particular Causes of this great Difference among Authors, every one still pretending to ground his System on the Authority of the Scripture: It will be sufficient, after we have stated the Times from the Creation to the Birth of CHRIST, according to the Computation observed in the three several Copies of the Scripture before-mentioned, to subjoin one or two Schemes of the same Intervals, according to the different Computations of the best modern Chronologers, which, besides illustrating our Subject, will be of use to the Reader in perusing the Historians, who make use of one or other of those Computations.

TABLE I. formed out of the whole Numbers of the Intervals.

	Hebrew.				Samaritan, according to EUSEB. and the present Copies.				Septuagint, Common Copies.			
	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals
1. The Creation ———	0		3944		0		4305		0		5270	
2. The Deluge ———	1656		2288	1656	1307		2998	1307	2242		3028	2242
3. The Vocation of Abraham ———	2023	367	1921	367	2384	1077	1921	1017	3389	1147	1881	1147
4. The Exodus ———	2453	797	1491	430	2814	1507	1491	430	3819	1577	1451	430
5. The founding of the temple ——— Captivity ———	2933	1277	1011	480	3294	1987	1011	480	4259	2017	1011	440
6. The burning of the temple ——— the first of Cyrus ———	3357	1701	587	424½	3718	2411	587½	424½	4683	2441	587½	424½
——— the second of Darius Hyf. ———	3409	1753	535		[3770	2463	535		[4735	2493	535	
7. The Birth of Christ ———	3427	1771	517	[70	3788	2481	517	[70	[4753	2511	517	70
	3944	2288	0	587	4305	2998	0	587½	5270	3028	0	587½

TABLE II. formed out of the Particulars.

	Hebrew.				Samaritan.				Septuagint, according to Dr. GRAE'S Edition, and the Constan- tinopolitans.			
	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals
1. The Creation ———	0		4111		0		4424		0		5508	
2. The Deluge ———	1656		2455	1656	1307		3117	1307	2262		3446	2262
3. The Vocation of Abraham ———	2083	427	2040	427	2384	1077	2040	1077	3469	1207	2039	1207
4. The Exodus ———	2513	857	1610	430	2814	1507	1610	430	3894	1629	1610	425
5. The founding of the temple ——— Captivity ———	3033	1437	1018	592	3406	2099	1018	592	4495	2230	1012	601
6. The burning of the temple ——— the first of Cyrus ———	3523	1867	588	430	3836	2403	588	430	4919	2654	589	424
——— the second of Darius Hyf. ———	[3575	1919							[4995			
7. the Birth of Christ ———	[3583	1937							[5008			
	4111	2455	0	588	4424	3117	0	588	5508	3246	0	589

TABLE III. according to the Supputation of certain Authors.

	Hebrew. USHER.				JOSEPHUS.				Septuagint, PEZZON.			
	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals	1 Year of the World	2 Year of the Flood	3 Year before Christ	4 Years of the In- tervals
1. The Creation ———	0		4004		0		4658		1		5872	
2. The Deluge ———	1656		2348	1656	1356		3102	1356	2256		3617	2256
3. The Vocation of Abraham ———	2083	427	1921	427	2523	967	2135	967	2513	1257	2360	1257
4. The Exodus ———	2513	857	1491	430	2953	1397	1705	430	3943	1687	1930	430
——— Moses's Death ———	[2553				[2993							
5. The founding of the temple ——— Captivity ———	2992	1336	1012	479	3545	1989	1113	592	4816	2560	1057	873
6. The burning of the temple ——— the first of Cyrus ———	3397	1741	607	424	4015	2459	643	470	[5268	3012	605	452
——— the second of Darius Hyf. ———	3416	1760	588		4085			[70	[5287	3031	586	[19
7. The Birth of Christ ———	3468			[70					[5337	3081	536	69
	3486								[5351	3095	520	
	4004	2348	0	588	4658	3102	0	643	5873	3617	1	

The

THE Reader may perceive at one View of the preceding Tables, what Room the several Copies of the Scriptures we now have, give for varying the Chronology of the whole, and how many different Systems may be grounded on them. By the Calculation made use of in the first Table, which consists of the Intervals, inserted in the fourth, or right-hand Column of each Division, from the Creation to the Birth of CHRIST, according to the whole Numbers mentioned in the Text of the respective Copies, the *Samaritan* Account exceeds the *Hebrew* by three hundred and one Years, while the *Septuagint* exceeds the *Samaritan* by one thousand and twenty-five Years. Which Difference still becomes greater in the second Table, made out of the particular Numbers, which compose the Intervals, by an Addition of one hundred and nineteen Years to the *Samaritan*, and two hundred and thirty eight to the *Septuagint* Computation; which therefore exceeds the *Hebrew* Computation in the first Table, by no less than one thousand five hundred and sixty four Years.

THE third Table exhibits three other Forms, the first of which, being that of the great Primate *Usher*, is grounded on the *Hebrew* whole Numbers, and differs from that in the first Table but sixty Years, which are added to the Interval from the Deluge to the Call of *Abraham*. The second is composed from the Chronology of *Josephus* as cleared up by Dr. *Wills*, and Mr. *Whiston*<sup>b</sup>; who, reckoning according to the Particulars, observes somewhat of a Mean between the *Samaritan* and the *Septuagint*, and is thought, in most respects, to have given us the true *Hebrew* Numbers, which, it is to be feared, the *Jews*, since his Time, have corrupted. And the third is that of *P. Pexron*, being an Enlargement of the *Septuagint* and *Greek* Computation, in order to accommodate the Sacred to the Prophane History.

OF these three different Copies of Scripture, the *Samaritan* Computation seems not only best to suit the Nature and Circumstances of the History of antient Times recorded in the Old Testament, as well as to be confirmed by the Concurrence of genuine prophane History, which by no means ought to be thrown out of the Question; but also appears to be the old and authentic *Hebrew* Computation, preserved by the *Samaritans* in their Character, while the *Hebrew* Copy has evidently been corrupted, in all Probability, to obviate the Prophecies concerning

<sup>a</sup> Pref. to L'Estrange's Edition of *Josephus*.  
Test. and his Essay for restoring the true Text, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Chronol. of the Old and New

the *Messiah*, and on other Accounts; as *Pexron*<sup>i</sup>, *Dr. Wills*<sup>k</sup>, *Mr. Whiston*<sup>l</sup>, and others have sufficiently proved.

FOR these Reasons therefore, and many others, which will frequently occur in the Course of this Work, we have found ourselves obliged to depart from the Example of the Generality of our modern Chronologers, who follow the *Hebrew* Chronology, and to adhere to that of the *Samaritan*, which preserves a Mean between the Defect of the *Hebrew* on the one hand, and the Excess of the *Septuagint* on the other. In adjusting our Periods, we have strained nothing to favour any Hypothesis of our own, or to force the Sacred History to agree with any Part of the Prophane, as too many unreasonably have done; of which our constant confining ourselves to the whole Numbers, which are always the shortest, is a Demonstration.

THE Reader may observe, that the whole Difference betwixt the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan* Computation (for we have no more than the Pentateuch in that Character) lies in the Interval between the Creation and the Calling of *Abraham*, and arises from the different Ages assigned the Patriarchs at the Birth of their sons mentioned in *Genesis*. The *Septuagint* Copy carries this Difference down to the founding of the Temple, which, according to that Text<sup>m</sup>, happened in the four hundred and fortieth Year of the *Exodus*, forty Years short of the *Hebrew*; but we have chosen to follow the whole Number, as it stands in the *Hebrew*<sup>n</sup>, (for we have no *Samaritan* Copy here to guide us) thinking the Text too express to admit of any Alteration. The Length of the Interval from the Founding to the Burning of the Temple, is limited within the four hundred and thirty Years<sup>o</sup> of God's Patience towards the *Jews*; and is collected out of the Years of the Reigns of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, as they have been collated and adjusted by judicious Chronologers<sup>p</sup>: So that there is no room for allowing more than forty Years to the Reign of *Solomon*, as assigned him in all the Copies extant, the Scripture affording Means for reconciling the seeming Inconsistencies with regard to the Ages of him and his Son *Rehoboam*, at their respective Accessions to the Throne. But here we should be at a great Loss (the *Babylonish* Captivity interrupting the

<sup>i</sup> Vid. l'Antiquité des tems retablié & defendué. English Josephus.

<sup>k</sup> In his Preface to L'Estrange's

<sup>l</sup> Essay for restoring the true Text, &c. Prop. 12. p. 220.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Septuag. 1 Kings, vi. 1.

<sup>n</sup> 1 Kings, vi. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>p</sup> See Usher's Chronologia Sacra, Pars posterior; and Whiston's short View of the Chronol. of the Old Test. p. 83, and in the Tables at the End.

Course of the *Jewish* History) if it was not for the Opportunity we have of connecting this Period with the *Nabonnassar* or *Babylonian* *Æra*, by means of the famous Astronomical Canon of *Ptolemy*; whereby we are enabled with Certainty to carry the Account of Time down to the Birth of *Christ*, which, according to our Supputation, falls in the Year of the World Four thousand three hundred and five, and of the Flood two thousand nine hundred and ninety eight, according to the *Samaritan* Computation in the first Table.

WE have also taken the Liberty to depart from the general Method observed hitherto by Chronologers in another Point, and instead of carrying down our Computation from the Creation, through the several Ages, to the Birth of *Christ*, to discontinue it at the Flood, and begin a new Reckoning from thence; and this we have been induced to do for several Reasons.

1. BECAUSE the Period between the Creation and the Flood contains little memorable besides the Age and Death of each Patriarch. 2. Because it is a particular Period, cut off, as it were, from the rest of Time, and hath little or no Connection with the Ages succeeding the Deluge. 3. Because at the Deluge the old World was destroyed; and from thence a new Origination of Mankind began, whose Affairs have little or no Dependance on those of the Antediluvians. 4. Because it will help to give the Reader a more distinct Notion of the Distance of Time, as derived from a Period with which we are more immediately concerned, and beyond which no genuine History of any Nation reaches. 5. Because it will bring the several Scriptural Computations nearer to an Agreement among themselves; the great Disproportion among them arising chiefly from the Difference this Period creates. Thus in the whole Space of Time, from the Creation to the Birth of *Christ*, the *Septuagint*, according to the first Table, differs from the *Hebrew*, one thousand three hundred and twenty six Years, and but seven hundred and forty, reckoning from the Flood. The Difference also between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan*, reckoning from the Creation, is no less than nine hundred and sixty five Years; and no more than thirty, if you compute from the Flood. The *Septuagint* Chronology exceeds that of *Josephus* six hundred and twelve Years, taking in the Times preceding the Deluge; but in the Space betwixt the Deluge and *Christ*, it is exceeded by that of *Josephus* by seventy four Years, as will appear more clearly by the following Table.



P R E F A C E.

According to the First T A B L E.		According to the 2d T A B L E.	
<i>Years from the Creation to Christ.</i>	<i>Years from the Flood to Christ.</i>	<i>Years from the Creation to Christ.</i>	<i>Years from the Flood to Christ.</i>
<i>Sam.</i> 4305	2998	4424	3117
<i>Heb.</i> 3944	2288	4111	2456
361	710	311	662
<i>Sept.</i> 5270	3028	5508	3246
<i>Heb.</i> 3944	2288	4111	2455
1326	740	1397	791
<i>Sept.</i> 5270	3028	5508	3246
<i>Sam.</i> 4305	2998	4424	3117
965	30	1084	129
<i>Jos.</i> 4658	3102	4658	3102
<i>Heb.</i> 3944	2288	4111	2455
714	814	547	647
<i>Jos.</i> 4658	3102	<i>Jos.</i> 4658	<i>Sam.</i> 3117
<i>Sam.</i> 4305	2998	<i>Sam.</i> 4424	<i>Jos.</i> 3102
353	104	294	15
<i>Sept.</i> 5270	<i>Jos.</i> 3102	<i>Sept.</i> 5508	3246
<i>Jos.</i> 4658	<i>Sept.</i> 3028	<i>Jos.</i> 4658	3102
612	74	850	144

Indeed, if we compare the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, the Case is otherwise ; for the Difference betwixt those two Computations is greater in the Interval from the Flood to *Christ* than from the Creation, the *Samaritan* falling short of the *Hebrew* in the Interval between the Creation and the Flood, at the same time that it exceeds it in that betwixt the Flood and the Vocation of *Abraham*.

Upon these Considerations, we have thought fit, throughout the Course of our History, to make use of the Year of the Flood, instead of that of the World, in our marginal Synchronisms, and hope the Reader will consider it rather as an Improvement, than an Innovation in Chronology. However, in our Tables at the End of each Volume, we shall add the Year of the World, to serve instead of a *Julian* Period ; a Contrivance, which how useful soever it may be in the Technical Chronology, is, as we conceive, of no manner of use at all in the Historical.

To the Year of the Flood we have always added that before *Christ*, which, considering the Variety of Systems that are abroad (every Author almost having one of his own) is the more necessary, as it always carries the Chronology of the Author along with it ; for the two Sums being added together, shew the Year before the

the *Christian* Æra, according to that Computation, whether *Hebrew*, *Samaritan* or *Septuagint*, which the Author follows. For Instance, according to the *Samaritan* Account in the first Table, which we follow, *Solomon* began to build the Temple in the Year of the Flood 1987, and before *Christ* 1011; these two Sums added make two thousand nine hundred ninety eight; which is the Year before the *Christian* Æra by that Reckoning; and two thousand nine hundred ninety eight being added to one thousand three hundred and seven, the Number of Years betwixt the Creation and the Flood, the Sum, four thousand three hundred and five, gives the Year of the World in which the Birth of *Christ* happened, according to the vulgar Computation. Indeed, was our Chronology upon as fixed a Footing as it is among the *Greeks*, the *Russians*, and some other Nations, who begin their Computation from the Creation, and never change their Opinions; to discover the Distance of any Transaction backwards from the present Time, there would be no need of knowing more than the Year of the World in which it fell out. For Instance, the Temple was begun, according to the *Russians*, who follow the *Greek*, and *Septuagint* Computation in the second Table, in the Year of the World 4495. Now the present Year of our *Lord* 1730, being the seven thousand two hundred and thirty eighth according to their Account, it is only deducting four thousand four hundred ninety five, from seven thousand two hundred thirty eight, and you have two thousand seven hundred forty three, which is the Number of Years since the Founding of *Solomon's* Temple to this Time, differing but two Years in Excess from our Reckoning: Whereas, before we could be able to discover it by that single Character, we should be obliged, perhaps, to search a good while to find out the System which the Author goes upon; and when we had met with it, should be at the Trouble of using Substraction as well as Addition. So that the joining the Year before *Christ* to that of the World, or of the Flood, is one of the greatest Improvements in Chronology; and as necessary for ascertaining the true Time of every Event, as the Longitude and Latitude are in Geography to determine the exact Situation of a Place. In a Word, these two Sorts of Reckonings ought to be made inseparable; and whoever gives only one of them without the other, can afford his Reader no satisfactory Idea of Things; and indeed must write in Confusion himself.

HAVING given the Reader this general Account of our Chronology, and stated the several Periods of it from the Creation, and the Flood, to the Birth of *Christ*; we shall hereafter give the Analysis

lysis of each Period, as we proceed, to shew the Authority upon which our System is grounded.

IN the History itself we have endeavoured to execute our Proposals in the best Manner we could; and hope we have made no Slips therein but such as are excusable. Some no doubt there are; for we have not the Vanity to think ourselves able to write a perfectly complete History, which, as a modern Author <sup>P</sup> expresses it, is not to appear, but in that Year which discovers the perpetual Motion, and the Philosopher's Stone.

IN composing the following Work, we have all along taken the Liberty (to use the Words of an ingenious Gentleman, whom we have followed in this respect) "To translate, to imitate, or  
" even literally to introduce any Parts of the Authors from whom  
" we have made our Collections, if we found them really con-  
" ducing to the Use or Ornament of the Design, not being able  
" to discover any Merit, or Cunning, in varying the Style and  
" Sense of an Author, for no other Purpose than to conceal the  
" Ignorance of the Transcriber, or to destroy an Obligation of  
" Gratitude which ought to be confessed to all Mankind." <sup>q</sup>

WE have added to this, as we shall do to each Volume, a complete and copious *Index*, giving the Reader a View of the whole Work in Epitome, and referring him to all the Parts of it with great Exactness.

WE shall take leave of our Reader for this time, after informing him, that as the Demand there has been for the Sheets of this Volume, not only at home, but abroad, where they have been already translated into several Languages, leaves no room to doubt of our Undertaking's being approved of: So the Numbers of the other Volumes shall be published in a more regular Manner, all the Obstacles that have hitherto retarded the Work being entirely removed, and the Sheets that are to compose the Second Volume, at this time ready for the Press.

<sup>P</sup> Le Moyne.      <sup>q</sup> Mr. Lewis, in his Preface to his *Origines Hebrææ*.

*The Binder is desired to take Notice, that the two Plates of the Ruins of Palermo, must be pasted in one.*

A N

# U N I V E R S A L H I S T O R Y,

FROM THE  
Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

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T H E

## I N T R O D U C T I O N,

C O N T A I N I N G  
*The Cosmogony, or Creation of the World.*

**O**UR design is to write a General History of mankind, from their original to our own time. An undertaking of vast extent, and which would perhaps be scarce practicable, were the histories of all nations now extant, and their series complete. But as many nations entirely neglected their history, at least for several ages : so the histories of many others, who kept some records of past actions, have been either totally, or in part, destroyed by wars, time, misguided zeal, and other casualties. Besides, few nations have been able to give a tolerable account of their original, or early antiquities ; the first memory of persons, and facts, having been preserved by the institution of festivals, the building of cities, erecting of stones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments, from whence a true series of history could not be accurately deduced and collected, any more than from the oral tradition which accompanied them.

*The design of  
the work, and  
the difficulties  
which attend it.*

BUT if the want of records has, on the one hand, reduced history into a closer compass, it has, on the other, occasioned great confusion and uncertainty. For the frequent interruptions and defects, which occur in the antiquities of nations, drive the historian so often to precarious conjectures, and oblige him to have recourse to so many shifts, to connect and supply them, that his labour seems to be encreased by the scarcity of materials ; and he is unable, after all, to give his reader satisfaction.

MANY other difficulties there are, which attend the execution of this undertaking, especially as to the history of ancient times : such as the numbers of forged and spurious books ; the fictions of poets, who were the first historians ; the contradictions and partiality of authors ; the different computations of time in use among the same, as well as different nations ; the want of æra's to compute from in some nations, and the multiplicity of them in others ; the variety of proper names of the same person and place, and the corruption of them through ignorance, negligence, or design. What adds to the misfortune is, that if we except the *Jews*, not one of the histories of those ancient nations whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, have come to our hands ; nothing remaining of them, besides some few fragments, preserved here

A

and

and there in other writers, which serve only to make us lament their loss, and to shew the inaccuracy of the *Greek* historians, with regard to foreign nations.

WE have thought proper briefly to premise thus much, with regard to the state of ancient history, in order to intitle ourselves to the reader's candor in passing his judgment upon a performance, wherein there are so many difficulties to struggle with. But before we enter upon the history itself, we shall give some account of the cosmogony, or the production and formation of this earth; which seems to demand our first attention, as being the place from whence mankind derive their original, and the theatre whereon the scenes of the ensuing history are to be acted.

*Could the author  
of the world,  
be shewn to mis-  
ser and form.*

THAT the universe was created, or produced out of nothing, by an infinitely <sup>a</sup> powerful, wise, and good God, who being self-existent is the original cause of all things, is not only certain from revelation, but deducible, and has been clearly proved from reason<sup>a</sup>. And tho' all atheists, both ancient and modern, have constantly denied that even infinite power can create matter, and the affirmative has been thought to be embarrassed with several considerable difficulties, as our having no idea how a nothing from all eternity can be made to exist, and the seeming contradiction in supposing the world to be created in time, because then it would be separated from eternity only by an indivisible point, which cannot sufficiently distinguish an eternal Being from a temporary production<sup>b</sup>; yet these are rather difficulties arising from our own imperfect and finite reason and conception, whereby we are <sup>b</sup> not able to form a distinct idea of creation or eternity, than any real impossibility in the thing itself: for it is no contradiction to affirm that something which once was not, may since have begun to exist; the true notion of creation being not <sup>a</sup> forming of something out of nothing, as out of a material cause, but only a bringing something into being, which before had no being at all, and which without some cause, would not have existed; and this no man can reduce to a contradiction, any more than the formation of any thing into a shape which it had not before, can be reduced to a contradiction<sup>c</sup>. And they who deny God's power to create matter, must fly to one of these suppositions, either that matter existed from eternity, as a passive subject of all the operations of God, and as a collateral principle, or else <sup>c</sup> that matter is the only self-existent being; either of which involves us in the most impious absurdities. The first supposition necessarily implies two self-existent principles, which is a direct contradiction; and the other, that it is impossible to conceive matter not to be, or to be in any respect otherwise than it now is without a contradiction; than which nothing is more easy. For whether we consider the form of the world, with the disposition and motion of its parts, or whether we consider the matter of it, as such, without respect to its present form; every thing in it, both the whole and every one of its parts, their situation and motion, the form and also the matter, are the most arbitrary and dependent things, and the farthest removed from necessity, that can possibly be imagined<sup>d</sup>.

*The arguments  
used to prove  
the non-existence  
of matter  
of small force.*

As for those who deny the actual existence of matter and motion, (if there be any <sup>d</sup> who do so in earnest) it might be sufficient to say, that there is in effect no difference in respect to us, whether they be actually existent, or no more than appearances; for if God immediately communicate all sensible perceptions to our mind, as he must do if there be no such thing as sensible substance, he is still the author of those appearances, which have the same consequences and effects, to our conception, as if they were real: not to urge the indecency of suspecting God to have made the world a mere scene of delusion. The impossibility of extension is attempted to be proved from the inextricable difficulties which follow, if matter be infinitely divisible, as it necessarily must, and is easily demonstrated<sup>e</sup>. And if there be no extension, the unavoidable consequence is, that there can be no motion; which is also argued from <sup>c</sup> the perplexing objections raised on the supposition of a vacuum; and yet a vacuum must be admitted, or else no motion can be conceived<sup>f</sup>. But these difficulties though unanswerable, as great masters of reason have confessed, evince no more than that human understanding is finite and imperfect; and being only raised from our want of having an adequate idea either of extension or space<sup>g</sup>, ought not therefore to be esteemed real difficulties<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. CLARKE, in his Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God. <sup>b</sup> Mr. BAYLE, dans les Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, Tom. IV. p. 7301. <sup>c</sup> Dr. CLARKE, ubi sup. p. 83, 84. See also Dr. NICHOLLS's Conference with a Theist, Vol. I. Part 1. p. 26. <sup>d</sup> Dr. CLARKE, ubi sup. p. 23, &c. <sup>e</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Zenon, Remarq. G. <sup>f</sup> Vid. ibid. Rem. F. I. <sup>g</sup> Vid. ibid. Rem. I. and LOCKE on Human Understanding, B. 2. c. 13. <sup>h</sup> Vid. CLARKE's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, p. 11, 12.



THE several opinions which have been held by the ancients or moderns, as to the origin of the universe, may be comprehended under one or other of the following three; viz. *The several opinions concerning the origin of the world.*

- I. THAT the world is eternal both as to matter and form, and had neither any origin, nor will be subject to any corruption<sup>1</sup>.
- II. THAT the matter of the world is eternal, but not the form. Or,
- III. THAT the world had a beginning, and will suffer a dissolution, being of its own nature perishable.

AND to begin with the first of these opinions: None of the ancients openly maintained it, except some Pseudo-Pythagoreans, and Aristotle<sup>a</sup>; to whom we may add several of Plato's followers. But few, if any, of them intended thereby to assert, as some moderns have done, that the material world was God, or the original, self-existing, and independent Being, in opposition to the belief of a supreme all-governing Mind; but either barely that something must needs be eternal, which is all Ocellus Lucanus proves; or else that the world is an eternal and necessary effect, flowing from the immutable energy of the divine nature, which seems to have been Aristotle's opinion; or else that the world is an eternal voluntary emanation from the all-wise and supreme Cause, which was the opinion of many Platonists<sup>1</sup>. *The opinion of Aristotle who held it: that all exists in matter and form.*

OCCELLUS LUCANUS, whose antiquity and authority have been opposed to those of Moses<sup>m</sup>, though he lived not long before Plato, was one of the the most ancient asserters of the world's eternity; wherein he deviated from the true doctrine of his master Pythagoras. We have a short treatise under his name, concerning the nature of the universe, wherein he affirms it to be utterly incapable either of generation or corruption, of beginning or end<sup>n</sup>; that it is of itself eternal and perfect, and permanent for ever<sup>o</sup>; and that the frame and parts of the world must needs be eternal, as well as the substance and matter of the whole<sup>p</sup>, and mankind also<sup>q</sup>. But his arguments for this opinion are either very absurd and ridiculous; as when he attempts to prove that the world must needs be eternal, without beginning or end, because both its figure and motion are circular, and therefore without beginning or ending<sup>r</sup>; or else they are such arguments as tend to prove that something must needs be eternal, because it is impossible for every thing to arise out of nothing, or to fall into nothing; as when he says, that the world must have been eternal, because it is a contradiction for the universe to have had a beginning; since, if it had a beginning, it must have been caused by some other thing, and then it is not the universe: to which one argument all he says in his whole book is plainly reducible. And to say the truth, he himself seems persuaded, that however eternal and necessary every thing in the world be imagined to be, yet even that necessary must flow from an eternal and intelligent Mind, the necessary perfections of whose nature are the cause of that harmony which keeps the universe together, and prevents its falling into disorder<sup>t</sup>. He allows God to have given men faculties, organs of sense, and appetites, not for the sake of pleasure, but fitted for final causes<sup>u</sup>; and expressly asserts, that the ever active Being governs, and the ever passive is governed; that the one is first in power, the other posterior; that the one is divine, rational, and intelligent, and the other generated, irrational, and liable to change<sup>v</sup>. *The opinion of Ocellus Lucanus.*

ARISTOTLE also held this opinion, as is sufficiently known; and, if he be to be believed, was the first, at least of the Greeks, who asserted it; for he says that before his time the temporary production of the world was universally entertained, though it was a question whether it should ever perish or not<sup>w</sup>. His doctrine was, that not only the matter of the heavens and earth were ingenerate and eternal; but that even mankind, and all the species of animals, male and female, have subsisted from everlasting by a perpetual course of generation, without any original beginning or production; and that the earth hath for ever been adorned with trees, plants, flowers, minerals, and other productions, as we now see it to be<sup>x</sup>. But how this is reconcileable with what he elsewhere delivers of the natural gravity and levity of different elements, seems hard to shew: for if those elements were ever in their natural places and dispositions,

<sup>1</sup> DIONYS. SIC. l. 1. p. 6. <sup>a</sup> BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. cap. 1. <sup>1</sup> Dr. CLARKE, ubi sup. p. 32.  
<sup>m</sup> Vid. Oracles of Reason, p. 115. <sup>n</sup> OCCELL. LUCAN. de Univ. p. 506. Inter opulc. Myrthoi. edit. p. 7  
T. Gale, 1688. <sup>o</sup> Ib. 510. <sup>p</sup> Ib. 528. <sup>q</sup> Ib. 530. <sup>r</sup> Ib. 514. Vid. also Oracles of Reason,  
ubi sup. <sup>s</sup> OCCELL. ibid. 506, 508. <sup>t</sup> OCCELL. de Legibus Fragm. ibid. p. 537. <sup>u</sup> Idem de Univ.  
531. Vid. Dr. CLARKE's Demonstration &c. p. 33, &c. <sup>v</sup> OCCELL. de Legibus Fragm. ubi sup. p. 528  
<sup>w</sup> ARISTOT. de Cælo, lib. 1. cap. 10. <sup>x</sup> Ibid. cap. 12. Vid. PHILON. Jud. de Incongruitate Mundi,  
p. 940. BURNET's Archæol. l. 1. p. 180. CUDWORTH's Intellectual System, p. 250

according to their respective gravity, which nothing but some external violence could have hindered; it follows necessarily, that the earth once was in a very different form from what it now is, and could not possibly be inhabited from eternity<sup>a</sup>. The great reason which induced *Aristotle* to assert the world to be eternal<sup>b</sup>, was, because he thought such an effect must needs eternally proceed from such an eternal cause as the divine Mind, which being all act and energy, could not rest in a state of inactivity. He acknowledges that the first principle is neither fire, earth, nor water, nor any thing which is the object of sense; but that a spiritual substance is the cause of the universe, and the source of all the order and beauty, as well as of the motions and forms, which we so much admire in it<sup>c</sup>. And he expressly describes God to be an intelligent Being<sup>d</sup>, incorporeal, the first mover of all things, himself immoveable<sup>e</sup>, eternal, indivisible, and void of all quantity<sup>f</sup>; and affirms, that if there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cause, but an infinite progression of causes<sup>g</sup>; which is absurd<sup>h</sup>. So that the true notion of this great philosopher was, that though the world had no temporary generation, yet it was produced from one supreme Deity, after some other manner<sup>i</sup>.

THESE sentiments of *Aristotle*, as to the eternity of the world, have been embraced by many of his followers, and among the rest by several learned *Mohammedans*, who were thence named *Dabrians*, or *Eternalists*. Of this opinion *al Farabi*, *al Kendi*, *Ebn Roshd*, and *Ebn Sina* (which two last we usually call *Averroes* and *Avicenna*) were suspected; and therefore their philosophy was publicly, and even in the pulpit, inveighed against by the more orthodox, and themselves branded with the invidious appellations of atheists and infidels<sup>k</sup>.

Of Plato's followers.

THOUGH *Plato*, as we shall see hereafter, did himself plainly acknowledge the world to be made by God, yet having used some expressions, as if he thought the time of its formation to be indefinite; as when he says, that the world must needs be an eternal resemblance of the eternal idea<sup>l</sup>; his followers, or the greatest part of them, who adhered to *Aristotle's* opinion in this matter, took advantage of these expressions, and explained them so, as if by the creation of the world was not to be understood a creation in time, but only in order of nature, causality, and dependance<sup>m</sup>: that is, that the will of God, and his power of acting, being necessarily as eternal as his essence, the effects of that will and power must be supposed coeval to the will and power themselves; in the same manner as light would eternally proceed from the sun<sup>n</sup>, or a shadow from the interposed body, or an impression from an imposed seal, if the respective causes of these effects were supposed eternal<sup>o</sup>. Existence from eternity, and being caused or produced by another, were not therefore by these philosophers apprehended to be contradictory or inconsistent. And as they were led into this opinion no otherwise than from the sole consideration of the deity; viz. its benevolent will, and generative power<sup>p</sup>; so they allowed that the world, notwithstanding its being from eternity, might in some sense be said to be made, as being produced from another cause, and not self-originated. And the generation of the inferior gods, and world, in this sense, *Proclus* himself, that grand champion for the world's eternity, plainly acknowledges, when he says, that they called it the generations of the gods; meaning thereby, not any temporary production, but their ineffable procession from a superior first cause<sup>q</sup>.

THE latter Platonists were so fond of this notion of the world's eternity, that being on the one hand unwilling to abandon it, and on the other desirous to save appearances, they endeavoured, by forced constructions, to wrest their master's words, especially his *Timæus*, to their purpose; and, as has been long since observed, turned themselves every way, using all manner of violence to the text, as conceiving they ought by all possible means to conceal and deny the generation of the world, and of its soul, as if it were some horrid thing, and not to be spoken of<sup>r</sup>. It is well known that Platonism was very early introduced into the church; and even this dogm favourably received by some, and *Origen* in particular<sup>s</sup>, and as zealously opposed by others. It

<sup>a</sup> Vid. BURNET's Archæol. l. 1. p. 181, and his Theory of the Earth, Vol. I. p. 51. <sup>b</sup> Several other Reasons were given by his Followers, nearly agreeing with those of OCELLUS, which may be read in PHILO JUD. ubi sup. p. 943, &c. <sup>c</sup> ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. cap. 2, 3. <sup>d</sup> N<sup>o</sup>g. <sup>e</sup> DIOGENES LAERT. in vita ARISTOT. p. 286. Ed. Amst. 1692. <sup>f</sup> In Phys. l. 7. c. 1. &c. <sup>g</sup> In Metaph. <sup>h</sup> Vid. CLARKE's Demonstration, &c. p. 35, and also CUDWORTH, p. 253. <sup>i</sup> SIMPLICIUS in ARISTOT. Phys. l. 8. & l. 1. c. 1. <sup>j</sup> Vid. D'HERBELOT, Biblioth. Orientale, p. 303. & ELENCH. Scriptorum præfix. Epist. Has Ebn Yokdhan. <sup>k</sup> PLATO in Timæo, & apud CICER. de Univ. <sup>l</sup> PLOTINUS En. 3. l. 2. c. 1. & En. 2. l. 9. c. 3. <sup>m</sup> Idem, En. 5. l. 8. c. 12. SALLUST. de Diis & Mundo, cap. 7. PROCLUS in Timæum, l. 2. p. 111. <sup>n</sup> Dr. CLARKE's Demonstration, &c. p. 37. See also the Authors there cited, & PHILO JUD. de Incorrumpibilitate Mundi. <sup>o</sup> PROCL. in Tim. p. 116. <sup>p</sup> PROCL. in Tim. p. 85. Vid. etiam SALLUST. c. 13. CUDWORTH, p. 253. <sup>q</sup> PLUTARCH. de Psychog. Plat. p. 1013. <sup>r</sup> Vid. METHIDIUM de creatis, apud Photium, p. 932.

may however be worth observing, that this doctrine of the world's co-eternity with God was in the sixth century suffered to be publickly taught in *Alexandria* by *Ammonius* the scholar of *Proclus*<sup>a</sup>, and not without success.

To the argument made use of by the Platonists for the eternity of the world, drawn from the nature and attributes of God, it has been answered; that though God be essentially and necessarily good, yet the communications of his goodness are the effects of his will, and not merely of his nature. For God, being a free agent, could have refrained from making the world, or could have made it otherwise; and therefore those who make the expressions of the divine bounty necessary, in order to settle the world's eternity, and that he might always have an object whereon to exercise his goodness, take as much from his self-sufficiency as they would seem to flatter his goodness. For God cannot be himself without his goodness; and therefore, if his goodness cannot be without some creature to shew and display itself upon, God cannot be perfect or happy without his creatures; because these are the necessary issues of his goodness, and consequently the being of the creature becomes necessary to the being of God, which is the highest derogation imaginable from the absolute perfection of the divine nature<sup>b</sup>. All which is very true, and we do not see what reply a Platonist could make, if it were the real doctrine of the sect, that the world was an involuntary effect of his mere nature. But they plainly taught otherwise, and expressly declared, that one of the reasons why they maintained the world not to be a temporary production was, the consideration of his *beneficent will*<sup>c</sup>, as well as his productive power; both which being supposed, the effect may necessarily follow, without any derogation from God's absolute perfections. It is not therefore without due consideration that very able disputants have acknowledged, that the time when the world was created, or whether its creation was, properly speaking, in time, is not so easy to demonstrate strictly by bare reason, but the proof of it can be taken only from revelation; and therefore they who, wanting that light, have denied the world to have had a beginning, are somewhat excusable<sup>d</sup>.

But, on a nicer discussion, this controversy about the eternity of the world will appear to be, in a great measure, a dispute about words only. All christians in general (except those who believe the eternity of matter, and therefore deserve not that name) agree that God alone hath always existed; but several maintain that he might have actually created the world, as soon as he formed the decree of producing it; whence they conclude, that the world might have existed eternally, since there is no doubt but that the decree to produce it is eternal. On the other hand several maintain, that it is impossible for a creature to be eternal<sup>e</sup>. But when they come to argue, the strength of each party lies rather in making objections, than solving them. This dispute, which is rendred so tedious and perplexing, would end presently, if they would but explain themselves clearly on each side, and forego the equivocal acceptation of *eternity*; and then the question should be thus stated: *Is it possible that God and his creatures may have always existed together?* The negative would not so readily be taken; for the expression of the eternity of the world, that expression, I say, which shocks so many people, would not strike the mind. To remove this stumbling-block still more effectually, it should be declared, that a creature which should have always co-existed with God, would not be eternal, for this reason; because the duration of creatures is successive, and that eternity is a simple duration, which essentially excludes both past and future. By this essential distinction between the duration of God, and that of creatures, the whole contest almost would cease, and each side find their account. It would be granted to those who deny the possibility of the creature's being eternal, that they are in the right; and it would not be denied to be possible that God and his creature might have always existed together; since it is certain, that the cause includes not in its idea a priority of time, with respect to its effect, and that this is more nicely true as to an almighty cause, which needs only will to produce actually whatever it pleases. Again, they who say that the creatures have not always co-existed with God, must grant that God existed before they did. There was then a *before*, when God existed alone; therefore it is not true that God's duration is an indivisible point; whence it follows, that time preceded the existence of creatures: which consequences drive those who argue in this manner to contradict themselves; for if the duration of God be indivisible, without past or future, time and creatures must have began together;

An answer to the Platonic argument for the world's eternity, as yet denied.

This controversy is set in a clearer light.

<sup>a</sup> ZACHARIAS MITYLENESE, in Biblioth. patrum, Vol. II. p. 331. Ed. Paris, 1644. <sup>b</sup> Vid. Bishop STIL-  
LINGFLEET's Origines Sacre, p. 275, &c. <sup>c</sup> Ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν ἑαυτῷ. PROCL. in Timæum, p. 116. which  
Words Dr. CUDWORTH has translated, somewhat freely, Essential Goodness. Intell. System. p. 253. <sup>d</sup> Dr.  
CLARKE's Demonstr. &c. p. 39. & POIRRET, Cogitationes rationales de Deo anima & mundo, lib. 3. c. 16.  
NUM. 9. p. 439. Ed. 1685. <sup>e</sup> Vid. JOH. PHILOPON. contra Proclum, p. 3. & CUDWORTH, p. 887.

and if so, how can it be said that God existed before the existence of his creatures ?

THE two seemingly insuperable arguments then for the eternity of the world, are drawn from the eternity of God's decree for its creation, and the indivisibility of the real duration of God : which yet have been answered in this manner ; It is supposed, that among the possible beings which God knew before he made the decrees of creation, one was a successive duration, which hath neither beginning nor end, and whose parts are as distinct from one another as those of possible extension, which God likewise knew before his decrees, as infinite according to the three dimensions. He has left in the state of possible things one part of this infinite duration, and has decreed the existence of the other. He chose such moment as he pleased, in this ideal <sup>a</sup> duration, for the first which should exist, and annexed thereto the act by which he decreed the creation of the world : so that the eternity of that act does not prove the eternity of the world ; nor does the indivisibility of God's real duration prove the world had no beginning <sup>b</sup>.

BUT after all, the distinction of the schoolmen between the manner of the duration of God, and that of his creatures, whereon the preceding argumentation is built, though it has been generally received by the best pagan, as well as christian philosophers, and is at least as old as *Parmenides* <sup>c</sup>, has yet been rejected and opposed by many men of great learning and judgment, as inconsistent and unintelligible ; it being very hard to conceive eternity to be an instant, or how that can be together, or at once, which <sup>b</sup> must necessarily be imagined to be co-existent to successions <sup>d</sup>. And whatever force the above-mentioned arguments may be supposed to carry for the eternity of the world, understanding thereby the universe, with its several changes and vicissitudes ; they are far from proving that the disposition of the solar system, much less the form of the earth, has been for ever the same as we now see it : the imagining of which seems to have been the great error of the old Eternalists, and has been strongly opposed by several arguments, as well from reason as human testimony, separate from the evidence of divine revelation, as will be seen hereafter.

*The opinion of those who held the universe to be God.* SOME modern asserters of the world's eternity have gone on very different principles from these ancients, and ventured to affirm the material universe to be self-existent, <sup>c</sup> and the supream Deity itself. This is the doctrine of *Spinoza*, the first, as is supposed, who reduced atheism into a system, by regular deductions, after the method of the mathematicians. But as the fundamental opinion whereon he erected that system was not new, it may be proper, before we speak of him, to say something of those who led him the way, though he has departed from them in some respects.

*The opinion of Xenophanes, and his followers ;* THAT the universe is but one substance, and that God and the world are but one and the same thing, hath been an opinion of some standing, and is supposed to have been first taught by *Xenophanes*, the founder of the sect afterwards called the *Eleatic*. He is said to have held not only the eternity and immutability of the world <sup>e</sup>, but also that whatever existed was one being ; that there was neither any generation nor corruption ; that this one being was immoveable, and remained always the same <sup>f</sup>, and was the true God <sup>g</sup> : which doctrine was not only defended by his successors, *Parmenides*, *Melissus*, and *Zeno of Elea*, but by *Stilpo* and the *Megarian* philosophers also. And to obviate the objection which might be brought against the unchangeable nature of the universe from the continual alterations made therein by new generations and corruptions, they maintained, that whatever changes it seemed to suffer, were no more than illusions of our senses, and mere appearances. Which last retreat they are easily beaten from : for since they cannot deny but there are changes in the world in appearance at least, it even thence follows, that nature is not immutable, but must necessarily be changed in the subject which produces or receives our sensations ; and those sensations, being passions, imply both an efficient cause, and a passive principle, which overthrows at once their pretended unity of all things <sup>h</sup>.

NEVERTHELESS this opinion of *Xenophanes* and his followers, that all things are one, which seems so impious and absurd, has been so explained by several learned men <sup>i</sup>, and themselves defended, as if by the universe or *all*, they meant not the material principle of which all things are composed, but that one simple principle from whence all things had

<sup>a</sup> BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Zabarella, Jaques, Rem. H. See also Epist. Abi Jazfar Ebn Tofail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan Edit. à Pocock. p. 105, 106. and Mr. OCKLEY's English Translation, p. 83. <sup>b</sup> BAYLE, ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> See CUDWORTH, Intell. System, p. 388. <sup>d</sup> GASSEND, Physic. l. 1. Archbishop TILLOTSON, Vol. 7. Sermon. 13. See also Dr. CLARKE's Demonstr. &c. p. 45. and CUDWORTH's Intell. System, p. 644.

<sup>e</sup> PLUTARCH. apud Euseb. de Preparat. Evang. l. 1. cap. 8. & l. 15. cap. 35. <sup>f</sup> ARISTOCLES de Philosoph. apud Eund. l. 14. cap. 17. Vid. etiam ARISTOT. de Xenophane, Zenone, & Gorgia, in initio, & CICER. in Lucullo.

<sup>g</sup> CICER. Quest. Acad. lib. 2. Vid. etiam SEXTUM EMPIRIC. in Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. l. 1. <sup>h</sup> Vid. ARISTOCLES, ubi supra. <sup>i</sup> LESCLOPIER in Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 44. Art de penser, part III. cap. 18. & CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 377. & 383, &c.

their

their original, that is, the true God, whom they expressly affirm to be incorporeal<sup>k</sup>, and therefore could not possibly be in their opinion the material world. But the writings of these philosophers being not without obscurity, some of the ancients, who were less acquainted with metaphysical speculations, understood them physically; as if they had asserted the whole corporeal world to be all but one thing, and that immoveable; thereby destroying, together with the diversity of things, all motion, mutation and action; which was plainly to make them not to have been philosophers, but madmen. *Simplicius*<sup>l</sup>, a man well acquainted with the opinions of ancient philosophers, assures us, that *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides* herein wrote not as naturalists, but as metaphysicians,

- a not concerning a physical element or principle, but concerning the true Being, or the divine transcendence; adding, that though some of those ancient philosophers did not distinguish natural things from supernatural, yet the *Pythagoreans*, and *Xenophanes*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all handle these two distinctly, however by reason of their obscurity it were not perceived by many; for which cause they have been most of them misrepresented, not only by pagans, but also by christians<sup>m</sup>. And in fact, when these *Eleatics* come to treat of natural things, they plainly acknowledge them to be compounded of different principles. *Xenophanes* supposed that the earth consisted of air and fire<sup>n</sup>, and that all things were produced out of the earth, and the sun and stars out of clouds<sup>o</sup>: he also held, that there were four elements<sup>p</sup>. *Parmenides* made a professed distinction between the doctrine concerning theological and metaphysical things, called by him *truth*, and that concerning physical and corporeal things, which he called *opinion*. In the former of which doctrines he asserted one immoveable principle, but in the latter two moveable ones, fire and earth, or heat and cold, the first being the workman, and the other the matter<sup>q</sup>; he taught that the earth was formed of a denser air, which subsided<sup>r</sup>, and that mankind was first produced out of mud<sup>s</sup>. Which notions concerning the origin of things, he seems to have received from *Archelaus* the *Ionic*, whose auditor he is said to have been. And with them *Zeno* also agreed, holding that the nature of all things arose from a mixture of heat and cold, dryness and moisture; and that man was generated of the earth, being equally compounded of the aforesaid principles, so that neither predominated<sup>t</sup>.

- c WHETHER *Strato* of *Lampsacus* held the unity of all things or no, is a doubt; for though he made nature inanimate, and acknowledged no God but nature<sup>u</sup>, yet it is not certain that he taught the universe, or nature, to be one simple being. From his ridiculing the atoms of *Democritus*<sup>v</sup>, it has been thought reasonable to imagine, that he admitted no difference between the parts of the universe; but this is allowed to be no necessary consequence. It may be only concluded, that his opinion approaches infinitely nearer to *Spinozism* than the corpuscular system. There is likewise some room to believe, that he did not teach, as the Atomists did, that the world was a new work, and produced by chance; but, as the *Spinozists* do, that nature produced it necessarily and from all eternity<sup>w</sup>. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that he held that which was natural to follow that which was fortuitous<sup>x</sup>, as if he allowed something to chance, a first motion or impression at least, which was afterwards perfected by nature, or the plastic life supposed by him to be in every part of matter; making the mundane system to depend upon a certain mixture of chance, and plastic or orderly nature, both together<sup>y</sup>. But as his opinion is represented by *Lactantius*<sup>z</sup>, he rejected all chance, which was the great difference between him and the *Epicureans*, and affirmed that nature had in itself a generative and vital power, but had neither sense nor figure; so that all things were, as he imagined, generated of their own accord, without the assistance of any former or author.

- d BUT whatever was the real notion of this greatest of the peripatetic philosophers<sup>aa</sup>, it is certain that *Alexander* the *Epicurean*, who is supposed to have been contemporary with *Plutarch*<sup>ab</sup>, maintained that God is matter, or not distinct from it; that all things are essentially God, and that forms are imaginary accidents, which have no real

Of Strato  
Lampiacenus.

Of Alexander  
the Epicurean,  
and some heretical  
christians.

<sup>k</sup> CUDWORTH, p. 378, 383, &c. <sup>l</sup> SIMPLIC. in Phys. ARISTOT. p. 5, 6, &c. <sup>m</sup> CUDWORTH, p. 383. See BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Xenophanes, Remarq. L. <sup>n</sup> PLUTARCH. apud Euseb. de Prep. Ev. l. 15. cap. 55. <sup>o</sup> Idem, in Strom. apud Eund. l. 1. cap. 8. <sup>p</sup> DIOGEN. LAERT. in Vita Xenoph. p. 558. <sup>q</sup> SIMPLIC. ubi supra, & DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Parmenidis, p. 560. <sup>r</sup> PLUTARCH. apud Euseb. ubi sup. l. 1. cap. 8. <sup>s</sup> DIOG. LAERT. loco citato. CICERO, in Lucullo. SIMPLIC. & THEMIST. in lib. 1. Physic. Arist. <sup>t</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Zenon. p. 566. <sup>u</sup> CICERO, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & Quest. Acad. l. 2. LACTANTIUS, de Ira Dei, cap. 10. <sup>v</sup> CICERO, Quest. Acad. ubi supra. <sup>w</sup> BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. <sup>x</sup> PLUTARCH. Adv. Colotem, p. 115. <sup>y</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH's Intell. System, p. 108. and BAYLE's Dict. loco citato. <sup>z</sup> LACTANTIUS, de Ira Dei, loco citato. <sup>aa</sup> So PLUTARCH calls him in the passage above quoted. <sup>ab</sup> THOMASIVS, Dissertat. xiv. ad Philosph. Stoic. p. 199.



existence: and therefore he held all things to be substantially the same<sup>c</sup>. Some heretical christians have also embraced this extravagant opinion; as one *Amalric* in particular, whose dead body was taken up and burnt the beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>f</sup>, for having in his life-time taught that all things were God, and God was all things, and the essence of all creatures; so that the creator and the creature were the same; and that God was therefore called the end of all things, because all returned into him<sup>g</sup>. Which sentiments of his were followed by his scholar *David of Dinant*, and several others<sup>h</sup>; the learned *Peter Abelard* having also been accused of holding the same opinion<sup>i</sup>.

Of certain sects  
among the Ja-  
panese, and  
Mohamme-  
dans,

NOR has this notion been confined to *Europe* only, it having also made no small <sup>a</sup> progress in the east. A considerable sect among the *Japanese* teach, that there is but one principle of all things; that this principle is simple, clear, luminous, incapable of encrease or diminution, without figure, perfect in the highest degree, wise, but void of reason or understanding, leading a life of perfect inaction, ease, and tranquillity, like a man whose attention is strongly fixed on one thing, regardless of all other. They hold that this principle is in all particular beings, and communicates his essence to them in such a manner, that they are the same thing with him, and are resolved into him when they are destroyed<sup>k</sup>. The sect called by the *Mohammedans al Zenâdika* (the singular of which is *Zendik*) do also maintain, that whatsoever we see, or is in the world, is God<sup>l</sup>. And the famous *Abu Moslem*, by whose conduct and success the *Khalifat* was translated from the family of *Omeya* to that of *Abbâs*, is said to have held the same opinion, and that all things returned at last into one common principle, or God; which opinion, some have supposed to be what the *Arabian* authors call the *Metempsychosis* of resolution<sup>m</sup>, and differs little, if any thing, from that of a later sect, who sprang up among the *Mohammedans* about 300 years ago, and call themselves *Ahl al tahkik*, or people of certainty: they believe that there is no other God than the four elements, which together with the world, and all its changes and vicissitudes, they assert to be eternal; and that mankind, as well as other beings, are a compound of those elements, of which they are formed, and into which they return and are dissipated. Of this sect there are great numbers in the province of *Lar* in *Persia*<sup>n</sup>. <sup>b</sup>

The dogm of the  
soul of the  
world.

THE dogm of the soul of the world, which is not only common at this time in the east, but was so among the ancients, and made the chief part of the *Stoic* system, is at the bottom the same with that of *Spinoza*<sup>o</sup>: but as he differed from the *Stoics* not only in contracting God's knowledge, which they allowed to be universal, and in denying his providence; but also in asserting the present disposition of the world to have been necessary and eternal, and consequently subject to no decay, contrary to their express doctrine, it will be more proper to consider that opinion under the next head. We shall only observe here, that some heterodox *Stoics*, as *Boëthius* in particular, did not only deny the world to be an animal, or intelligent being<sup>p</sup>, substituting in the room of its mind or soul a plastic nature; but also asserted the world's eternity <sup>d</sup> and incorruptibility, or one constant and invariable course or tenor of things<sup>q</sup>. The elder *Pliny* seems also to have been of this opinion; for he declares, that the world, and that which by another name is called heaven, by whose circular motion all things are governed, ought to be believed to be an eternal and immense deity, such as was neither made, nor shall ever be destroyed<sup>r</sup>.

The opinion of  
Spinoza,

SPINOZA taught that there is no difference of substances, but that the whole and every part of the material world is a necessarily existent being, and consequently infinite<sup>s</sup>; that there is no other God but the universe<sup>t</sup>, and that extension is one of his attributes<sup>u</sup>: that since it is absolutely impossible for any thing to be created or produced by another, and also absolutely impossible for God to have caused any thing to be in any respect different from what it now is<sup>v</sup>; every thing that exists must needs be so a part of the divine substance, not as a modification caused in it by any will, or good pleasure, or wisdom in the whole (for he expressly denies God to act by any freedom <sup>e</sup>

<sup>c</sup> ALBERTUS MAGNUS, in 1 Physic. Tract. 3. c. 13. <sup>f</sup> V. PRATEOLUM, in Elencho Hæres. Voce Amalricus, p. 23. He adds, that, according to some authors, this heretic and his adherents were burnt alive.

<sup>g</sup> THOMASUS, loco citato, ex GERSON. Tractat. de Concordia Metaphys. cum Logic. <sup>h</sup> See the authors just cited, and BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. <sup>i</sup> BAYLE, ibid. <sup>k</sup> POSSEVIN. Biblioth. Select.

Tom. I. lib. x. cap. 11. p. 411, &c. See also BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Japon, Rem. D. <sup>l</sup> Viaggi di

PIETRO DELLA VALLE, Tom. III. p. 394. <sup>m</sup> *ابن زيدون* BEN AL AMID, in vita Khalifæ al Mansûr.

See a more precise account of this opinion in Mr. Sale's preliminary discourse to his translation of the Korân, p. 176, and 181. <sup>n</sup> DELLA VALLE, Tom. III. p. 392. <sup>o</sup> V. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A.

<sup>p</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Zenonis Cit. p. 455. <sup>q</sup> PHILO JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 947. Posidonius and Panætius also maintained the world to be eternal. Ibid. <sup>r</sup> PLIN. Nat. Hist. lib. 2. c. 5.

<sup>s</sup> SPINOZA, in Ethic. Part I. Prop. 6, 7, and 8. <sup>t</sup> Ibid. Prop. 14. <sup>u</sup> Ibid. in Schol. ad Prop. 15, & Part II. Prop. 2. <sup>v</sup> Ibid. Part I. Prop. 6, & 33.

of will, or for the sake of final causes<sup>7</sup>) but as of absolute necessity in itself, with respect to the manner of the existence of each part; no less than with respect to the self-existence of the whole. So that the opinion of *Spinoza* evidently comes to this; that the universe or material world is God, or the self-existent being; and that all particular beings, corporeal extension, the sun, moon, plants, animals; men, their motions, ideas, imaginations and appetites, are all necessary modifications of him<sup>8</sup>.

THIS monstrous system, tho' it has met with some patrons, has yet been sufficiently *Confuted* exposed and confuted by even the weakest of its adversaries<sup>9</sup>, and indeed carries its antidote along with it. For *Spinoza*, to avoid the abovementioned insuperable objection made to the *Eleatics*, who held the universe to be immutable, falls into a worse extremity, and attributes a continual change and corruption to the divine nature, in respect of its various modifications: which doctrine shocks common sense, it being horrible to suppose the Deity both the cause and subject of all the moral and physical evils which are so frequent in the world; and what can be more absurd, than to imagine matter, the vilest of all things, the theatre of all changes, and the field of battle of contrary causes, to be that supreme, perfect being, *with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning*<sup>10</sup>? The very foundations of this hypothesis are in a moment overturned, if we admit either a vacuum, or the divisibility of matter, the one destroying the infinity, and the other the unity of God<sup>11</sup>; and therefore the *Spinozists* constantly deny both, ridiculously pretending that there can be no division of matter, unless one part be separated from the other by empty space. It seems also impossible, according to this system, that the Deity can be an intelligent being: for perception and intelligence being really a distinct quality or perfection, and not a mere effect or composition of unintelligent figure and motion, as has been well proved<sup>12</sup>; it follows, that God could not possibly be possessed even of that imperfect understanding allowed him by *Spinoza*, which however being wholly separate from any power of will or choice, is, in any respect of any excellency, or indeed to any common sense, the very same thing as no understanding at all<sup>13</sup>. Mr. *Hobbes*, who also held that there was no substance distinct from matter, being pressed in his own mind with the difficulty arising from the impossibility of sense or consciousness being merely the effect of figure and motion, is forced to recur to that prodigiously absurd supposition of the ancient *Hylozoics*, that all matter, as matter, is indued not only with figure and a capacity of motion, but also with an actual sense or perception; and wants only the organs and memory of animals to express its sensation<sup>14</sup>.

THE second opinion, that the substance of the universe is eternal, tho' the form be not, was generally embraced by the ancients, who from that established axiom, *That nothing can be produced from nothing*<sup>15</sup>, concluded the creation of matter to be an absolute impossibility; but at the same time thought they had good reason to believe the world had not always been in its present state and disposition. They who held this opinion may be divided into two classes. The first endeavoured to account for the generation of the world, or its reduction into the present form, from mechanical principles only, and the activity of matter, without having recourse to the assistance of any divine power; the other introduced an intelligent mind, as the architect and disposer of all things. But before we produce their several systems and notions, it may be proper to examine the principles they proceed upon more nearly.

THERE is no doubt but that the creation of matter, on due weighing the arguments for and against it, will appear to be so far from impossible<sup>16</sup>, that it must necessarily be admitted<sup>17</sup>. For if it be absurd to imagine matter to be the only substance, as has been sufficiently shewn, it is much more so to suppose two or more eternal beings; which yet was not by the ancients thought to be contradictory. But this impious position, that God is not the creator of matter, being once laid down for truth, those philosophers who made God the former, preserver, and director of the world, notwithstanding their seeming orthodoxy, argued much more inconsistently than those who denied him to have any concern with it. For if matter was an eternal uncreated being, and distinct from God, it owed its existence to its own nature only, depending on no other cause, either in respect of its essence or its properties. And it is contrary to all rules of reason, that another being should exercise so great a power over matter as entirely to change it, and form a world out of that which had been self-

*The opinion of those who held the matter of the world to be eternal, but not the form.*

*The absurdity of supposing matter to be uncreated.*

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. Prop. 32. Coroll. 1.    <sup>8</sup> Ibid. in Append. ad Prop. 36.    <sup>9</sup> See Dr. CLARKE's Demonstr. &c. p. 28, Sec. & BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Spinoza, Rem. DD.    <sup>10</sup> Vid. BAYLE, ibid. Rem. M. & P. <sup>11</sup> Jam. i. 17. See BAYLE, Dict. Hist. ubi sup. Rem. N.    <sup>12</sup> Tho' Spinoza allows God to be one, yet he asserts that God cannot be said to be one, or a simple Being, in Propriety of Speech. Opera Posthuma, Ep. 50. p. 557.    <sup>13</sup> Dr. CLARKE's Demonstr. &c. p. 61, &c.    <sup>14</sup> Ibid. 55.    <sup>15</sup> HOBBS Physic. cap. 25. Sect. 9. See Dr. CLARKE, ubi supra, p. 63.    <sup>16</sup> Ex nihilo nihil.    <sup>17</sup> See before, p. 2.    <sup>18</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. G. p. 272. & Art. Hierocles Philosophus, Rem. A.

existent from all eternity without being a world. If God's right to act in this manner be founded on his superior power, the same title would authorize all usurpations, and confound all notions of right and wrong. If it be said, that God dealt thus arbitrarily with matter out of a principle of goodness, on a supposition of its insensibility and precedent imperfection; the answer which has been given is, that such a work would not be so much an instance of God's goodness, as an effect of superfluous diligence, in endeavouring to put in order what he had not created, as if any order or perfection could be wanting in a being which had eternally subsisted of itself; for all accessions to such a being must be foreign to its nature, and consequently a defect. God therefore must in such a case have begun his work by an ill action, in going about to a de-  
 vest of its natural state a substance uncreated as well as himself, and his own sister <sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, they who attribute the formation of the universe to mere matter and motion, without the intervention of a Deity, tho' they avoid the abovementioned absurdities, yet fall into other difficulties as inextricable, by supposing the eternal motion of matter; which they are obliged to do, if they will not contradict their own maxim, and admit motion at least to be produced out of nothing. But if motion be eternal, it was either eternally caused by some eternal intelligent being, which would again introduce the Deity whom they had excluded: or it must be of itself necessary and self-existent; whence it would follow, that it must be a contradiction in terms to suppose any matter to be at rest, or to suppose that there might possibly have been originally more or less motion in the universe than there actually was; both which are consequences too absurd and ridiculous for any to admit: or else, without any necessity in its own nature, and without any external necessary cause, it must have existed from eternity by an endless successive communication; which is also a plain contradiction: for an infinite succession of merely dependent beings, without any original cause, is a series of beings, which has neither necessity nor cause, nor any reason at all of its existence, neither within itself, nor from without; that is, 'tis an express impossibility. A late author <sup>2</sup> indeed has ventured to assert, and pretended to prove, that motion, that is the *conatus*, or endeavour to move, is essential to all matter: but how philosophically, may appear from this one consideration. The *conatus* to motion in any one particle of matter, must be either a *conatus* to move some one determinate way at once, or to move every way at once: a *conatus* to move some one determinate way, cannot be essential to any particle of matter, but must arise from some external cause; because there is nothing in the pretended necessary nature of any particle to determine its motion necessarily and essentially one way rather than another: and a *conatus* equally to move every way at once, is either an absolute contradiction, or at least can produce nothing in matter but an eternal rest of all and every one of its parts <sup>3</sup>.

Objections to the state of matter before the formation of the world, according to this opinion.

THE state wherein these philosophers conceived matter to have eternally been before the formation of the world, is also liable to several objections. They generally supposed the original of the earth to have been from a chaos, or dark, confused, fluid mass, without distinction of elements, and made up of all variety of parts <sup>4</sup>, but without order, or any determinate form. To this chaos they attributed a certain motion, arising from the action and reaction of the first four qualities, and the different tending of the particles of earth and water downwards, and the air and fire upwards. This motion they absurdly enough imagined to have been irregular and disorderly <sup>5</sup>, till it was stopped, or changed into a regular and natural motion, either by chance, or divine power. But *Aristotle* has long ago observed, that the supposition of such an irregular motion destroys itself; for it is impossible that what is infinite and eternal should be moved in a disorderly manner, but must necessarily have a regular and natural motion; whence it follows that the production of the world would rather have been an overturning, than introducing the true natural state: for which reason he says *Anaxagoras* seemed to have been in the right, when he began his formation of the world from matter entirely at rest <sup>6</sup>. So that if we admit the motion of the chaotic particles to have been natural, and according to their several qualities and properties, the very possibility of matter's having continued in that state from eternity is destroyed, because we then introduce a principle, which will necessarily separate the

<sup>1</sup> Hierocles, apud Photium in Biblioth. Cod. eccl. p. 1380. See BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Epicure, Rem. S. & Art. Hierocles, ubi supra. <sup>2</sup> Mr. TOLAND, Lett. 3. <sup>3</sup> See Dr. CLARKE's Demonstr.

p. 66, 14, and 25. <sup>4</sup> Mr. BAYLE supposes Ovid took the chaos to have been entirely homogeneous, because in his fine description of it, in the first book of his *Metamorphosis*, he says, that there was then but one face of nature in the world: which is inconsistent with what he presently adds of the disagreeing principles of which the chaos consisted. But that expression may rather be understood of the uniformity of the whole, as being equally, in every part, a promiscuous compound of all the elements. Vid. Dict. Hist. Art. Ovide, Rem. G. <sup>5</sup> PLATO in *Timæo*, apud ARISTOT. de Cælo, lib. III. cap. 2. p. 370. OVID. *Metam.* l. 1. <sup>6</sup> ARISTOT. de Cælo, loco citato.

several kinds of bodies one from the other, and that in a certain limited space of time. This principle also renders the assistance of a Deity unnecessary; for if the chaos be acknowledged to have in itself all the internal power that is requisite for the separation of its parts, and the placing of every element in its proper situation, there can be no occasion for the intervention of any external cause.

To reason well therefore concerning the production of the world, we must consider God as the author of matter, and as the first and sole principle of motion. If we cannot raise our minds so high as to conceive a creation properly so called, which way ever we turn we shall find ourselves driven to assertions and suppositions directly contrary to reason, and be involved in an endless labyrinth of absurdities and contradictions.

But however they who held this opinion were mistaken in accounting for the origin of the world, they had great reason to assert that it had a beginning, and was once formed out of a confused chaos. For though the precise time of this formation could not have been exactly known, without revelation; yet even at this day, there are remaining many considerable and very strong rational proofs, which make it exceeding probable, that this present frame and constitution of the earth, at least, has been of no very ancient date. The changes which must necessarily fall out naturally in the earth in a vast length of time, by petrification, the sinking and washing down of mountains, the daily encroaching of the land upon the sea, the consumption of water by plants, and innumerable other accidents; the universal tradition of the most ancient nations, both learned and barbarous; the number of men with which the earth is at present inhabited; the late original and invention of all useful arts and sciences; the shortness of the history of the world, which reaches up but to a very few ages; the manifest absurdities and contradictions of those few accounts which pretend to a greater antiquity; the impossibility that universal deluges, or other accidents, should at certain long periods have oftentimes destroyed far the greatest part of mankind, with the memory of all former actions and inventions, and yet never have happened to destroy them all; these and many more arguments drawn from nature, reason, and observation, make it exceeding probable that the formation of the earth was novel, and of no great antiquity. And it is not to be doubted, but that the doctrine of those ancient poets and philosophers, who taught that the world had a beginning, was founded on still more ancient traditions, which were so many authorities to them, as their testimonies are at this day to us.

*These philosophers right in supposing the world had a beginning.*

HAVING observed thus much, it is time to take a view of the different hypotheses, which may be ranged under this head; and we shall begin with those who excluding all divine interposition, accounted for the formation of the universe from the properties and action of matter only.

AND with this doctrine the most ancient profane accounts we have now remaining of the original of the world, viz. the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Babylonian, have been charged; but whether justly or no, must be left to the judgment of the reader, after we shall have laid before him, first the accounts themselves, and then the observations which have been made on them.

THE first of them is that of the Phœnicians, which has been transmitted to us by Sanchoniatho, one of their own writers, and was originally taken, as he assures us, from the cosmogony of Taautus, who was the same with the Egyptian Thoth, or Hermes. He wrote, that the first principle of the universe was a dark and spiritual (or windy) air, or a spirit of dark air, and a turbid obscure chaos; and that these things were infinite, and for many ages had no bounds. But when the spirit was affected with love towards its own principles, and a mixture followed, that conjunction was called *desire*. This was the beginning of the formation of all things: but the spirit did not know (or acknowledge) its own production. From this conjunction of the spirit was begotten *Môt*, which some call mud, others a corruption of a watry mixture; and of this came the seed of all creatures, and the generation of the universe. That there were certain animals which had no sense, from which proceeded

*The Phœnician cosmogony.*

\* See BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Ovide, Rem. G. \* See Dr. NICHOLLS's Conf. with a Theist, Vol. I. Part I. p. 26, &c. Dr. BURNET's Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 49. Dr. CLARKE's Discourse concerning the evidences of natural and revealed Religion, p. 252. SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. i. c. 10. Môt. BOCHART derives this Word from the Arabic *Maiah*, which signifies, as he says, the first Matter of Things. But as SANCHONIATHO makes the Chaos, and not Môt, to be the first material Principle, Bishop CUMBERLAND thinks it may better be accounted for from another Arabic Word, which needs no such Changes as he is forced to presume: and that is *Matha*, which signifies to steep, or macerate in Water; *Math*, the Noun, denotes such a Communion, or Solution, as is thereby made; a Mixture, as Physicians speak. CUMBERLAND, Remarks on the Cosmogony of Sanchon. p. 4. By what is afterwards said of Môt's shining forth with the Sun, Moon, and Stars, it seems THOTH considered the Earth as a Planet. Vid. ib. p. 18.

intelligent animals called *Zophasemin*<sup>a</sup>, that is, the contemplators of heaven, being formed alike in the shape of an egg: immediately *Môl*, with the sun, moon, stars, and larger constellations, shone forth. That the air being intensely enlightened by the violent degree of heat communicated to the sea and earth, winds were generated, and clouds, and great descents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when they were separated, and drawn from their proper place by the heat of the sun, and then met all again in the air, and dashed the one against the other, thunders and lightnings were engendered; and at the noise of the thunders the before-mentioned intelligent animals awoke, and were terrified with the sound, and male and female moved in the earth and in the sea <sup>2</sup>.

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thereon.

EUSEBIUS of *Cæsarea*, to whom we are obliged for preserving this fragment, observes, that this cosmogony of the *Phœnicians* directly brings in atheism<sup>a</sup>, *Sanchoniatho* having therein delivered no divinity or theology concerning the supreme God, nor concerning the inhabitants of heaven<sup>a</sup>, or angels. Which animadversion has been approved and pursued by a late very learned man<sup>b</sup>, who, with great reason, looked on this account of the origin of things as a professed apology for the idolatrous worship paid to dead men, and the several parts of the universe; *Thoyth* having led his transcriber into the foulest sink of heathenism, which is neglect of the sovereign and only true God, in the making, and consequently of the governing of the world; and endeavoured to establish the vain and foolish religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who worshipped the creature more than the creator<sup>c</sup>, by pretending to give a generation of the world without any help from God, and supposing that the heathen deities, the *Zophasemin*, which were the planets and fixed stars, passed gradually from the life of plants, which have no sense (and yet some of them were worshipped) through the state of sensible animals, which were more solemnly served, till at length they came to be perfect intelligences<sup>d</sup>, and so worthy to challenge the highest worship which they gave to them, in which their state-religion rested. <sup>b</sup>

ON the other hand it has been remarked, that it is well known *Eusebius* took all advantages possible to represent the pagans to the worst, and render their theology ridiculous and absurd<sup>e</sup>; and that if the best interpretation be put on the words of *Sanchoniatho*, it is not improbable that the *Phœnicians* supposed two principles, of which one was a turbid dark chaos, and the other a spirit<sup>f</sup>, or an understanding prolific goodness, forming and hatching the corporeal world into perfection<sup>g</sup>, the eternity of which spirit seems also to be asserted, by what follows, that it knew not its own generation, that is, had no original at all. But this *Phœnician* cosmogony being confessedly taken from that of *Thoyth*, and consequently agreeing in substance with the *Egyptian*, which is therefore under the same imputation of atheism, judgment may be suspended till that be considered also. <sup>c</sup>

The Egyptian  
cosmogony.

THE account of the origin of the universe, given us by *Diodorus Siculus*, is generally supposed to be the cosmogony of the *Egyptians*<sup>h</sup>, though *Diodorus* himself does not say so much; and is as follows: When the universe first coalesced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but afterwards, as bodies separated, the world took on it the entire disposition wherein we now behold it, and the air began to have a constant motion; upon which its fiery parts flew to the upper regions, being naturally carried upwards by their own levity; and hence proceeded the rapid circular motion of the sun and other stars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid, subsided in one place by its own weight, and being agitated with continual internal volutations, of the watry parts the sea became formed, and of the more solid the earth, which was slimy and very soft at first, but stiffening by the rays of the sun, the surface began to ferment, by reason of the heat; and some of the humid parts swelled, and rose by degrees into putrid pustules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter being thus fecundated by the genial heat, by night received nutriment from the mist falling from the ambient air, and by day grew more and more solid by the sun's warmth, <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ZOPHASEMIN. *דְּוִשְׁמִין* *Sophe Shamaim* in Hebrew, or Phœnician, signifies the Spies or Observers of Heaven. These Animals were not the Angels, as BOCHART imagines, but the Celestial Bodies, which SANCHON. supposes to be intelligent, and therefore were adored as Gods. Vid. ib. p. 21. <sup>b</sup> SANCHON. apud Euseb. ubi supra. <sup>c</sup> EUSEB. ibid. p. 33. <sup>d</sup> Idem, l. 1. cap. 9. p. 31. <sup>e</sup> Bishop CUMBERLAND, in his Remarks on the Cosmogony of Sanchoniatho. <sup>f</sup> Vid. Rom. i. 19, &c. <sup>g</sup> Noëp. <sup>h</sup> CUDWORTH'S Intellectual System, p. 319. <sup>i</sup> *Πνεύμα*; which Bishop CUMBERLAND translates Wind. <sup>j</sup> CUDWORTH, p. 21. <sup>k</sup> EUSEBIUS seems to be of the same Opinion, though he entitles the Chapter wherein he transcribes this Passage from Diodorus (being the 7th of his 1st Book de Præp. Ev.) *Of the Cosmogony according to the Greeks*, in regard of their Agreement in general with it, the Grecian Philosophers having, as is notorious, received their Physiology from the Egyptians.

till



till at length the inclosed brood being arrived at perfect maturity, and the membranes burnt up and burst, all kinds of creatures were produced. Of which those which had obtained the greater degree of heat, became volatiles, and flew upwards; those in which the earthy concretion prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles, and other terrestrial animals; and the creatures which chiefly consisted of a watry nature, repaired to a congenial element, and were called fish. At length the earth continually hardening more and more by the heat of the sun, and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their several species by generation. And to obviate any objection against the possibility of the earth's producing living creatures, our author instances in the vast number of mice, which are said to be bred in the upper *Egypt* out of the putrified mud, after the overflowing of the *Nile*.

• THIS cosmogony, as has been observed<sup>k</sup>, agrees in substance with the former, but is more large (as later commentaries use to be) in particulars, and nice attempts to a mechanic explication of the generation of the world without any help from God<sup>l</sup>: which content is an argument that they took their notions from the same fountain, *Thoyto*. And *Eusebius* makes the same animadversion on this latter, as he does on the former; that the name of God is not so much as mentioned therein, but a kind of fortuitous and spontaneous formation of the universe introduced<sup>m</sup>. To confirm which judgment he in another place recites a passage of *Porphyrus*, who in his epistle to *Anebo* an *Egyptian* priest, writes, that *Charemon* and others thought there was nothing prior to the visible worlds, and began their discourses with the *Egyptian* gods, which were no other than the planets and stars which fill the zodiac, or those which rise with them; forasmuch as they who made the sun the Demiurgus, or architect of the world, interpreted their stories of *Isis* and *Osiris*, and the rest of their sacred fables, altogether into the stars and planets, and the river *Nile*; and explained all things universally into natural or inanimate, and nothing into incorporeal and living substances. From whence *Eusebius* infers, that even the secret theology of the *Egyptians* desired no other than the stars and planets, and acknowledged no incorporeal principle of the universe, nor any demiurgic reason, God or gods, or intelligent and invisible powers, but the visible sun only, referring the production of all things to the material, senseless, and perishable elements<sup>n</sup>. Herewith agrees also that concise account of the *Egyptian* philosophy given us by *Diogenes Laertius*<sup>o</sup> from *Manetho* and *Hecataeus*; that matter was the first principle, out of which the four elements were afterwards separated, and all kinds of animals perfectly formed; and that the sun and moon were their gods, the one being called *Osiris*, and the other *Isis*.

FROM this imputation of acknowledging no Deity besides stupid matter, the *Egyptians* have been strenuously defended by a very able man<sup>p</sup>, who thinks what *Eusebius* urges against them to be of the less weight, because he plainly contradicts it elsewhere, by declaring that that nation professed the belief of a demiurgic reason and intellectual architect of the world, whom, he tells us, from the same *Porphyrus*, they called *Cneph*, and symbolically represented in the shape of a man of a dark blue complexion, holding a girdle and a sceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thrusting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named *Phtha*, and the *Greeks* *Vulcan*. The reason of which hieroglyphic is thus given: because this intellectual being is difficult to be found out, hidden and invisible, and because he is the giver of life, and king of all things, and because he is moved in an intellectual or spiritual manner, which is signified by the feathers on his head. The egg which proceeds from the mouth of this god, is interpreted to be the world<sup>q</sup>. The first most divine Being was also sometimes described as a serpent with a hawk's head, beautiful to look on; who if he opens his eyes, fills the universe with light in his first born region; but if he winks, darkness is made<sup>r</sup>. And as for that passage in *Porphyrus's* epistle concerning *Charemon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo*, as desiring further information from him concerning them, *Iamblichus* has given an answer to it, under the person of *Abammo*, another *Egyptian* priest, who says, that *Charemon*, and those others who pretend to write of the first causes of the world, declare only the last, and lowest principles, as likewise those who treat of the planets, zodiac, and other astronomical matters: for the *Egyptians* did not resolve all things into nature, but distinguished both the life of the

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<sup>l</sup> Dion. Sic. lib. 1. p. 7, 8. The account of the cosmogony given in a spurious book, attributed to *Hermes*, entitled *Divine Sermons*, is purposely omitted, as of no authority or credit. <sup>k</sup> Vid. GROTIUM de veritate Rel. Christ. l. 1. sect. 16. in notis. <sup>m</sup> CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 9. <sup>n</sup> EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. 1. c. 7. p. 21. <sup>o</sup> Idem, ibid. l. 3. c. 4. <sup>p</sup> In Proemio, p. 8. <sup>q</sup> Dr. CUDWORTH, in his Intel. System, p. 317, &c. <sup>r</sup> EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. 3. c. 11. p. 115. <sup>s</sup> Idem. ibid. l. 3. cap. 10. p. 41.

soul, and the intellectual life, from that of nature, not in the universe only, but in man also; acknowledging an intellectual mind and reason first to have existed of themselves, and so this whole world to have been made<sup>1</sup>. From which testimony of *Iamblichus*, who was but little junior to *Porphyry*, and contemporary with *Eusebius*, and who had made it his business to inform himself thoroughly of the *Egyptian* theology, it plainly appears that the *Egyptians* did not generally suppose (as *Chærenon* pretended concerning some of them) a senseless inanimate nature to be the first original of all things, but that as well in the world, as in ourselves, they acknowledged soul superior to nature, and mind or intellect superior to soul, this being the maker of the world<sup>2</sup>. And many passages to the same purpose might be produced from the same writer, and from the *Hermaic* books now extant, among which tho' much is forged and spurious, yet it seems very probable, that they contain some remains and tincture of the old *Egyptian* and *Hermetic* doctrine. But we cannot omit observing, that it was thought to be so notorious and confessed a thing, that the *Egyptians* held the world not only to have had a beginning, but also to have been made by God; that *Simplicius*, a zealous contender for the world's eternity, affirms the *Mosaic* history of the creation of the world by God, to have been nothing else but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from *Egyptian* fables<sup>3</sup>.

BUT these different authorities may be perhaps reconciled, by distinguishing between the religion of the *Lower Egypt*, whose inhabitants were gross idolaters, and that of *Thebais*, where the worship of *Cnepb*, the immortal and supreme God, so much prevailed, that they were not taxed towards the charge of maintaining the sacred animals worshipped by the others<sup>4</sup>.

BEFORE we dismiss the *Egyptians*, it may not be amiss to observe, that their priests also taught, that the earth had certain periods or revolutions, being destroyed alternately by water and fire, and renewed again<sup>5</sup>.

The Babylonian cosmogony.

As to the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, *Diodorus* says, they held the nature of the world to be eternal, and that it had neither any original generation, nor is subject to any future corruption; yet that the order and beautiful disposition of all things were caused by a divine providence, and that whatever are now in the heavens were not casual, or spontaneous, but perfected by the determinate and established decree of the gods<sup>6</sup>. But *Berosus*, who ought to challenge the greater authority, both in respect to his antiquity and his being himself of that nation, has left us the following account of their cosmogony, taken from what *Oannes* (of whom more hereafter) wrote concerning the origin of things. There was, says he, a time when the universe was darkness and water, wherein frightful animals of compounded forms were generated. That some men were born with two wings, others with four, and two faces: some having but one body and two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, and double privities, of the male and of the female. That of other men, some had the legs and horns of goats, some horses feet, others the hinder parts of horses and the fore parts of men, being in the form of *Hippocentaurs*. That bulls were generated having the heads of men; and dogs with four bodies, having in their hinder parts the tails of fish; and horses with dogs heads: that there were also men and other animals, which had the heads and bodies of horses, but the tails of fishes; and other living creatures having the shapes of all kinds of beasts. Besides these, there were also generated fishes, and creeping things, and serpents, and many other animals very wonderful, and having the mixed shapes of one another; whose pictures are also kept in the temple of *Belus*. The governess of all these was a woman named *Omorôca*<sup>7</sup>, which in the *Chaldee* tongue is *Thalath*<sup>8</sup>, but in *Greek* signifies the sea, and with equal propriety the moon. This being the constitution of the universe, *Belus* came and divided the woman in the midst, and the one half of her made the earth, and the other half the heaven, and the animals which were in her perished. But he says, that these things are delivered concerning the nature of the world in an allegorical manner. For the world being humid, and animals generated therein, the aforesaid god took away the woman's head, and the other gods mixed her body which fell down with the earth, and formed men, for which

<sup>1</sup> IAMBlichus apud CUDWORTH, Intell. System, p. 318, &c.    <sup>2</sup> CUDWORTH, ibid.    <sup>3</sup> SIMPLIC. in Aristot. Phys. l. 8. p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> PLUT. de Iside & Osirid. p. 359. See also CUMBERL. on the Cosmog. of Sanchon. p. 11, &c.    <sup>5</sup> PLATO, in TIM. ORIGEN. contra Celsum, l. 5.    <sup>6</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. 2. p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> In Scaliger's edition *Omerca*. Our author having translated this name into Chaldee, it must be derived from some other language; but as he does not tell us what that language is, we shall not offer at an etymology of it.

<sup>8</sup> This word is so near in sound to the *Greek* word *Thalassa*, the sea, that one would suspect it to be forged, at least much corrupted. Perhaps it may have been written for the Chaldee or Syriac *ܬܠܬܬܐ* *Thalitha*, which signifies moisture, or humectation, and answers to the explication afterwards given. The sea and the moon were reckoned the two sources of moisture.

reason they are intelligent, and partake of divine wisdom. That *Belus*, whom they interpret *Jupiter*, cutting the darkness in the milt, divided the earth and the heaven from each other, and reduced the world into order; whereupon the animals, not bearing the force of the light, became extinct. But *Belus* seeing the country desert, tho' fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and to mix the earth with the blood which issued thence, and to form men and beasts that could endure the air: and that *Belus* perfected the stars, and the sun, and the moon, and the five planets<sup>e</sup>.

FROM this passage we learn, that the old *Babylonians* expressly attributed the orderly disposition of the world, the perfecting the heavenly bodies, and the formation of men and animals to their supreme god, *Bel*; tho' they seem to have held the pre-existence of matter. It must therefore be some theology of the later *Babylonians*, which could with justice be charged, as it has been, with passing over in silence the one principle of the universe<sup>d</sup>; wherein they must have departed from the tradition of their ancestors, the ancient *Chaldeans*, who were celebrated for their acknowledging one sovereign deity, or maker of the world, as appears from that oracle of *Apollo* cited by *Eusebius*<sup>e</sup> from *Porphry*, where the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* are alone declared to be possessed of the true wisdom, as worshipping God, the self-begotten king, in a holy manner.

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thereon.

WE have indeed another account of the cosmogony in the *Chaldaic* or *Magic* oracles of *Zoroastres*; but they have so little pretence to genuineness or antiquity, are so confused a medley of ill-digested notions taken chiefly from the *Platonics* and *Gnostics*, very unsatisfactory as to the origin of the universe, and talk so much of unknown matter, the orders of invisible things, mystical numbers, *inyges*<sup>f</sup>, and other unintelligible jargon, that we might be excused taking any notice of them; but as a very learned man has thought it worth his while to extract the substance of what is most intelligible in them<sup>g</sup>, we shall subjoin it in his own words: The *Chaldeans*, says he, believe that the first of all things is eternal, the supreme God. That God, who is an intellectual light, or fire, did not shut up his fire within his intellectual power, but communicated it to all creatures: first, and immediately, to the first Mind, and to all other eternal and incorporeal beings, under which notion are comprehended a multitude of gods, angels, good dæmons, and the souls of men. The next emanation is the supramundane light, an incorporeal, infinite, luminous space, in which the intellectual beings reside. The supramundane light kindles the first corporeal world, the empyreum or fiery heaven, which being immediately beneath the incorporeal light, is the highest, brightest, and rarest of bodies. The empyreum diffuses itself thro' the æther, which is the next body below it, and its fire less refined than the empyreum: but that it is fire, the more condensed parts thereof, the sun and stars, sufficiently evince. From the æther, this fire is transmitted to the material and sublunary world; for tho' the matter whereof it consists be not light, but darkness, (as are also the material or bad dæmons) yet this vivificative fire actuates and gives life to all its parts, insinuating, diffusing itself, and penetrating even to the very center, passing from above to the opposite part, thro' the center of the earth.

The account of  
the cosmogony  
in the Chaldaic  
oracles.

THE old pagan poets, who greatly contributed to the depravation of theology in general, have more particularly countenanced this opinion of the world's being produced from a chaos, without the influence of God. For tho' they make *love* to preside, as it were, at the ranging of the confused matter, by which some would have us understand the Deity, or the active principle of the universe distinct from matter<sup>h</sup>, yet it is most probable they thereby meant no more than the agreement, or harmony, which ensued on the cessation of that intestine war of the elements: their *love* having his original from the chaos as well as all the rest of their gods, which were really no other than the heavenly bodies, elements, and other parts of nature, personated and deified. For which reason the cosmogony of the poets was the same with their theology or generation of the gods<sup>i</sup>.

The opinion of  
the ancient pa-  
gan poets.

ORPHEUS, who was the great introducer of the rites of the heathen worship among the *Greeks*, being charged with having invented the very names of the gods, and declaring their generations, and their several actions, wherein he was for the most part followed by *Homer*<sup>k</sup>, is yet said to have been perfectly silent in his theology, as to

And of Or-  
pheus in par-  
ticular.

<sup>a</sup> ALEXANDER POLYHIST. ex Beroso, apud SYNCHELL. Chronogr. p. 29, & EUSEB. Chronic. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 6. <sup>d</sup> DAMASCIUS in fragment. MS. *οὐκ ἀρχὴν*. apud CUMBERL. Review of the Cosmog. of Sanchon, p. 280. <sup>e</sup> EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. i. 9. cap. 10. <sup>f</sup> See BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 21, 22.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. STANLEY, in his Hist. of the Chald. Philos. Book I. Sect. 1. c. 2. p. 8. <sup>h</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH. Intell. System, p. 212. <sup>i</sup> Vid. eund. p. 334, &c. <sup>k</sup> ATMENAGOR. & JUSTIN. MARTYR, apud eundem, p. 298.

any thing intellectual, as unspeakable and unknown; and to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, having the heads both of a bull and a lion, and in the midst, the face of a god, with golden wings on his shoulders<sup>1</sup>. But notwithstanding the extravagancy of *Orpheus's* fancy, the generality of the *Greek* pagans, looking on the man not as a mere poet, but a holy and profound philosopher, supposed all his fables of the gods to be deep mysteries and allegories, which had some hidden and secret sense under them, and therefore had a high veneration for him, as one divinely inspired; inasmuch, that *Celsus* would have had the *Christians* rather take *Orpheus* for a god than *CHRIST*, as being a man unquestionably endued with a holy spirit, and one who also died a violent death<sup>m</sup>. And tho' he were the great propagator of polytheism, yet it has been thought that he acknowledged one supreme unmade Deity, as the original of all things, not only from the great esteem he was in with those two most religious philosophic sects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, he being commonly called by them the *Theologer*, but also because they were supposed, in great measure, to have owed their theology and philosophy to him, as deriving the same from his principles and traditions<sup>n</sup>.

THIS favourable opinion of *Orpheus* will yet be better founded, if we allow the epitome of the *Orphic* cosmogony, made long ago by *Timotheus* the chronographer, to contain the true doctrine of that poet: for he writes, that *Orpheus* gave an account of the generation of the gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, professing that he delivered nothing from his own invention, but as he was informed, on enquiry, by *Phæbus*, *Titan*, or the sun. Which account in brief is, that in the beginning the æther or heaven was formed by God, and that on each side of the æther was chaos and dark night, which covered whatsoever was under the æther, thereby signifying that night was prior. He declared also, that there was a certain incomprehensible Being, which was the highest and most ancient of all things, and the maker of the universe, both of the æther itself, and of all things under the æther. That the earth was invisible, by reason of the darkness which was upon it; but the light breaking forth thro' the æther, illuminated the whole creation; this light, which so brake forth, being said by him to be that highest of all beings before mentioned, whose name, as revealed by the oracle, was *counsel*, *light*, and *the giver of life*. That these three names manifest one and the same power and might of that invisible and incomprehensible God, who is the maker of all things, and who bringeth that which is not, into a state of existence. By which power were produced all incorporeal principles, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, the earth and the sea, and all things therein, both visible and invisible. He likewise declared, that mankind was formed out of the earth by the same Deity, and received from him a rational soul, agreeably to what *Moses* has recorded. *Timotheus* adds, that the same *Orpheus* also wrote, that all things were made by one godhead of three names, and that this God is all things<sup>o</sup>.

If this testimony be admitted, we need not appeal to the *Orphic* verses, which are very full as to the assertion of a supreme Deity. It is true, many of those verses are supposititious, and manifestly forged either by *Christians* or *Jews*; but all of them cannot be proved to be so; several being cited by pagan authors, as written, if not by *Orpheus* himself, yet by persons of great antiquity and well acquainted with his doctrine and traditions; and therefore, by men of good learning and judgment, thought genuine and worthy of some regard<sup>p</sup>. However, *Orpheus's* theology has been preferred to that of the other heathens by the christian fathers<sup>q</sup>; and a late ingenious writer has surmized, that his establishing of polytheism was owing rather to the necessity he was under of complying with the stupidity of the barbarous people whom he first civilized, than his own approbation; being obliged to give them, not the religion which himself best approved, but such a one as they were capable of receiving<sup>r</sup>.

BUT to return to the *Orphic* cosmogony, *Syrianus* says that *Orpheus* held two principles, æther, and chaos<sup>s</sup>; to which *Simplicius* adds a third, as prior to the other two, viz. time, the measure of the fabulous generation of the gods; after which, according to *Orpheus*, the æther and chaos were produced<sup>t</sup>. By which it should seem he thought the æther and chaos were co-eval: but it has been observed, that the ancients, or the later authors who have handed their opinions down to us, do frequently confound the universe with this sublunary world, and apply what relates distinctly to one

<sup>1</sup> DAMASCIUS *de i. ap. ar.* MS. apud CUMBERL. Review of the Cosmog. of Sanchon. p. 280. & CUDWORTH, ubi supra. <sup>m</sup> CORN. CELS. l. 7. p. 367. apud CUDWORTH, ibid. <sup>n</sup> CUDWORTH, ibid. <sup>o</sup> TIMOTH. Chronogr. apud EUSEB. Chron. GRÆC. p. 4. & CEDREN. p. 57. Vid. etiam SUIDAM, in voce, Orpheus, & PROCL. in Tim. l. 2. p. 117. <sup>p</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi sup. p. 295, & 300, &c. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 125. <sup>q</sup> BURNET, ibid. p. 127. <sup>r</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 120, &c. <sup>s</sup> SYRIAN. in ARIST. Metaph. c. 2. <sup>t</sup> SIMPLIC. in ARIST. de Auscult. Physic. l. 4.

of the two, to the other, or both promiscuously; and that of the æther here mentioned, the celestial or first fabric of things was made; and of the chaos, the sublunary world, or our earth, and others like it, at several distant intervals. Which things ought to have been separately treated, as well with regard to the matter, as to the time; though unskilful authors have often neglected that necessary distinction.

It is proper here to observe, that *Orpheus*, among other eastern learning, seems to have first introduced among the *Greeks* the doctrine of the mundane egg, which in all probability he learned from the *Egyptians*, who represented the world by that symbol<sup>a</sup>, as many other ancient nations did. The *Phœnicians*, as we have seen, made their *Zophasemin*, which were the celestial bodies, oviform; and worshipped an egg, in the *Orgia* of *Bacchus*, as an image of the world<sup>b</sup>. And the same comparison or resemblance was made use of by the *Chaldeans*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, as will be observed hereafter: and this not only for its external figure, but also for the inward composition of it; the shell representing the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth<sup>c</sup>; tho' others make out this resemblance in a different manner<sup>d</sup>. Hence *Plutarch*<sup>e</sup> observes, that the question which was the elder, the egg or the hen, was not a trivial enquiry; but, according to the *Orphic* doctrine, comprehended the ancient generation of all things: and the author of the hymns attributed to *Orpheus*, makes the first-born god, named by the *Greeks* *Phanes*, to be produced from an egg<sup>f</sup>. This was the first-begotten god, mentioned by *Athenagoras* to have been hatched from the egg, as the followers of *Orpheus* taught<sup>g</sup>.

ANOTHER opinion of the *Orphic* theologers, which must not be forgotten, was, that *God* was all things; but this is not to be understood in a gross sense, so as to take away all distinction between *God* and the creature; for they taught this doctrine chiefly on the two following accounts: First, Because all things coming from *God*, they inferred, that therefore they were all contained in him, and consequently were, in a certain sense, himself. The second is, Because the world, produced by *God*, and really existing without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor subsists alone by itself as a dead thing, but is still livingly united to him, essentially dependent on him, always supported, quickened, and pervaded by him. In the latter of which senses, some christian divines also have made *God* to be all; as when they affirm the whole world to be nothing else but *God* expanded, and when they call the creatures, as *Sr. Jerom* and others often do, the rays of the Deity. But tho' the scripture itself may seem to give some countenance to these expressions, yet they ought to be used with great caution, being easily liable to mistake and abuse; and the mistake and abuse of this one thing, might possibly have been a chief ground of the both seeming and real polytheism, not only of the *Greek* and *European*, but also of the *Egyptian* and other pagans: they concluding, that because *God* was all things, and consequently all things *God*, therefore *God* ought to be worshipped in all things, that is, in the several parts of nature<sup>h</sup>.

WHETHER the preceding opinions as to the original of the world be acquitted of the charge of atheism, or not, it is certain that the philosophy which derives all things from senseless matter, in the way of forms and qualities, without the assistance of a *God*, was of great antiquity, and as old as any records of time among the *Greeks*; the ancient physiologists generally making the ocean, or water, to have been the original of all things: for which reason the oath of the gods is said to be by water, called by the poets *Styx*, which being most ancient, deserved the greatest reverence, and was consequently most proper to swear by<sup>i</sup>. And hence the ocean is by *Homer* called the progenitor of the gods, and source of all things<sup>j</sup>: and *Thales*, the prince of the *Ionian* philosophers, held water to be the first principle, whereof all things consisted<sup>k</sup>; and they also supposed, that at last all things should be dissolved, and return into water again<sup>l</sup>. But it seems that those ancients, when they made water to have been the first principle, did not thereby mean the elementary water, but the chaos, which

<sup>a</sup> BURNET, ubi sup. p. 1. o.    <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 13. d.    <sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. Vid. MACRUB. SAT. l. 7. c. 16.    <sup>d</sup> VARRO, apud PROB. GRAM. in Ecl. 6. Virgil.    <sup>e</sup> Vid. ACHILLEM TATIUM in ARRI PHAENOM. cap. 4. & BURNET. THEOR. SACR. TEILUR. l. 2. c. 10. and Theory of the Earth. Book I. c. 5. p. 86.    <sup>f</sup> In Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3.    <sup>g</sup> Hymn. Πρωτογεν. Vid. LACTANT. de falsâ Rel. l. 1. c. 5.    <sup>h</sup> ATHENAG. Legat. pro Christ.    <sup>i</sup> CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 307.    <sup>j</sup> Vid. ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. c. 3.    <sup>k</sup> HOMER. apud Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3.    <sup>l</sup> PLUTARCH. de placit. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in vita Thaletis, p. 17. CICERO. in Lucilio, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. This also agrees with a paſſage in scripture, the genuine sense of which (according to the judgment of the best interpreters) is, that the material heavens, as well as earth, were made out of water. 2 Pet. iii. 5. Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 21. & BURNET, Archæol. l. 1. p. 138, and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 63, &c.    <sup>m</sup> HOMER. Il. H. PLUT. in Stromat. apud EUSEB. de P. xp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8.



was a fluid substance, as the *Greek* word signifies. For which reason *Zeno* and *Platarch* took the chaos of *Hesiod* to have been water <sup>k</sup>.

The cosmogony  
of Hesiod,

THE theogony of this last mentioned poet, which, as has been observed, is also his cosmogony, is somewhat confused, beginning twice from the chaos, and relating things rather in a poetical than philosophical order. The substance of what he delivers is; That in the beginning the chaos first existed, then the wide-extended earth, and next love, the fairest of the immortal gods: that the chaos produced *Erebus* and night, from the conjunction of which two proceeded *Æther* and day. After which he proceeds to give an account of the separation of the heaven and stars from the earth, the railing of mountains, and sinking of caves; and of the production of the sea from the heaven and earth together <sup>l</sup>.

and Aristophanes.

BUT there is a much more methodical and compleat description of this ancient cosmogony given by *Aristophanes* <sup>m</sup>, whence soever he had it: He writes, that first were chaos, black *Erebus*, and wide *Tartarus*, but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with subtle wings, laid the first egg of wind in the vast bosom of *Erebus*; from whence, in process of time, issued amiable love, shining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirl-winds; that love coupling with the obscure chaos, engendred animals and men; but that there were no gods before love mingled all things, from which mixture of things one with another, the heaven and the earth were generated, and the whole race of immortal gods.

THIS passage, notwithstanding it is ludicrously introduced in a comedy, is conceived, not without reason, to have been really a piece of the old atheistic system, and may be thus explained; that chaos, or matter confusedly moved, being the original of all, things did from thence rise up gradually from lesser to greater perfection; first inanimate things, as the elements, heaven, earth and seas, then brute animals, afterwards men, and last of all gods. As if not only the substance of matter, and those inanimate bodies of the elements, fire, water, air and earth, were first in order of nature before God, as being themselves also gods <sup>n</sup>, but also irrational animals at least, if not men too. And this is the atheistic creation of the world, gods and all, out of senseless and stupid matter, or dark chaos, as the only original deity <sup>o</sup>.

The opinion of  
Thales,

WHETHER *Thales*, who was a *Phœnician* by extraction, acknowledged any divine or intelligent being, as assisting in the formation of the world, is a great question. *Cicero* indeed tells us, that he was the first who searched after such things, and affirmed God to be that Mind which created all things out of water <sup>p</sup>. And *Laertius* reports, that he used to say God was the oldest of all things, and that the world was the workmanship of God <sup>q</sup>. But on the other side, there are a cloud of witnesses <sup>r</sup>, among whom are *Cicero* and *Laertius* themselves <sup>s</sup>, who with joint consent give *Anaxagoras*, one of his successors, the honour of having first rejected all chance in the disposition of the universe, and introduced a pure intelligent mind, to separate and compose the several parts of it. So that all the philosophers of the *Ionic* sect who preceded *Anaxagoras*, being mere materialists, or *Hylopathian* atheists, *Aristotle* seems justly to have called *Thales* the prince or leader of that philosophy <sup>t</sup>. The occasion of his being thus differently represented may possibly have been, because he left no philosophic writings or monuments of his own behind him (*Anaxagoras* being the first of all the philosophic writers <sup>u</sup>) whence probably it came to pass, that in after-times some interpreted his opinions one way, and some another, and that he is sometimes represented as a theist, and sometimes as an atheist <sup>v</sup>.

Of Anaximander,

BUT if *Thales* be acquitted, yet his next successor, *Anaximander*, can by no means be excused from this imputation; for he supposed a certain infinite first matter, which he did not define to be either air, or water, or earth, to be the sole principle of the universe <sup>w</sup>; that the celestial bodies, and infinite worlds, were made of it by secretion, and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly

<sup>k</sup> ZENO, apud Scholiast. Apollon. Argon. 4. & PLUT. in Tract. Aquane an ignis sit utilior, p. 955.

<sup>l</sup> HESIOD. Theog. vers. 116.

<sup>m</sup> In avib.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. ARIST. de gener. & corrupt. l. 2. c. 6.

<sup>o</sup> CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 121.

<sup>p</sup> CICERO, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 36.

<sup>q</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in

Thalet. p. 21.

<sup>r</sup> PLATO in Phæd. p. 72. PLUT. in Pericle, p. 154. ARIST. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3.

<sup>s</sup> TERTULLIAN. de Anima. CLEMENS ALEX. Stromat. lib. 2. p. 364. EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. 4. c. 14. p. 750.

<sup>t</sup> THEMIST. Orat. XV. AUGUSTIN. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. PROCLUS in Timæum. SIMPLIC. in ARIST. de

Phytic. auct. THEODOR. de Græc. affect. Sermon. II. p. 489.

<sup>u</sup> CICERO, de Natura Deor. l. 1.

<sup>v</sup> p. 38, 39. LAERT. in Anaxagorâ, p. 82.

<sup>w</sup> More concerning this Question may be read in BAYLE's

Dict. Hist. Art. Anaxagor. Rem. D. Art. Thales, Rein. A. Dr. CUDWORTH's Intell. System, p. 21, 124.

<sup>x</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxagor. p. 86. THEMIST. (Orat. XX.) says Anaximander was the first who pub-

lished a Book of Natural Philosophy. But THEOPOMPUS (apud Laert. in Pherecyd. p. 74.) asserts Phere-

cydes Syrus to have first written of Nature and the Gods to the Greeks, whose Treatise of the Beginning

of Things was extant in the Time of Laertius, ib. 76.

<sup>y</sup> CUDWORTH, ibid. 124.

<sup>z</sup> PLUT. de Placitis Philo. l. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximandro, p. 78. SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. Phys. l. 1. c. 6.

together from eternity. He also asserted, that the generative principles of heat and cold being separated, when this world was made, a certain sphere of fire first arose, and encompassed the air which surrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree; this being afterwards broken and divided into smaller spherical bodies, formed the sun, moon and stars<sup>a</sup>. He held also, that the first animals were generated in moisture, and encompassed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after further growth, becoming more dry, and cracking, they issued forth, but lived only a short time<sup>b</sup>. That men were at first generated in the bellies of fishes, and being there nourished till they grew strong, and were able to support themselves, they were afterwards cast out upon dry land. And the reason of this strange opinion, as to the original of mankind, was, because other animals soon after their birth betake themselves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nursed up for a considerable time, and therefore could not be preserved at first in any other manner<sup>b</sup>.

FROM *Anaximander's* making this universal principle of his infinite, some late writers, and even *Clemens Alexandrinus*<sup>c</sup> among the ancients, have groundlessly inferred that he thereby meant God, according to the true notion of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cause of the universe, and not stupid matter<sup>d</sup>. But it is plain that the gods he acknowledged owed their original also to that infinite matter, from which he supposed all things to be secreted, and into which they would return; for he held the gods to be generated, rising and vanishing again in long periods of time, and that these gods were innumerable worlds<sup>e</sup>.

THE physiology of *Anaximenes* differed but little from that of his master *Anaximander*; for he held air to be the first principle, and infinite<sup>f</sup>, but that the things which arose there-out were finite, and should at last be resolved into it again. He supposed that all things were generated by a successive condensation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water, and fire being first produced there-out, and then the other parts of the universe: he held also that motion was from all eternity; that the sun gained its heat from the swiftness of its course; and that air held the world together in the same manner as the soul, which he took to be air also, did the humane frame<sup>g</sup>. He did not, it seems, deny there were any gods, but was so far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewise to have their rise from the air<sup>h</sup>. *Plutarch*, after delivering the opinions of these two philosophers, observes, that they were both of them in the wrong, in supposing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cause; matter of itself being able to produce nothing, no more than a vessel can be made out of a mass of silver, without the help of an artificer<sup>i</sup>.

ANAXAGORAS and *Diogenes of Apollonia*, two scholars of *Anaximenes*, attempted to remedy this grand defect in the *Ionic* philosophy, by amending their master's hypothesis. The first, by admitting an intelligent being distinct from matter, as has been, and will be more fully observed; and the other, by supposing the air, the first principle of the universe, to be endued with a divine reason, without which he conceived nothing could be produced from it<sup>k</sup>. So that this opinion differed very little from *Spinozism*.

THE manner in which this latter philosophizes, as to the production of the world, has so near a conformity with the *Cartesian* hypothesis, that it would be wrong to omit it: All things, says he, being in motion, some became condensed, and others rarified; in those places where condensation prevailed, a whirling motion, or vortex was formed, which by its revolution drew in the rest, and the lighter parts flying upwards, formed the sun<sup>l</sup>.

THE next atheistic system of philosophy is the atomic, which is generally supposed to have been invented by *Democritus*, who was elder than *Aristotle* and *Plato*; but *Laertius* attributes it to *Leucippus*<sup>m</sup>, who was somewhat senior to *Democritus*, though he wrote not so much concerning it as *Democritus* did. Others make this physiology much more ancient: *Posidonius*<sup>n</sup> avouched it for an old tradition, that the first inventor of it was *Moschus* a *Phœnician*, who lived before the *Trojan* war<sup>o</sup>, and is supposed to have been the same with *Mochus*, the *Phœnician* physiologer mentioned by *Iamblichus*<sup>p</sup>, with whose successors, priests and prophets, he affirms that *Pythagoras*,

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, apud EUSEB. ubi sup. & in Sympof. l. 8. Quæst. 8.

CUDWORTH's Intell. Syst. p. 124.

<sup>c</sup> CICERO de Nat. Deor. lib. 1.

<sup>d</sup> P. 80. ARISTOT. de Auscult. Phys. CICERO Quæst. Acad. l. 2.

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. & de placitis Philosoph. l. 1. c. 3.

<sup>f</sup> PLUTARCH. de placitis Philosoph. loco citato.

<sup>g</sup> CICERO de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & ARISTOT. l. 1. de anima, c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Ev. l. 1. c. 8. <sup>i</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567.

<sup>j</sup> P. 367. & STRABON. lib. 16. p. 512.

<sup>k</sup> STRABO, ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Idem de placitis Phil. l. 5. c. 19.

<sup>m</sup> In protrept. p. 43.

<sup>n</sup> Vid.

<sup>o</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximen.

<sup>p</sup> PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de

<sup>q</sup> AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. cap. 2.

<sup>r</sup> PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp.

<sup>s</sup> Apud SECT. EMPIRIC. adv. Mathem.

<sup>t</sup> De vita Pythag. c. 3.

while

while he was at *Sidon*, had conversed. But as *Cicero*, though *Posidonius's* scholar, scruples not to question his veracity in some things, and expressly affirms *Leucippus*, or *Democritus*, to have been the author of this philosophy<sup>1</sup>, we think his authority of little weight; much less can we approve, as Mr. *Selden* does<sup>2</sup>, of the conjecture of *Archerius*, the editor of *Iamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than *Moses*, the celebrated prophet of the *Jews*. However, it is probable from some other considerations, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the atomical physiology; for *Democritus* himself was of the *Italic* or *Pythagoric* succession, and is reported to have taken all his philosophy from them<sup>3</sup>: and the famous monads of *Pythagoras* are by some supposed to have been nothing else but corporeal atoms<sup>4</sup>. That *Empedocles*, who<sup>a</sup> was also a *Pythagorean*, took the world to be compounded of minute particles, is expressly asserted<sup>5</sup>, and will appear more plainly, when we come to give an account of his physiology: and the natural principles of *Ecphantus* the *Syracusan*, another of that sect, were indivisible bodies, and vacuum. Nor were they the only ancient philosophers who went that way; *Xenocrates*, *Heraclides*, *Aclepiades*, *Diodorus*, *Metodorus Cibus*, and the generality of the old physiologers, having also supposed indivisible particles to be the first principles of bodies. Notwithstanding which, *Leucippus* and *Democritus* are reputed the first inventors of the atomic philosophy, either because they brought it to greater perfection, or else, because they first made it a compleat and entire system by itself, so as to derive the original of all things in the whole universe<sup>b</sup> from senseless atoms, which had figure and motion only, and space; from whence it would follow, that there could be no God, not so much as a corporeal one: for before them, the doctrine of atoms made not an entire philosophy by itself, but was looked upon as a part, or member of the whole philosophic system, and that the meanest and lowest part too; it being only used to explain that which was purely corporeal in the world; besides which they acknowledged something else, which was not mere bulk and mechanism, but life and self-activity, that is, immaterial substance; the head whereof is a Deity distinct from the world. So that there have been two sorts of atomists; the first, holding incorporeal substance, used that physiology in a way of subordination to theology: the other, allowing no other substance but body, made<sup>c</sup> senseless atoms, without any mind or understanding, that is, without any God, to be the original of all things; which latter system is that vulgarly known by the name of the atomic philosophy, which was founded by *Leucippus* and *Democritus*<sup>6</sup>, and afterwards, with some alteration, taught by *Epicurus*, though he would not acknowledge that he had borrowed his hypothesis from any<sup>7</sup>.

Occasioned a  
stricter method  
of philosophi-  
zing.

BUT whoever first introduced it, this hypothesis occasioned a more and strict and accurate method of philosophizing than had formerly been used. For the atomists neglecting numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, and elementary forms, immediately proceeded to examine the bodies themselves, and their physical and mechanical properties, their motion, figure, situation of parts, size, and the like; <sup>d</sup> from whence they very rationally ascertained their several powers, determined their actions, and explained their effects; though the notions they entertained of the indivisibility of their atoms, their innate power of motion, inclinations to certain places, and the like, be not only without any foundation, but repugnant to reason<sup>8</sup>.

The doctrine of  
*Leucippus* and  
*Democritus*;

THE doctrine of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, as to the origin of the world, was, that the first principles were an infinite number of atoms, or indivisible particles of different sizes and figures, which moving fortuitously, or without design, from all eternity in infinite space, and encountering one another, became variously implicated and entangled, and produced first a confused chaos of all kinds of particles, which afterwards by continual agitation, striking and repelling each other, disposed themselves<sup>e</sup> into a vortex, or vortices, where after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and essays, in which all imaginable shapes and combinations were tried, they chanced at length to settle into this present form and system of things<sup>9</sup>.

Of *Epicurus*.

THIS hypothesis, as to the formation of the principal parts of the world, agrees with that of *Epicurus*, as it is represented by *Lucretius*<sup>10</sup>, excepting that no mention is made of those vortices, which yet were an essential part of the former. To the two properties attributed to atoms by *Democritus*, magnitude and figure, *Epicurus* added a third, weight; without which he did not conceive they could move at all<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cicer. de fato, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1.      <sup>2</sup> SELDEN. de jure nat. & gent. juxta discipl. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. 2. See also La Vie de Pythagore, par Mr. DACIER, p. xxi.      <sup>3</sup> Diog. LAERT. in Democr. p. 570.  
<sup>4</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH's Intel. System, p. 13.      <sup>5</sup> PLUT. de placitis Philos. l. 1. cap. 24.      <sup>6</sup> CUDWORTH, p. 16, &c.      <sup>7</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.      <sup>8</sup> BURNET, Archæol. l. 1. p. 167.      <sup>9</sup> Vid. Diog. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567. & in Democrit. p. 573. PLUTARCH. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. & PLAT. de legibus, l. 10.      <sup>10</sup> Vid. LUCRET. de Res. Nat. l. 5. VIRGIL. Eclog. 6. PLUT. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. and STANLEY's History of Philosophy, part 13. p. 572, &c.      <sup>11</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. c. 3.

And one of the inevitable consequences of the *Democritic* system being absolute fatal necessity (for when they maintained that the world was made by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, it was not their meaning to deny the world to have been necessarily made according to the eternal laws of motion of those atoms, but only to exclude the direction of an intelligent cause) and such necessity, in the opinion of *Epicurus*, overturning all morality, and reducing the humane soul to be a mere machine; in order to account for freedom of will, besides the twofold motion of atoms allowed by those before him, perpendicular and reflexive, he introduced a third; supposing that the atoms could of themselves decline from the right line, and move obliquely, even in a void space, and without any collision at all<sup>a</sup>; from which, as he strangely inferred; proceeded natural liberty. And this declination served also another purpose, that is; to explain the meeting of the atoms; which, if they all moved one way, would have been impossible<sup>c</sup>. But the most material difference between the two hypotheses, though not often taken notice of, was that *Epicurus* admitted no principle at all but the atoms themselves; whereas *Democritus* believed them to be animated<sup>f</sup>; a supposition not a whit more absurd than that of their existence and spontaneous motion, and which would yet be of great use in obviating several objections to the atomic system, otherwise unanswerable<sup>g</sup>.

As to the production of animals and mankind, the *Epicurean* philosophy accounted for it in this manner: It was supposed that the new formed earth containing in it the seeds of all things, the sun, acting by its heat on the moiister parts, raised small bladders like little wombs, in which the embryo's, at first imperfect, were conceived, and through which they broke their way when arrived at maturity; and that for their nourishment nature provided bags, like small breasts, furnished with a milky juice. And it is pretended, that this fecundity cannot seem strange, in that juvenile vigour of nature, if we consider what numbers of smaller creatures and insects are at this day bred in the same way. But at length, the seeds of the earth being exhausted, she, like a woman past child-bearing, of course left off this way of producing the more perfect animals; whence it is that every species is now propagated by copulation<sup>h</sup>.

THIS atomic system, which had been superseded by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who brought in ideas, forms, and qualities, instead of the mechanical properties of matter, was raised by *Epicurus* to a high degree of reputation, and continued to flourish after his death beyond any other philosophy<sup>i</sup>; though it was justly decried by the other sects, on account of the atheism which naturally flowed from its principles. Had *Democritus* only supposed God to be a mind or intelligence placed in a sphere of fire, and the soul of the world<sup>k</sup>, he would have been much more excusable than in teaching, as he did, that the images of objects, which on every side present themselves to us, and the nature which scatters round, or emits such images, and even our own knowledge and understanding, were to be reckoned among the gods<sup>l</sup>. So that what *Democritus* called God, had neither the unity, nor eternity, nor immutability, nor other attributes which are essential to the divine nature: and yet an opinion very like this was not long ago advanced<sup>m</sup>, on the supposition that our ideas are in God, and that they cannot be a modification of a created mind; from which it seems to follow that our ideas are God himself<sup>n</sup>. As to *Epicurus*, he acknowledged indeed that there were gods, and that they deserved to be worshipped on account of the excellence of their nature, tho' no benefit was to be expected from them, nor any harm to be feared<sup>o</sup>: for he allowed them to be neither the makers, nor the governors of the world. And yet a very learned man has lately undertaken the defence of *Epicurus*, as to this latter point, and maintained that he did not deny a divine providence<sup>p</sup>. He supposed the gods were immortal, and supremely happy, leading a life of perfect inaction and tranquillity; that they were of human form, yet had not real bodies and blood, but something analogous to them<sup>q</sup>; and lest he should at once destroy their immortality, and subject them to destruction, he taught that they were not composed of atoms, like other beings<sup>r</sup>, though some have, by mistake, affirmed the contrary<sup>s</sup>. It is well

Reflections on this system.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. LUCRET. l. 2. v. 216, &c.    <sup>b</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Epicure, Rem. U.    <sup>c</sup> AUGUST. Epist. 66.    <sup>d</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Art. Leucippe, Rem. E. & Art. Epicure, Rem. F. As to the other Differences between the Doctrines of Democritus and Epicurus, consult CICER. de Finib. l. 1.    <sup>e</sup> Vid. LUCRET. ubi supra.    <sup>f</sup> LACTANT. Divin. Instit. l. III. cap. 17.    <sup>g</sup> PLUTARCH. de placitis Philos. l. 3. cap. 7.    <sup>h</sup> CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.    <sup>i</sup> F. MALLEBRANCHE's Notion of seeing all things in God.    <sup>j</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Democrite, Rem. P.    <sup>k</sup> Vid. CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.    <sup>l</sup> SENEC. de beneficiis, l. 5. c. 19. & GASSEND. de vitæ & moribus Epicuri, l. 4. c. 3.    <sup>m</sup> Mons. du RONDEL, de vitæ & moribus Epicuri. Amst. 1693. in 12°.    <sup>n</sup> CICER. ubi supra.    <sup>o</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Epicuro, p. 614, 655, 661.    <sup>p</sup> PLUT. de placitis Philos. l. 1. c. 7.    <sup>q</sup> SECT. EMPIRIC. contra Math. p. 312.    <sup>r</sup> CICER. ubi supra.    <sup>s</sup> LACTANT. de ira Dei, cap. 10.    <sup>t</sup> TERTULLIAN. adv. Gentem, cap. xvii.    <sup>u</sup> AUGUST. Epist. lvi.

known, that this corpuscular philosophy has been revived by some moderns, who rejecting the eternity of the atoms, and their tortuous motion, but following, in almost all other respects, the old hypothesis of *Leucippus*, have made a very fine system of it. This is what *Gassendi* has done, who differs from *Des Cartes*, as to the principles of bodies, in nothing but the retaining a vacuum. The scholastic divines among the *Mohammedans*, who are very orthodox as to the creation of the world by God, do also admit both atoms and a vacuum: but their atoms are different from those of *Leucippus*, for they have no magnitude, and are all like one another; and they suppose, as that philosopher ought to have done, that every atom of a living body is alive, that every atom of a sensitive body is endued with sense, and that the understanding resides in an atom; though they differ as to the soul, and knowledge, whether they consist in a single atom, or a collection of several <sup>a</sup>.

The opinion of those who, holding the eternity of matter, admit an intelligent mind as the disposer thereof, and, 1. Of those who supposed matter to be the only substance, and endued with understanding.

THOSE who allowing the eternity of matter, introduce an intelligent mind as the disposer thereof into the form the world now bears, may be again subdivided into two classes: one who allowing no substance but matter, supposed it to be endued with understanding and life, and consequently to be God; and another who held God and matter to be two distinct and independent beings.

The first opinion, which, as has been said, differs but little from *Spinozism*, seems to have been that of *Diogenes of Apollonia*, and was certainly maintained by *Hippasus* of *Metapontus*, *Heracitus*, and the *Stoics*. <sup>b</sup>

*HIPPASUS* and *Heracitus* held fire to be the first principle, of which all things were made, and into which, after the revolution of certain periods, they will be again resolved, and that this fire was God <sup>a</sup>; whom *Heracitus* described to be that most subtle and most swift substance which permeates or passes through the whole universe <sup>c</sup>.

The opinion of Hippasus, Heracitus,

The notions of *Heracitus* seem to have been very confused, at least as they are now represented to us, which is no wonder at all, since he so much affected obscurity in what he wrote concerning natural philosophy, that he was thence surnamed *the obscure* <sup>a</sup>. He is said to have denied the world to have been made either by gods or men <sup>b</sup>; by which it is supposed he meant that the world was not made by any whatsoever, after such a manner as an artificer makes an house, by machines and engines, acting from without upon the matter; but by a certain inward plastic nature of its own <sup>c</sup>. He asserted the fatal necessity of all things, but taught that they were in a perpetual flux, nothing remaining at a stand. His account of the formation of the world was, that the fire being extinguished, the grossest parts of it coalescing, made the earth, which being loosened by the fire, produced water, and from the exhalation of water, the air was generated <sup>c</sup>. As the opinions of *Heracitus* concerning the origin of things were adopted by the *Stoics*, of whom immediately, we shall not enlarge here, but only observe, that the great physician *Hippocrates* had the same notion of the deity with *Heracitus*, declaring his belief to be, that heat or fire was immortal and omniscient, and that it saw, heard, and knew all things, both present and future <sup>d</sup>.

and Hippocrates.

The opinion of the Stoics.

THE *Stoics* held two first principles, God, and matter void of all quality, the one active, and the other passive, and that they were both corporeal <sup>a</sup>; for they did not acknowledge any such thing as incorporeal substance <sup>b</sup>: by which means they strangely confounded themselves, and reduced their two principles, in effect, to one and the same. They affirmed God to be an immortal, rational, and perfect animal, conscious of his own happiness, subject to no evil, governing the world, and all things in it, by his providence; and the architect, and, as it were, the father of the universe <sup>c</sup>. But they more usually described him to be a fiery spirit, void of all figure, yet changing himself into all things; or an artificial fire methodically proceeding to the generation of the world, and containing within himself all seminal reasons or models, according to which every thing is formed pursuant to fate <sup>b</sup>; which is also their description of nature <sup>c</sup>. This spirit, they say, quickens, sustains, and pervades the whole world, and every part of it, as the soul does the humane body, being called by several names, according to the different form of the matter which it animates. For which reason they hold the world

<sup>a</sup> Vid. MAIMONID. in More Nevochim, cap. 73. <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 19. <sup>c</sup> PLUT. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. CLEM. ALEXANDR. in protrept. Vid. etiam CICERON. Acad. Quæst. l. 4. & de Nat. Deor. l. 3. <sup>d</sup> PLAT. in Cratyl. p. 413. <sup>e</sup> ZENONIS. Vid. CICERON. de finib. l. 2. CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. 5. <sup>f</sup> PLUT. de Animæ Procr. p. 3014. <sup>g</sup> CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 152, &c. <sup>h</sup> PLUT. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. Vid. etiam DIOG. LAERT. in Heracit. p. 551, &c. <sup>i</sup> HIPPOCRAT. de princip. aut carnib. Sect. 1. <sup>j</sup> ARISTOCLES, de Philof. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 14. <sup>k</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. Citrico, p. 449. <sup>l</sup> SENECA. Ep. 65. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. <sup>m</sup> Vid. LIPSIUM de Physiol. Stoic. l. 2. cap. 4. & 5. <sup>n</sup> DIOG. LAERT. ubi supra, p. 458. <sup>o</sup> PLUT. de plac. Philol. l. 1. cap. 6, & 7. <sup>p</sup> DIOG. LAERT. ubi sup. p. 465. Cic. ubi sup.



itself to be God, and every part of it a member of him <sup>k</sup>. So that this sect, in appearance, have confounded God and nature together, tho' their genuine doctrine seems to have been, that there was not only an intellectual conscious soul presiding over the whole world, yet lodged more immediately in the fiery matter of it; but also a certain plastic or spermatic nature, contained under, or within the former, and which was properly the fate of all things <sup>l</sup>. And the admitting of such a subordinate plastic nature or life, which acts in order to certain ends, tho' without any sense or consciousness, has been thought very reasonable by some, tho' exploded by others, and that for the avoiding of these two consequences; either that in the formation and organization of natural and animal bodies, every thing comes to pass fortuitously, for the sake of no final causes, and without the guidance and direction of any mind or understanding; to assert which seems irrational and atheistical: or else that God himself doth immediately form every the minutest thing, as it were with his own hands, which is very indecent to suppose <sup>m</sup>. There were some *Stoics*, it is true, who rejecting all animality or consciousness in the world, made it to be governed by a vegetable or plastic nature only, as *Boethius*, whom we have already mentioned, in particular did; but their opinion ought by no means to be imputed to the whole sect.

As to the constitution of the world, the peculiar dogm of the *Stoics*, which *Zeno*, their master, seems to have borrowed from *Heracitus*, was, that in certain periods, or alternate vicissitudes of time, the universe is dissolved by fire, and re-produced out of it; God withdrawing, or absorbing all things into himself, by a general conflagration, and afterwards producing them out of himself again <sup>n</sup>. In which successive conflagrations, they held, that not only the world, but all the inferior gods also are melted down into their supreme Deity, the intellectual fiery soul, or principle of the universe <sup>o</sup>; who, during that interval, reits in himself, considering his providence, and entertained with thoughts becoming himself <sup>p</sup>, till he again emits and brings the world into being; the manner of which renovation *Zeno* thus describes: God, being alone, changes all substance from fire, first into air, and then into water; and as the seed is contained in the plant, so God, being the seminal reason of the world, left such a seed in the moisture, as might afford proper matter for the generation of those things which were to be produced; that the grosser parts of this watry matter subsiding, made the earth, the finer the air, and those still more subtilized, the fire. The four elements being thus generated, from the mixture of them proceeded plants and animals, and all other species <sup>q</sup>.

WITH these notions of the *Stoics* agrees the doctrine which is said to be almost universal among the *Pendets* <sup>r</sup> (who are *Indian* gentiles) and secretly entertained by the *Sisfis* and learned men of *Persia*, being the same in substance with the philosophy of *Flud*, which *Gassendi* has taken the pains to refute. These Cabalists pretend that God, or the supreme, immoveable, unchangeable Being, has not only produced the souls of creatures out of his own substance, but whatever is material or corporeal in the universe also; and that this production is not made simply in the way of efficient causes, but by an actual extraction or extension of his own substance, which is creation, as destruction is nothing else but the resuming that divine substance into himself; which they illustrate by the following symbol. They feign, that a certain immense spider was the first cause of all things; which drawing the matter from its own bowels, wove the webb of this universe, and disposed it with wonderful art: she, in the mean time, sitting in the center of her work, feels and directs the motion of every part; till at length, when she has pleased herself sufficiently in ordering and contemplating this web, she draws all the threads she had spun out, again into herself, and having absorbed them, the universal nature of all creatures vanishes into nothing <sup>s</sup>. Another comparison made use of by them is, that God is like an immense ocean, wherein several phials full of water are swimming; that these phials, whithersoever they go, are always in the same ocean, and in the same water, and when they break, the water contained in them will be united to their whole, that is, to the ocean, of which they are portions <sup>t</sup>. But this last is by no means a strict parallel; for the matter of the

Of the Pendets  
in India.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Eosd. & PLUT. ubi supr. c. 7. SENEC. Quest. Nat. l. 2. c. 45. & Epist. 92. LUCAN. Pharsal. l. 9. v. 578. DIDYMUS, apud EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. 15. c. 15, &c. VIRGIL. Georg. l. 4. vers. 221. & Æneid. l. 6. vers. 724. <sup>l</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 133, &c. 423, &c. <sup>m</sup> Vid. eund. p. 148, &c. <sup>n</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 451. NUMENIUS, apud EUSEB. Prep. Ev. l. 15. c. 18, 19. <sup>o</sup> Vid. PLUT. adv. Stoicos, p. 1075. & de defectu Oracul. p. 420. <sup>p</sup> Idem, adv. Stoicos, p. 1077. SENEC. Epist. 6. ARRIAN. in Epictet. lib. III. cap. 13. <sup>q</sup> DIOG. LAERT. ubi supr. p. 450, 454. Vid. STOBÆI Ecl. Phys. c. 20. <sup>r</sup> We take this word to be the *Malayan* *فنديت Pandit*, which signifies a man of letters. <sup>s</sup> BERNIER,

suite des Memoires sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol. p. 202, &c. BURNET. in Append. ad Archæol. p. 354. KIRCHER, China illustr. p. 155. <sup>t</sup> BERNIER, ibid.

phials is a second substance, which, by its interposition, separates the water inclosed in those phials, from the ocean: but if there was such a thing as a soul of the world, it would be expanded through all parts of the universe, nothing could hinder the union of every particular soul with its whole, nor would death be a means of their re-union.

Of certain sects  
among the  
Chinese.

THERE is also a sect among the *Chinese*, who acknowledge nature to be the sole deity, thereby understanding that natural power or operation, which being the efficient cause of motion and rest, produces, maintains, and preserves all things. They take her to be the soul which universally informs matter, and call her a principle, independent of all others; but as they separate this principle from all corporeal and sensible matter, its imperfections and definitions, they do in this particular differ something from the *Stoics*; tho' they who incline to this sect do believe, as they did, that the world hath had a beginning, and shall have an end, but shall afterwards begin and end again as before, and so perpetually be renewed and perish. And according to this opinion, numerous worlds have already existed, and others, to an infinite number, will hereafter successively make room for one another <sup>a</sup>.

BUT the opinion more commonly embraced at this time by the *Chinese*, and wherein the atheism, which has so generally infected them, consists, comes rather nearer to the Stoic doctrine, tho' not without some considerable differences; and it is this: That God is the material soul of the whole world, or rather only of its most excellent part, the heaven; and that his providence and power are finite and limited, tho' much exceeding the prudence and power of man. That there are distinct spirits in the four parts of the world, the sun, stars, mountains, rivers, plants, cities, houses, and in a word, in all things: some of which spirits they suppose to be evil, making them the immediate cause of all the mischiefs and disasters to which humane life is subject. By this distribution of souls throughout all nature, they are not at a loss to account for its whole oeconomy, and to supply the want of an almighty power and infinite providence, which they allow to no one spirit, not so much as to that of the heaven. They suppose, indeed, that the soul of the heaven acts on nature with a power and prudence incomparably greater than what man is endued with; but at the same time, acknowledge in the soul of every other thing an inward power, naturally independent on that of the heaven, and which sometimes acts even in contradiction to the designs of heaven. So that, according to them, the heaven governs nature as a mighty king, the other souls owe him obedience, which he almost always forces them to pay; yet there are some which now and then dispense with their duty in that respect, and refuse to obey <sup>b</sup>.

THIS last opinion differs widely from another entertained by a sect of the same nation, and established by royal authority in the year of Christ 65. Its founder was son of the king *In san vang*, who was first named *She*, or *She Kia* <sup>c</sup>, and afterwards, when he arrived at the age of thirty, *Foe*, that is, *not a man* <sup>d</sup>. The secret doctrine of this sect, which is never discovered to the simple or vulgar, is: that a void or emptiness <sup>e</sup> is the principle and end of all things; that our first parents sprang from thence, and on their death returned into it; and that all men are likewise resolved into that principle by death; that mankind, and the elements, and all creatures make a part of this void: so that there is but one substance in the universe, which is diversified in particular beings only by figures and qualities, or interior configurations; in a manner as water, which is always essentially water, though it be in the shape of snow, hail, rain, or ice <sup>f</sup>. They describe this original being as a pure, limpid, subtil, infinite substance, which can neither be generated nor corrupted, but is both perfect itself, and the perfection of all things, remaining in perpetual repose, but without heart, virtue, understanding, or power, the great property of its essence being neither to act, understand, nor will any thing <sup>g</sup>. This opinion is the fountain from whence that which we have mentioned to obtain among the *Japoneſe* <sup>h</sup> is derived; and differs from *Spinozism*, in allowing an emersion of the world from a very different state possible, if not actually to have been; as it does both from that and the *Stoic* doctrine, in divesting their first principle of activity and understanding. A follower of *Confucius* has refuted the extravagancies of this sect, by that established maxim, *that nothing can be produced from nothing*; by which he must have supposed that they taught the first principle of all

<sup>a</sup> Descript. of China, at the end of Ives's Travels, p. 171, 172. <sup>b</sup> LA LOUBERE, Descript. de Siam, Tom. I. p. 396, &c.

<sup>c</sup> So we chuse to express what other authors, following the Portuguese spelling and pronunciation, write Xe, or Xe Kia, intending throughout this work, to reduce the orthography of the Chinese and Japoneſe words, as near as possible, to the English pronunciation; of which the reader will be more particularly informed in the preface.

<sup>d</sup> See the Acta Eruditor. Lipsæ, 1688, pag. 257, in the Extract of the Philos. of Confucius, printed at Paris 1687.

<sup>e</sup> The Chinese words are *Cung hu*, the Latin translation, *Vacuum*, & *inane*. <sup>f</sup> Biblioth. Univ. Tom. VII. pag. 406. <sup>g</sup> Acta Eruditor. Lipsæ, 1688, pag. 258.

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 8. a.

things to be *nothing*<sup>c</sup>, and, consequently, that the world had a beginning, without either an efficient cause, or matter. But it is more probable that by the words *void* and *emptiness*, they intended only to express that which has not the properties of sensible matter, and understand thereby what the moderns understand by *space*, which is conceived to be distinct from body, and whose indivisible, impalpable, penetrable, immoveable, and infinite extension is something real. It is easy to perceive, that such a being could not be the first principle, if it were inactive, as these *Chinese* philosophers pretend: *Spinoza* has not been so absurd; the abstract idea which he gives of the first principle, is no more, properly speaking, than the idea of *space*; but then he endues it with motion, from whence all the varieties of matter may proceed<sup>d</sup>.

THE *Siamese* have also some agreement with the *Stoics*, in their notion of the alternate destruction and renovation of the universe. Their *Talapains* teach, that the figure or model of the world is eternal, but that the visible world is not; for whatever we see in it, lives, in their opinion, and must die; and there will at the same time be re-produced other beings of the same kind, another heaven, another earth, and other stars; and in this manner, they say, nature has perished and been renewed several times<sup>e</sup>.

NOR was this doctrine unknown to the latter *Jews*, whose cabalists are supposed to account for the origin of things, by making them emanations from a first cause, and

- therefore pre-existent, though perhaps under another form. They speak also of the resuming or withdrawing of things into the first Being, by a revolution and restitution of them to their first state; as if they believed their *En Soph*<sup>h</sup>, or first infinite Being, to contain all things, and that there is always the same quantity of *being* in the universe, whether in the created, or uncreated state. When it is in its uncreated or antemundane state, God is simply all things; but when it becomes the world, the degree or quantity of being or entity is not encreased, but God expands and unfolds himself by emanations and effluxes from the superior to the lower parts, whereby the different forms and orders of created beings are constituted. For which reason they often speak of greater and smaller vessels, as it were to receive those effluxes; and of effluent rays; and of canals, through which they flow and are propagated; in a word, when God retracts those rays, the external world perishes, and all things again become God<sup>i</sup>: *he sends forth his spirit, and they are created, and he reneweth the face of the earth; he bideth his face, and they are troubled, he taketh away their breath, they die and return to their dust*<sup>k</sup>.

WE come now to speak of those who held two distinct and independent principles, co-existent from eternity, God and matter; which is supposed to have been the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*; and was certainly that of *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, and several others.

- WHAT was the opinion of *Pythagoras*'s master, *Pherecydes* of *Syros*, as to the origin of the world, is somewhat uncertain; from the first words of a treatise of his, extant in the time of *Diogenes Laertius*, which are indeed somewhat corrupted and obscure, it seems he believed three eternal beings, *Jupiter* or God, time, and the earth<sup>l</sup>. But *Pythagoras* himself is said to have asserted two substantial self-existent principles, a *Monad*, or unity, and a *Dyad*, or duality; by the former of which God, or an active principle or mind, is generally allowed to be meant (though some imagine the *Pythagoric* monads were atoms<sup>m</sup>;) but what the latter signified is uncertain, it being sometimes interpreted to be a *dæmon*, or evil principle informing matter, or the visible world<sup>n</sup>, and at other times to be a passive principle, or matter itself<sup>o</sup>; the number *two* being used as a type, to shew the variety, inequality, divisibility, and continual changes of matter, as *one* was to express the unity, identity, indivisibility and unchangeableness of the divine nature<sup>p</sup>. Yet it may be questioned whether *Pythagoras* by his *Dyad* meant matter or no: for *Porphyry* thus interprets the two *Pythagoric* principles. The cause, says he, of that sympathy, harmony, and agreement which is in things, and of the conservation of the whole, which is always the same, and like itself, was by *Pythagoras* called *Unity*, that unity which is in the things themselves being but a participation of the first cause; but the reason of difference, inequality, and constant irregularity in things, was by him called a *Dyad*<sup>q</sup>. Thus, according to *Porphyry*, by the *Pythagoric* dyad, is not so much meant matter, as the infinite and indeterminate nature,

<sup>c</sup> Aëtæ Erudit. Lipsiz, ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> LOUBERE, Descrip. de Siam, Tom. I. p. 361.

<sup>e</sup> &c. <sup>h</sup> Psalm civ. 29, 30.

<sup>f</sup> PLUTARCH. de placitis Philos. l. 1. cap. 7.

<sup>g</sup> PRÆP. EV. & CUDWORTH, Intell. System, p. 374, &c.

<sup>h</sup> PORPHYR. in Vita Pythag. p. 203.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Spinoza, Rem. B.

<sup>j</sup> חַי וְקַיָּא

<sup>k</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 63.

<sup>l</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Pherecyde, p. 76.

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 20. a.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, ibid. cap. 3. Vid. NUMEN. apud Euseb. de

<sup>o</sup> Vid. DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. 17.

and passive capability of things. So that the monad and dyad of *Pythagoras* seem to have been the same with *Plato's finite and infinite*<sup>r</sup>; the former of which two only is substantial, that first most simple being, the cause of all unity, and the measure of all things.

HOWEVER, if *Pythagoras's* dyad be to be understood of a substantial matter, there seems good reason to believe, that he did not suppose matter to be self-existent and independent upon the Deity; since, according to the best and most ancient writers, his dyad was no primary, but a secondary being only, and derived from his monad, the sole original of all things, as matter for the monad or active principle, which in the beginning was alone, to work upon<sup>t</sup>. For whatever *Ocellus Lucanus*, *Philolaus*<sup>u</sup>, and some other *Pythagoreans* imagined of the world's eternity, *Pythagoras* himself really believed it to have had a beginning, and to have been made by God<sup>v</sup>; which is confirmed by its being given as one reason of his superstitious abstinence from beans; that at the beginning things being confounded, mingled, and putrified together in the earth, the generation and secretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, animals being produced, and plants shooting forth; at which time, from the same putrified matter, sprang up both men and beans<sup>w</sup>. But his acknowledging the creation of the world by God, is still more express, in those verses cited for his by *Justin*<sup>x</sup>. We shall content ourselves to add here the testimony of *St. Cyril*, who assures us, that he held one God of the whole universe, the principle and cause of all things, illuminating and quickening the whole, and the original of motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of non-existence into being<sup>y</sup>.

BUT *Pythagoras*, it seems, did not only call the supreme Deity a monad, but also a tetrad, or tetractys, the explication of which has tortured the wits of several ages<sup>b</sup>. It is, in the golden verses, said to be the fountain of the eternal nature<sup>c</sup>; and, by *Hierocles*, the maker of all things, the intelligent god, the cause of the heavenly and sensible god, that is, of the animated world or heaven<sup>d</sup>. The latter *Pythagoreans* endeavour to give reasons why God should be called *Tetractys*, from certain mysteries in the number four<sup>e</sup>; but the late conjecture of some learned men<sup>f</sup> seems to be much more probable, that this name was really nothing else but the Tetragrammaton, or that proper name of the supreme God amongst the *Hebrews*, consisting of four letters<sup>g</sup>; nor is it strange *Pythagoras* should be so well acquainted with the name *JEHOVAH*, since, besides his travelling into other parts of the east, he is affirmed by *Josephus*, *Porphyrus*, and others, to have conversed with the *Hebrews* also. The worst of *Pythagoras's* theology was, that representing God as the mover of the universe and the soul of the world, he taught that our souls were portions of the divine substance<sup>h</sup>.

THAT *Pythagoras* held numbers to be the principles of all things, is testified by all antiquity, and he thence accounted for the production of the world in this manner. He supposed, that the monad and dyad were the two sources of numbers, from whence proceeded points; from points lines; from lines plane figures; from planes solids; from solids sensible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth, and air; and these are in perpetual change; from them the world was formed, being animated, intelligent, and spherical, containing in the midst the earth, a globose body, and inhabited<sup>i</sup>. He taught that the world began from fire, and the fifth element; and that there being five figures of solid bodies, called mathematical or regular, the earth was made of the cube; fire of the pyramid, or tetrahedron; the air of the octahedron; water of the icosahedron; and the sphere of the universe of the dodecahedron<sup>k</sup>.

THIS method of philosophizing, which was also adopted by *Plato*, if understood in the literal acceptation, has no manner of foundation in nature, nothing being more certain than that numbers, if ever so variously combined, can generate nothing but numbers<sup>l</sup>. It is therefore more probable that *Pythagoras* made use of them no otherwise than as emblems, or symbols: for supposing mathematical sciences to possess a

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thereon.

<sup>r</sup> Or rather determinate and indeterminate, Πέρας ὁ ἀόριστος. PLAT. in Philebo. \* CUDWORTH, ubi sup. 371.

<sup>t</sup> ALEXAND. de Success. Philos. apud DIOG. LAERT. in Pythagora, p. 507. HERMIAS, in Irtitione Philosoph. gent. THEODORIT. Therap. II. THEARIDAS Pythagoreus, apud Clement. Alex. Strom. 5. p. 611, & in Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 47. SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. <sup>u</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi sup. 393.

<sup>v</sup> PLUT. de placitis Philos. l. 2. cap. 4. <sup>w</sup> PORPHYR. de Vita Pythag. <sup>x</sup> De Monarchia, p. 167. <sup>y</sup> CYRILL. cont. Julian. lib. 1. <sup>b</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 154.

<sup>c</sup> Vers. 47, 48. <sup>d</sup> HIEROCLES, in Aug. Cirm. <sup>e</sup> See CUDWORTH, p. 376. <sup>f</sup> PIGUS MIRAND. SELDEN. & GOTTF. WENDELIN. See also PHILO in Vita Mosis, p. 519. <sup>g</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi sup. & DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lvii. <sup>h</sup> CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. MINUT. FELIX, p. 151. LACTANT. l. 1. c. 5.

<sup>i</sup> SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. p. 508. <sup>j</sup> PLUTARCH. de placitis Phil. l. 2. c. 6. But the fifth figure, according to CLAVIUS and others, was added by some of Plato's followers. <sup>k</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 158.

middle distance between corporeals and incorporeals, he began with them ; thereby to wean the mind gradually from sensible things, and raise it to the contemplation of intelligible beings. And this is the reason why he had recourse chiefly to numbers ; for not being able sufficiently to explain by words the first principles, he represented them by numbers<sup>a</sup> : which seems to be all *Pythagoras* designed, though his followers have sought mysteries in his doctrine, which himself never dreamt of ; yet it is not to be denied, that the great defect of that philosopher, and of *Plato* also, was, that they resolved natural things into mathematical reasons, numbers, and proportions ; as *Aristotle* afterwards did into logical reasons.

- a THE monad, dyad, and tetrad we have already spoken of. As to the regular bodies, it is conjectured that *Pythagoras* intended only to represent the elements under their forms, in imitation of other natural bodies. Thus he represented the fire by the figure of a pyramid or tetrahedron, from its aspiring to a point, or the acuteness of its flame ; the air, being next in order to the fire, by an octahedron, which bears the nearest resemblance to the tetrahedron, being composed of two pyramids joined by a square base ; the water, because of its fluidity, was represented by an icosaedron ; and the earth by a cube, to denote its stability ; the cube being, of all the regular bodies, the least adapted to motion<sup>b</sup>. Or if they were to be considered physically, perhaps *Pythagoras* supposed the constituent parts of the four elements to consist of such figures, according to their several specific gravities : that the *mole* or primary particles of the earth were cubes ; for as the earth is the most ponderous of all the elements, so is the cube the heaviest of all the regular bodies ; that the particles of fire were tetrahedra, or triangular pyramids, fire being the lightest and most volatile element, as the tetrahedron is the lightest of the same bodies ; that the particles of the air had the form of an octahedron, which is the next lightest body of the five, as air is the next lightest to fire ; and that the particles of water had the shape of an icosaedron, which figure is a sort of mean proportion between the cube and the octahedron, as the weight of water is between the weight of air and that of earth. As to the fifth body, the dodecahedron, which represents the heaven, or spherere of the universe, it must be entirely emblematical (if it be not rather a later addition to the pythagoric physiology, and no genuine part of it) the four faces of that figure being fancied to allude to the twelve signs of the zodiac<sup>c</sup>, or else the four elements, seven heavens, and the firmament<sup>d</sup>.

- TIMÆUS LOCURUS, who was a *Pythagorean*, seems to have held the pre-existence of matter, as if it were a self-existent principle together with GOD ; for he affirms it to be eternal<sup>e</sup> : yet, in another place, he asserts the eternal GOD, who is visible to the understanding only, to be the author and parent of all things, and that the world, which is visible to our eyes, is the generated god<sup>f</sup> ; and he distinguishes between the eternal duration of GOD, which had no beginning ; and time, which was made together with the world, as an imitation of eternity<sup>g</sup>. He taught more particularly, that there were two principles of all things ; *Mind*, of those things which are made according to reason ; and *Necessity*, of those which are produced by force, according to the powers of bodies ; by which second principle, he plainly means matter<sup>h</sup>. That before the making of the world, there were, besides GOD, idea or form, and rude matter ; one being the intelligible pattern or exemplar of all things, and the other the subject, which being itself without figure, yet capable of all figures, was reduced by GOD into the determinate form of the visible world ; which, being the best production, is not corruptible by any other cause than the same GOD who composed it, if it shall at any time please him to dissolve it<sup>i</sup>. So that *Timæus* seems really to have held two subordinate principles, matter and form ; wherein *Archytas* the *Tarentine*, who was also a *Pythagorean*, agreed with him, as supposing GOD to be the artificer and mover, matter that which is moved, and form the art introduced into the matter<sup>j</sup> ; which was also the notion of *Plato*. We the rather take notice of the opinion of *Archytas* in this place, because he and *Pythagoras* are joined by *Censorinus* with *Ocellus Lucanus*, as believing mankind to have been from eternity<sup>k</sup>.

PLATO, who, as well as his master *Socrates*, embraced the Pythagoric notions as to the origin of the universe, held the three principles we have just mentioned, GOD, Plato,

<sup>a</sup> DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv.      <sup>b</sup> SACROBIUS, apud Casim. Simenowicz, lib. 4. p. 267.  
<sup>c</sup> Idem, ibid.      <sup>d</sup> Vid. DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. cxxxi. Vid. etiam TIMÆUM LOCURUM de Anima Mundi, Inter opusc. Mythol. &c. Edit. a T. Gale, 1688, p. 553, &c.      <sup>e</sup> TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 544.  
<sup>f</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 549.      <sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 552. See also CLEM. ALEXAND. Strom. 5. p. 604.      <sup>h</sup> Vid. MER. CASAB. in Diog. Laert. in vita Plat. p. 207.      <sup>i</sup> TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 542, &c. See STANLEY's Hist. of Philos. part IX. p. 419, 420.      <sup>j</sup> STROMÆUS, Eriog. Phys.      <sup>k</sup> CENSORINUS de die natali, esp. 3. where, instead of *Ocellus*, the common editions have *Cereius*.

matter,



matter, and idea<sup>a</sup>; which are by *Laertius* reduced to two, God and matter<sup>b</sup>; the ideas, or original patterns of things conceived in the divine mind, being really no distinct principle from him, but the very mind of God, with whom they are often confounded, both by *Timæus* and several of the *Platonics*<sup>c</sup>. It seems therefore certain, that *Plato* supposed matter to have been uncreated and eternal, as he often asserts it to be. But he has been defended in this respect by *Hierocles*<sup>d</sup>, who being himself convinced by the arguments on the other side, was willing to have it thought, for the honour of his sect, that its founder believed God capable of producing the world by a simple act of volition, though there was no pre-existent matter; and therefore maintained, that he really held an absolute creation out of nothing. Wherein *Hierocles*<sup>e</sup> is thought to have been very singular<sup>f</sup>; and yet some moderns have followed him in that particular, supposing, that when *Plato* asserted matter to be eternal, he did not mean that it subsisted visibly from all eternity, but only that it subsisted intellectually in the eternal idea of God<sup>g</sup>. And several passages have been cited from the works of that philosopher<sup>h</sup>, which would give some grounds to suspect he really believed that God created or produced matter itself, as well as made and formed the world thereout, had he not so explicitly declared the contrary. Another opinion imputed to *Plato* by *Plutarch*, viz. the supposing two intelligent and independent principles, a good and an evil one, will be considered by and by.

As to the formation of the world, *Plato* taught, that matter being at first unform-<sup>b</sup> ed, and without any determinate figure, and being moved in an irregular and disorderly manner, God, who prefers order to confusion, gathered it together; and converting this substance into the four elements, of them made the world and all things therein, fashioning it according to the archetypal idea, or model thereof, which he had conceived in himself; and that he gave it a spherical figure, as the most perfect, and that which contains the rest; and endued it with an intelligent soul, because an animated being is more excellent than an inanimate, which soul of the world *Plato* supposed to be formed before its material body<sup>c</sup>. He also asserted the world to be incorruptible, not by its nature, but because it is supported by divine providence<sup>d</sup>; and held not only the animated universe itself, but the several parts of nature, which he like-<sup>c</sup> wise supposed animated, to be gods, inferior indeed to the supreme God, but superior to men, and justly challenging honour and worship from them. These gods of *Plato* were for the most part fiery, being the celestial bodies, though he supposed the earth also to be a god, affirming it to be the oldest of all the gods within the heaven<sup>e</sup>; and he for this reason found fault with the *Anaxagorean* doctrine, which made the planets and stars nothing but inanimate stones and earth<sup>f</sup>.

The opinion of  
ANAXAGORAS.

ANAXAGORAS, who was not more conspicuous for his wealth and nobility of birth, than the greatness of his mind<sup>g</sup>, did indisputably hold two co-eternal principles, God and matter; being the first (of the *Ionic* philosophers at least) who, as has been observed, introduced an intelligent being to move, separate, and put in order the chaotic<sup>d</sup> matter: whence he obtained the honourable surname of *Nous*, or *Mind*<sup>e</sup>. He admitted as many sorts of principles as of compounded bodies: for he supposed that every kind of body was formed of a great number of small similar particles; that a bone, for example, was nothing but a composition of many invisible bones, and that the blood which we see, was made up of many minute drops, every one of which was blood<sup>f</sup>; from the similitude of which principles he called them *Homœomeriæ*. But this obliged him to allow, that the seeds or principles of all kinds are found in every body, which throws his system into a strange confusion; not to mention several other inconveniencies and contradictions therein<sup>g</sup>. As to the formation of the world, his doctrine seems to have been, that the mind or intelligence who presided thereat, and<sup>e</sup> whom he allows to be the original of motion<sup>h</sup>, finding in the infinite matter a vast number of particles which were like one another, but promiscuously mixed with, and surrounded by others which were unlike, separated the one from the other, and joining

<sup>a</sup> PLUTARCH. de placitis Philos. l. 1. c. 3. CHALCIDIUS in Timæum. APULEIUS, de Doctrina Platonis, l. 1.

<sup>b</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 206, 212, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. MENAO. in Laert. p. 163.

<sup>d</sup> & MER. CASAUBON. in eundem, loco jam citato.

<sup>e</sup> HIEROCL. apud Photium, Biblioth. Cod. CCLI.

pag. 1380.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Hierocles, Philos.

<sup>g</sup> DACIER, Vie de Platon, p. 123.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. ibid. & CUDWORTH'S Intell. System, p. 404, 570, &c.

<sup>i</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Platon.

p. 206, &c. PLATO, in Timæo. See also STANLEY'S Hist. of Philos. Part V. p. 186. & BURNET. Archæol.

l. 1. p. 176.

<sup>j</sup> PLUT. de placitis Philos. l. 1. c. 4.

<sup>k</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 211.

<sup>l</sup> PLATO de Legib. l. 10.

<sup>m</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 83.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, ibid. PLUTARCH. in Pe-

ricle. <sup>o</sup> Vid. LUCRET. de rer. Nat. l. 1. v. 830, &c. PLUT. de placitis Philos. l. 1. c. 3. DIOG.

LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 84. ARIST. Physic. l. 1. c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem.

C & G. <sup>q</sup> DIOG. LAERT. ubi supra.

together the corpuscles of the same kind, formed of some a star, of others a stone, &c. Notwithstanding which, he has been severely censured by several, as allowing too much to material necessity, and endeavouring to account for things, as far as possible, from the inherent forms and qualities of matter only, or any way, rather than bring in the Deity, to whom he never has recourse but when he is absolutely at a loss, and without whose interposition, or knowledge, he admitted some revolutions in nature happened. As to the formation of animals, he taught, that they proceeded from the earth, being first generated of moisture and heat, and after by mixture of the sexes.

**ARCHELAUS**, the successor of *Anaxagoras*, most probably held the same principles with his master, namely, an infinite number of similar particles, as *St. Austin* and *Simplicius* testify; though others tell us, that he supposed infinite air, its rarefaction and condensation, the one being fire, and the other water, to be the principles of all things. He also thought men and animals were produced by the heat of the earth, which yielded a slimy substance like milk, serving for food.

**EMPEDOCLES**, who was an auditor both of *Pythagoras* and *Anaxagoras*, is said to have followed the physiology of the latter. He held two causes of all things, contention and friendship, meaning thereby secretion and concretion, or the separation and mixture of the primary matter, from which the elements were formed, and all things that have been, are, or shall be, plants, animals, men, and gods derived their origin; yet he supposed that contention and friendship did both depend on one supreme Deity as their author. For *Empedocles*, it seems, believed, that were it not for discord or contention, all things would be one; so that, according to him, all things whatsoever proceeded from contention, together with a mixture of friendship, save only the supreme God, who hath no contention at all in him, because he is essentially unity itself. He taught, that the elements were composed out of smaller corpuscles, which were most minute, and as it were the elements of the elements. Agreeably to other atomists, he acknowledged no generation or corruption, properly so called, but ascribed all to secretion and concretion. He imagined the elements to have been produced in this order; first, that the æther was secreted, afterwards the fire, and then the earth, which being too closely pressed by violence of the circumvolution, there issued thence water, from the evaporation of which proceeded the air. That the heaven was made of the æther, the sun of the fire, and the things about the earth from the other elements: so that the physiology of *Empedocles* was, at the bottom, the same with that of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*; only that he differed from them in some particulars, as in excluding a vacuum, and denying such physical corpuscles as were indivisible, but chiefly in admitting an intelligent principle, by whose wisdom the world was put into this order, as the best and most convenient for the good of the whole; though he sometimes indulged too much to fortuitous mechanism, especially in the structure of animals. We shall only observe further, that he held, according to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, that there were two worlds, the one intellectual, and the other sensible; the former of them being the model, or archetype of the latter.

THAT *Plutarch* maintained the eternity of matter is past all question; he expressly asserting, that the substance, or matter, out of which the world was made, was not itself made, but always ready at hand, and subject to the artificer, to be ordered and disposed by him. For, in his opinion, the making of the world was not the production of it out of nothing, but out of an antecedent bad and disorderly state, like the making of a house, garment, or statue.

IT is also well known that *Hermogenes*, and other ancient pretenders to christianity, did in like manner assert the self-existence and improdution of matter, for which reason they were commonly called *Materians*; endeavouring by this means to give an account (as the *Stoics* had done before them) of the original of evils, and to free God from the imputation thereof. And they argued in this manner; God made all things either out of himself, or out of nothing, or out of pre-existent matter: he could not make all things out of himself, because himself being always unmade, he should then really have been the maker of nothing; and he did not make all out of nothing,

\* ARISTOT. *Metaph.* l. 1. c. 4.

\* CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* lib. 2. p. 364. EUSEB. de Prep.

Ev. l. 14. c. 14. p. 750.

\* DIOG. LAERT. in *Anaxag.* p. 85.

\* AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei,

l. 8. c. 2. SIMPLIC. in *Arist. Phys.* lib. 1. Vid. etiam CLEM. ALEXANDR. in *Protrept.* p. 43.

\* PLUTARCH. de placitis *Philosoph.* l. 1. c. 3. JUSTIN. Martyr, *admonit. ad Græcos*, p. 4. \* DIOG.

LAERT. in *Archelo.* p. 89. \* DIOG. LAERT. in *Emped.* p. 538. CICERO de *Amicitia.*

CLEMENS ALEX. in *admon. ad Gentes.* ARIST. *Phys.* l. 8. SUIDAS, in voce *Manes*, &c.

\* ARISTOT. in *Metaph.* l. 3. c. 4. & de *Mundo*, p. 26. \* CUDWORTH'S *Intell. Syst.* p. 392.

\* PLUTARCH. de placitis *Phil.* l. 1. c. 13. STOBÆUS, in *Eclog. Physic.* \* PLUT. ubi sup.

l. 1. c. 24. & 30. \* Idem, *ibid.* l. 2. c. 6. \* Vid. CUDWORTH, p. 24. 25. \* SIMPLIC.

in *Phys. Arist.* Vid. PLUT. ubi sup. l. 1. c. 20. \* PLUT. de *psychog.* *Platon.* p. 1014, 1015, &c.

because being essentially good, he would have made every thing in the best manner, and so there could have been no evil in the world: but since there are evils, and these could not proceed from the will of God, they must needs arise from the fault of something, and therefore of the matter out of which things were made<sup>b</sup>. Some modern sects of the christian profession do also, at this day, assert the uncreatedness of matter; but these suppose, as the *Stoics* did, body to be the only substance<sup>c</sup>.

BUT some went still farther, and maintained that the chaos, or original matter, was animated by an evil or maleficent soul, thereby constituting a third self-existent principle. And this was the opinion of *Plutarch*, whom we have just mentioned, and of *Numenius* and *Atticus*<sup>k</sup>. The first not only expressly asserts, that a mad irrational soul, <sup>a</sup> and an unformed disorderly body did co-exist with one another from eternity, neither of them having any generation or beginning<sup>l</sup>; but discovers no small fondness for this notion in several parts of his works<sup>m</sup>, and professedly endeavours to establish it by the best arguments he could; pretending that otherwise it would be impossible to account, in a satisfactory manner, for the original of evil. For as evil could not be produced without some positive cause, it being ridiculous to imagine it came into the world by accident; and as neither God, who is essentially good, nor mere inactive matter, void of all form and quality, could be the cause of evil; he therefore concluded, that it must proceed from a certain irrational and maleficent soul or dæmon, unmade, and co-existing with God and matter from eternity. So that whatever is good in the <sup>b</sup> soul and body of the universe, and likewise in the souls of men and dæmons, is to be ascribed to God, as its only original; and whatever is evil, irregular, and disorderly in them, ought to be imputed to that other substantial evil principle. And to support this opinion by authority, as well as reason, he would persuade us that it was the constant belief of all the pagan nations, and of the wisest men and philosophers that ever were among them<sup>n</sup>; imputing it to the *Egyptians*, who, as he imagines, represented the evil principle under the name of *Typhon*; to *Zoroastres* and the *Persian* Mages, who are also by *Laertius* affirmed to have maintained two principles, a good dæmon and an evil one<sup>o</sup> (though it has been questioned whether they really believed the evil principle to be eternal or not; ) to the *Chaldeans*, because their astrologers supposed two of <sup>c</sup> the planets to be beneficent, two maleficent, and three of a middle nature; and to the ancient *Greeks*, because they sacrificed not only to *Jupiter Olympus*, but also to *Hades*, or *Pluto*, who was sometimes called by them the infernal *Jupiter*: supposing also the monad and dyad of *Pythagoras*, the contention and friendship of *Empedocles*, the mind and infinite matter of *Anaxagoras*, to be no other than a good and evil God. But above all, he endeavours to prove that *Plato* was an undoubted champion for this opinion, and that chiefly for these reasons: first, because that philosopher speaks of a necessary and innate appetite, which may sometimes turn the heavens a contrary way, and by that means cause disorder and confusion<sup>p</sup>; secondly, because he speaks of two kinds of souls, whereof one is beneficent, but the other contrary<sup>q</sup>; and lastly, because <sup>d</sup> he supposes the matter to have been moved disorderly before the world was made, which implies there was a disorderly and irrational soul existing with it, as the mover of it, matter being unable to move itself. But as to the first of these allegations, it has been observed, that *Plato*, as if it had been purposely to prevent such an interpretation of his meaning in the passage there quoted as this of *Plutarch's*, adds, that it must not be supposed there are two gods of contrary minds, turning the heavens sometimes one way and sometimes another. Which might also serve for an answer to what is afterwards urged, as if *Plato* had affirmed that there were two souls, the one beneficent, and the other contrary, because this would be all one as to introduce two gods: but in that place, it is conceived, that *Plato* did only distribute souls in general into <sup>e</sup> good and evil; those moral differences properly belonging to that rank of beings called by him souls, and arising from them, according to his premised doctrine, that soul is the cause of good and evil, just and unjust: but then afterwards making enquiry concerning the soul of the world or heaven, he positively concludes, that it was no other than a soul endued with all virtue<sup>r</sup>. As to the last reason, that matter is said by *Plato* to have been moved disorderly, it is supposed that he did therein only adhere to that vulgarly received tradition, that the world was formed from a chaos, or matter confusedly moved, and afterwards brought into order<sup>s</sup>. And as to the origin of evil, *Plato* is conceived neither to have imputed it to God himself, nor derived it from unqualified

<sup>b</sup> TERTULLIAN. adv. Hermog. p. 282.

<sup>c</sup> CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. v. 197.

<sup>k</sup> PROCL. in

Tim. p. 116.

<sup>l</sup> PLUT. in quest. Platon. p. 1003.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, de Psychog. Plat. & de Hæd. &

Olinde, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, de Hæd. & Olinde. p. 369, &c.

<sup>o</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Proem.

<sup>p</sup> PLAT.

in Politic.

<sup>q</sup> Idem, de Legib. l. 10.

<sup>r</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>s</sup> CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 218, &c.

Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art, Zoroastre, Rem. E.

matter, nor yet from an irrational and maleficent soul, but the necessity of imperfect beings<sup>1</sup>.

HOWEVER, some mongrel christians, as the *Marcionites*, *Manichæans*, and *Paulicians*, did really maintain this opinion of two self-existent gods, a good and an evil one, which latter *Manes* called *Hyle*, or matter<sup>2</sup>.

HAVING now done with the second of those opinions, under which we comprehended the several notions which have been entertained concerning the origin of the universe, we come to speak of the last, and only true one; that the world had a beginning, being absolutely produced by God out of a state of non-existence, and consequently, that it is of its own nature liable to dissolution.

*The opinion of those who held the world to be absolutely created, and liable to dissolution.*

AND besides such of the nations and philosophers already mentioned, who most probably believed this creation of the world, though suspected of contrary opinions, there were several among the heathens who unquestionably did so.

WE shall first instance in the ancient *Tuscans*, or *Etrurians*, whose tradition we have from one of their own writers. He says, that God, the author of the universe, employed twelve thousand years in all his creations, and distributed them into twelve houses. That in the first chiliad, or thousand years, he made the heaven and earth; in the next, the firmament which appears to us, calling it heaven; in the third, the sea and all the waters that are in the earth; in the fourth, the great lights, the sun, and moon, and also the stars; in the fifth, every volatile, reptile, and four-footed animal, in the air, earth, and water; in the sixth, man. It seems therefore, according to them, that the first six thousand years were passed before the formation of man, and that mankind are to continue for the other six thousand years, the whole time of consummation being twelve thousand years<sup>3</sup>. For they held that the world was subject to certain revolutions, wherein it became transformed, and a new age and generation began: of such generations there were in all, according to them, eight, differing from one another in customs and way of life; each having a duration of a certain number of years assigned them by God, and determined by the period which they called *the great year*. The approach of such a change in the world was judged, by the *Tuscan* diviners, to be portended by a prodigy which happened in the time of *C. Marius*, when the air being perfectly clear and serene, there was heard a shrill and mournful sound of a trumpet, to the astonishment and terror of every body<sup>4</sup>. And these are all the remains we now have of the old *Etrurian* physiology; which may be supposed to have been well worth our knowledge, that nation being particularly curious and diligent in their enquiries into nature<sup>5</sup>. Besides those we have already mentioned, who entertained this opinion of the mundane revolutions, the *Druids* also taught the alternate dissolution of the world by water and fire, and its successive renovation<sup>6</sup>.

*The opinion of the ancient Tuscans,*

*and of the Druids.*

THE *Mages*, among the ancient *Persians*, did also acknowledge the world to have been created by God, as their successors most certainly do at this day<sup>7</sup>; but being at a loss otherwise to account for the original of evil, they held two principles, a good dæmon, or God, and an evil one<sup>8</sup>; the first the author of all good, and the other of all evil; the former they supposed to be represented by light, and the latter by darkness, as their truest symbols; and that of the composition of those two, all things in the world are made. The good principle, or God, they named *Yezad*, or *Yezdân*, and *Ormazd*, or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil dæmon they called *Abârîman*, or *Abrîman*, and the *Greeks* *Arimanius*<sup>9</sup>. Intending in the proper place to give a more particular detail of the ancient religion of the *Magi*, and their several tenets, true or supposed; we shall only observe here, that though one sect of them held, as the *Manichæans* and some other heretics did, both these principles to have been from all eternity, yet they are reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle, or God, only was eternal, and the other created: which appears not only from the unanimous testimony of the eastern writers, but from what genuine remains we have of *Zoroastres* in the *Greek*, particularly the following description of the supreme Deity, taken from the very words of *Zoroastres* himself; God, says he, has the head of a hawk (which must be a symbolical expression) and is the first of all things, incorruptible, eternal, unmade, without parts, unlike any other being, the promoter of all good, impartial, the best of the good, the most prudent of the prudent; he is the father of equity and justice, self-instructed, natural, perfect, and

*The opinion of the Persian Magi.*

<sup>1</sup> CUDWORTH, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> AUGUST. CONTR. FAUST. l. 20. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Anonym. apud SUID. in

voce Tyrrheni.

<sup>4</sup> PLUTARCH. in Sylla, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> DIODOR. SIC. l. 5. p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> STRABO,

lib. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See LORD'S account of the religion of the Persians, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in

Protem. p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. HYDE, de Relig. veter. Persar. cap. 9.

wife, and the sole inventor of what is holy in nature<sup>e</sup>. And, indeed, that the evil dæmon was not believed to be self-existent, appears from what *Plutarch* himself, though he so confidently affirms the contrary, says of his future destruction, it being impossible that what is uncreated should ever be destroyed<sup>f</sup>.

THAT writer gives the following account of the *Magian* traditions in relation to their gods, and the introduction of evil into the world, viz. That *Oromazes* consisted of most pure light, and *Arimanius* of darkness; and that they were at war with each other: that *Oromazes* created six gods; the first the author of benevolence, the second of truth, the third of justice, the others of wisdom, riches, and the pleasure which attends good actions; and that *Arimanius* made as many, who were the authors of the opposite evils or vices: that then *Oromazes*, triplicating himself, removed as far from the sun, as the sun is from the earth, and adorned the heaven with stars, appointing the dog-star for their guardian and leader: that he also created twenty-four other gods, and inclosed them in an egg; but *Arimanius* having also made an equal number, these last perforated the egg, by which means evil and good became mixed together. However, the fatal time will come, when *Arimanius*, the introducer of plagues and famine, must be of necessity utterly destroyed by the former, and annihilated; then the earth being made plain and even, mankind shall live in a happy state, in the same manner, in the same political society, and using one and the same language. *Theopompus* writes that, according to the *Magians*, the said two gods, during the space of three thousand years, alternately conquer, and are conquered; that for other three thousand years, they will wage mutual war, fight, and destroy the works of each other, till at last *Ilades* (or the evil spirit) shall perish, and men become perfectly happy, their bodies needing no food, nor casting any shadow: that God, who contrives this scene of things, rests and reposes himself for a certain season, which is not long to him, but like the intermission of sleep to men<sup>g</sup>.

A Tradition of  
the modern  
Persians.

THE modern *Persians* have a peculiar tradition, which they pretend to have received from *Zoroastres*, that God created the world, not in six natural days, but in six times, or spaces of different length, called in their tongue *Gābanbārba*, and making in all three hundred and sixty five days, or a year compleat: as to the several names of which, their order, number of days, and the several parts of the creation performed therein respectively, all authors agree; though they differ as to the particular part of the year from which they begin. Their names and order are as follow:

THE first time is called *Mid-yūzeram*, and contains the space of fifty five days; in which the heavens were created.

THE second is *Mid-yūsbam*, or *Mid-yūsbabam*, of sixty days; in this the waters were created<sup>h</sup>.

THE third, *Pūtīsbabim*, or *Pūtīsbabim-gāb*, consists of seventy five days; wherein the earth was created.

THE fourth is *Iyūseram*, or *Iyūsbabam*, of thirty days; in which the trees and plants were created.

THE fifth is *Midiyārūm*, containing eighty days; in which space the animals were created.

THE sixth, *Hamešpātamidim*, was that wherein man was created, being seventy five days<sup>i</sup>.

The opinion of  
the old Brach-  
mans, and mo-  
dern Bramins.

THE old *Indian* philosophers, called by the *Greeks* *Brachmanes*, held that the world was generated, or made, and also perishable, being subject to successive dissolutions and renovations: that the principles of all things were different, but the formation of the world commenced from water<sup>k</sup>; and that the cause of God's making all things was his essential goodness<sup>l</sup>. And these are also the sentiments of the modern *Bramins*, their successors: but the particulars of their doctrine are related, by different authors, with a variety not easy to reconcile; the occasion of which has been partly the reservedness of the *Bramins*, who are extremely shy of conversing with strangers, or making them the least discoveries, but more the relators want of skill in their language.

THEIR tradition, as delivered by one writer<sup>m</sup>, is, that the great God being alone, and intending to manifest his goodness and power, consulted with himself about the

<sup>e</sup> ZOROASTRES, in *Særa collectione rituum Pers.* apud EUSEB. de *Præp. Ev.* l. 1. cap. 10. pag. 42. OSTHANES the Mage also wrote in the same manner of the Deity, *ibid.* <sup>f</sup> Vid. CUNWORTH, *Intell. Syst.* p. 222. <sup>g</sup> PLUTARCH. de *Iside & Osiride*, p. 369. <sup>h</sup> Mr. LORD, in his account of the religion of the Perses, p. 6, & 41, makes the work of this second space to be the creation of hell.

<sup>i</sup> HYDE, *Hist. Rel. veter. Persar.* p. 164, &c. <sup>k</sup> MEGASTHENES, apud Strab. l. 15. p. 713. <sup>l</sup> Vid. PHILOSTR. in *vita Apollonii*, p. 142. <sup>m</sup> LORD's *Discovery of the* *Bamian Religion*, extracted from their sacred book called *Shaster*.



creation of the universe, and, as the ground-work of this mighty frame, made four elements, which were at first confusedly mingled together, but the Almighty separated them in the following manner. First, by some great cane, or like instrument, he blew upon the waters, which arose into a bubble, of a round form, like an egg, which spreading itself farther and farther, made the clear and transparent firmament that encompasses the world. After this, of the remaining water, and its sediment, God made a round ball, which he called the lower world; the solid part whereof became the earth, and the more fluid the sea, both making one globe, which, by a great noise, or humming sound, he placed in the midst of the firmament. Then he created the sun and moon in the firmament, to distinguish times and seasons. And thus the elements became separated, and assigned to their proper places, and began to perform their offices, the air filling up all interstices, the fire nourishing by its heat, and the earth and sea bringing forth the living creatures proper to each. And to these God imparted a seminal virtue, that they might be fruitful; and thus was the world created.

a God having thus made the world, he then created man, as a creature more worthy than the rest; whom the earth, at God's command, produced from its bowels, his head first appearing, and afterwards the other parts of his body, into which God infused life, and afterwards made him a companion, which was woman, resembling him more in mind and disposition, than outward shape. The first man's name b was *Pourous*, and the woman's *Parcoulee*; whose descendants being, for their wickedness, destroyed by a deluge, God afterwards created three persons of greater perfection, called *Bramaw*, *Vysney*, and *Ruddery*; to each of whom he gave a different office and power; to the first, that of creating, or producing men and other animals; to the second, that of preserving and feeding them; and to the last, that of destroying them; which charges they severally executed in the manner that shall be related in a more proper place.

ANOTHER <sup>a</sup> tells us that the *Bramins* acknowledge one sole and supreme God, but are not perfectly agreed which of their gods he is; one sect affirming him to be *Wistnou*, another, *Eswara*; and a third holding *Wistnou* and *Eswara* to be one and the same: that they all teach, however, that his first and most ancient production c was a secondary god, named *Bramma*, whom the supreme God formed out of a flower, which floated on the great deep, before the creation of the world; and that God afterwards, on account of *Bramma*'s virtue, gratitude, and fidelity, gave him power to create the universe.

BUT the protestant missionaries lately sent to the coast of *Coromandel*, have given accounts somewhat different from the preceding, and which yet may, perhaps, deserve more regard, as written by men who were not unacquainted with the *Malabarian* tongue. In one of their letters it is said, that the *Malabarians* (who are one of those nations which follow the religion of the *Bramins*) own but one divine Being, the spring and original d source of all other gods and things, called by them *Isparatta*, which, in their language, imports as much as a Deity. This *Isparatta*, they say, before any thing was created, transformed himself into an egg; out of which the whole system of heaven and earth, and all things contained therein were afterwards produced. From this divinity, as their tradition runs, did originally spring something, which they call *Kiwelinga*, and which they worship in their temples as a god. From this *Kiwelinga* three other great gods took their rise; *Bramma*, *Wishnum*, and *Ispara*. *Bramma* is said to create and make all things; *Wishnum*, to rule over things created; and *Ispara* to destroy them again.

IN another letter we are told, the supreme Being is called *Barabara Waslu*, who, as the *Indians* believe, does not concern himself immediately about things of small moment; but having created some other great gods as his vicegerents, he by them e moves and influences the world, and all creatures contained therein. These gods have again their subordinate gods, who have their particular station and government of things assigned them. The theogony, or gradual production of which gods is described in the following series. 1. The Being of all beings, or the supreme God, created eternity. 2. Eternity brought forth *Tshiwien*. 3. By this *Tshiwien* the goddess *Tshaddy* was created. 4. The goddess *Tshaddy* produced *Putadi*, or the elementary and sensitive world. 5. By *Putadi* a sound, or ringing, was generated. 6. The sound's off-spring was nature. 7. Nature afterwards begot the great god *Tshatatshiwien*. 8. Which last again produced another great god, called *Magesburn*. 9. From *Magesburn* sprang *Ruddiren*, or *Ispuren*. 10. From *Ruddiren*, the great god *Wishnum*. 11. This last created *Bruma*. 12. *Bruma* was the productive principle of the soul. 13. The soul at length created the heaven, or that vast expansion between heaven and

<sup>a</sup> ABR. ROGER, of the Religion of the *Bramins* (said to be taken from one of the sacred Books called *Vidam*) Part 1. c. 3. and Part 2. c. 1.      <sup>\*</sup> Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part 1. Letter 3.

earth, which makes up the fifth element, according to their philosophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. 14. The heaven begat the air. 15. The air begat the fire. 16. The fire begat the water. 17. And the water the earth. Besides a tedious genealogy of other gods and prophets carried to a great length. They acknowledge their inferior gods to be subject to various changes, as well as the creatures themselves; and that each of them has his fixed term of life and government allotted him: after the expiration of all which determined times, every thing shall return into the Being of all beings, and there shall follow a new creation. As to the creation of man, they say, that sixty thousand men were created at first, but that half of them turned devils soon after, and the other half remained men; both of them being, in process of time, multiplied to infinite numbers <sup>a</sup>.

The opinion of  
some among the  
Chinese,

THOUGH the Chinese have for some time past been generally infected with the impious opinions which have been taken notice of, it is however certain, that before idolatry prevailed in China, they acknowledged one God, or supreme, eternal, omnipotent spirit, the lord of heaven and earth, and the governor and director of all things, whom they worshipped under the name of *Sbang ti*. But this opinion now obtains with very few, and those of the better sort <sup>a</sup>. These hold, that a chaos was the beginning of things, from which God produced and formed whatsoever is material in the universe. But this they distinguish into two principles, which they call *Yn* and *Yang*; *Yn* signifies hidden or imperfect; *Yang* revealed or perfect; which two principles by combination produce four images or signs, which seem to represent the four elements; whence proceed eight forms, or symbols; and these represent certain general things, whereon the generation and corruption of all things depend, being the heaven, the earth, thunder, mountains, fire, clouds, waters, and wind; which again mutually combined, produce sixty-four symbols, compleating, as it were, the number of the universe; concerning which they have much mysterious learning. They say, the heaven was first perfected, then the earth, after which genii or spirits were produced, and then mankind; and that the first man, whom they call *Puoncu*, was generated from the chaos, as from an egg; the shell of which became the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth: others say, he came out of a certain desert, but that his original is unknown <sup>c</sup>.

THEY divide the period wherein the world was created, and will be destroyed, as they do their natural day, into twelve hours or times, consisting each of ten thousand eight hundred years. The twelfth hour, or at midnight, the heaven was made; the earth, the first hour after midnight; and man the second. Their emperor *Na* was created the sixth hour, or at noon; and the age wherein we now live is the seventh hour (though some count a much larger number of years from the beginning of the world.) The ninth hour, they say, there will be a great disorder and confusion of all things, cruel wars, commotions in kingdoms, and public calamities, till all things return to the chaos whence they first proceeded <sup>d</sup>.

and Japanese;

THERE are also some, even among the Japanese, who acknowledge this truth of the creation of the world, and entertain a much more noble idea of their god *Amida*, than the generality of them do. For they say, he is invisible, distinct from the nature of the elements, and existing before the creation of heaven and earth, without beginning or end; that by him all things were created, his essence passing through heaven and earth, and beyond them; being limited to no place, and governing and preserving all things; that he is immovable, incorporeal, without any visible accident whereby he may be seen by the bodily eyes; and this god they hold in great reverence, as the perpetual fountain of all good <sup>e</sup>.

and of several  
American na-  
tions.

SEVERAL nations in America also entertained the same belief of a creation; of which some instances might be given: but their opinions containing little curious, as to the original of things, we have, to avoid prolixity, chosen to omit them.

A general re-  
flection.

SOME of the accounts we have given above, will, no doubt, be taken by the generality of readers to be very absurd and ridiculous: but, before they pass an absolute judgment, they are desired to consider the imperfection of philosophy in those early times, and that the ancients, as well Greeks as Barbarians, wrapped up and concealed their true doctrines, particularly those concerning the origin of things, under the veils of symbols, ænigma's, and mystical allegories <sup>a</sup>; for which reason many things in the preceding accounts, which may seem strange and fabulous, will not, perhaps, deserve

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. Part 2. Letter 3. See also KIRCHER. China illustr. p. 154. &c. <sup>b</sup> MARTINI Hist. Sinic. l. 1. p. 11. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 13, 14. <sup>d</sup> Ex Libro Sinico de Natura, ibid. p. 13. <sup>e</sup> LUD. FRORS, apud Kircher. Chin. illustr. p. 142. <sup>f</sup> Vid. PHORNUZ. de Nat. Deor. c. ult. CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. 5. p. 556. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 89. &c.

to be treated with all the contempt they must needs meet with from those who understand them in the obvious and literal sense : nor perhaps is it possible for us, at this distance of time, to give any tolerable explications of them ; and therefore omitting such disquisitions, we have confined ourselves to the bare historical narration.

AND now we come to the only authentic and genuine history of the creation ; The Mosaic account of the creation. which has been left us by *Moses*, and carries with it all the marks of truth and probability, even though it be regarded only as a humane composition, and separate from divine authority : And it is to this purpose.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth<sup>a</sup>. The earth, after its immediate creation, was for some time a promiscuous, dark, fluid and unformed chaos, or mass of matter<sup>y</sup>, which God, in the space of six days, disposed and reduced into the present form of the world ; his spirit moving or brooding over the surface of the water, or fluid matter, to influence and actuate the same.

THE first thing that appeared was light ; the separation of which from the darkness, was the work of the first day<sup>z</sup>.

THEN God made an expansion<sup>1</sup> in the midst of the waters, to divide the waters above from the waters below ; which expansion *Moses* calls heaven : and this was the second day's work<sup>b</sup>.

ON the third day, God caused the earth to be drained, and the waters to be gathered together chiefly into one great receptacle, or the ocean ; whereupon the dry land appeared : after which the earth produced all sorts of plants, herbs, and trees, bearing their several seeds and fruits, according to their various kinds<sup>c</sup>.

THE fourth day God made the sun and moon, and placed them in the heaven to illuminate the earth ; to distinguish between day and night, and divide the several seasons of the year ; the stars were also made this day<sup>d</sup>.

THE fifth day God created all the fishes, and inhabitants of the waters ; and also the fowls of the air, which were likewise produced out of the water<sup>e</sup>.

ON the sixth day God made all the terrestrial animals, the cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the field. And last of all, he created man, forming his body of the dust of the earth, and animating him with a living soul<sup>f</sup> ; and out of the man he made the woman, taking her out of his side, having first cast him into a profound sleep<sup>g</sup>.

THIS is the substance of what *Moses* has delivered concerning the creation of the world ; which being short, and rather suited to the capacities of the people he designed to instruct, than written for the satisfaction of a philosophic enquirer, has left room for various explications, and the setting up of several very different hypotheses.

IT may be expected we should say something of the hypothesis of Mr. *Des Cartes*, The Cartesian hypothesis. though he has endeavoured rather to form a fine system of his own, than to explain the *Mosaic* description, and reconcile it with philosophy. He agrees with *Epicurus*, in making matter and motion the principles of nature ; supposing, however, the being of a God, who both created the matter, and impressed the first motion upon it ; but then after this motion once begun, and the wheels set a going, he leaves this vast machine to the laws of mechanism, which affect all things, both celestial and terrestrial, without any farther assistance from the first impressor<sup>h</sup>, after the following manner.

He supposes, 1. That the matter of which the world is composed, being at first of one uniform nature, and infinitely divisible, was actually divided into many particles of a moderate size, which had all such a motion as is now found in the world. 2. That all these particles were not at first spherical, because many such little globes, joined together, will not fill up a continued space ; but that, of whatever figure they were at first, by their continual motion and frequent occurrences against each other, their angles would be cut off, and they become spherical. 3. He asserts, that there is no space left empty, and therefore when these round particles, by being joined together, leave some intervals between them, he supposes that there are other lesser particles, arising from those angles that were cut off, which by the force and celerity of their motion, will be divided into innumerable still less fragments, proper to fill up all the interstices. 4. He supposes, that some of these fragments, taken from the angles of the spherical particles, will necessarily have very angular figures, and, upon that account, being not so fit for motion, will be apt to stick together, and transfer a great part of

<sup>a</sup> Genes. i. 1.    <sup>y</sup> *Ib* vers. 2.    <sup>z</sup> Vers. 3, 4, 5.    <sup>1</sup> This is the true signification of the Hebrew

רָקִיעַ and not *Firmament*, which was taken from the *Greek* interpreters.    <sup>b</sup> *Ibid*. vers. 6, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vers. 9, &c.    <sup>d</sup> Vers. 14, &c.    <sup>e</sup> Vers. 20, &c.    <sup>f</sup> Vers. 26.    <sup>g</sup> Cap. ii. vers. 21, &c.

<sup>h</sup> *BAKER'S Reflections on Learning*, cap. 7.

their motion to such particles as are less, and consequently move swifter. These things being supposed, he proceeds to the formation of the world from his three elements, which consist of the three sorts of particles abovementioned. The first element, which is the subtle matter cut off from the angles of the greater particles, is that of the sun and fixed stars, and susceptible of a much quicker motion than the other two: the second element consists of the spherical particles themselves, of which the heavens were made: the third element consists of those angular particles which are less adapted to motion, and thence proceeded the earth, planets, comets, and other appearances of nature<sup>1</sup>.

He supposes that the solar system is a vortex continually whirling round, whose matter (excepting the earth and planets) is very liquid and transparent, consisting altogether of the first and second elements, and containing a greater quantity of the first, than is sufficient to fill up the spaces between the particles of the second. And since all bodies which move circularly, endeavour to recede from the center of their motion, and the more thick and solid parts, such as the particles of the second element, are obliged to fly off with a greater force than the rest; the particles of the second element must necessarily recede from the common center, and approach one another, as much as their figure and motion will permit. After their interstices therefore are filled up, the remaining matter of the first element takes the place left by the second; by which means a mass, or heap of the matter of the first element, settles, and is formed in the midst of the vortex, which mass we call the sun<sup>k</sup>. Every of the fixed stars he supposes likewise to be a sun, and the center of a vortex; and that the earth was originally such a star, whose vortex was adjoining to that of the sun; but by degrees it was covered over, or incruited with spots, arising on its surface like the scum on a boiling pot, which still increasing and growing thicker and thicker, the star losing its light and activity, and consequently, the motion of the celestial vortex about it growing more weak, languid, and unable to resist the vigorous incroachments of the neighbouring vortex of the sun; it was at last drawn in, and wholly absorbed by it, and forced to comply with its motion, and make one in the choir of the sun's satellites<sup>l</sup>.

Objections  
therein.

BUT this hypothesis is liable to several objections, and some which absolutely ruin it. The three elements of *Des Cartes*, and particularly the subtle matter of the first, have been shewn to be imaginary, and his vortices fictitious and repugnant to the nature of things; his supposition of a *plenum* is also evidently false, not to mention the absurdities which follow his making of matter and space, or extension, to be the same<sup>m</sup>. However, we cannot but think the essay of that philosopher, who endeavoured to account for the formation of the world in a certain time from a rude matter, by the sole continuation of a motion once impressed, and reduced to a few simple and general laws; or of others, who have since attempted the same, with more applause, from the original properties of matter, with which it was indued at its creation, is so far from being criminal, or injurious to God, as some have imagined, that it is rather giving a more sublime idea of his infinite wisdom.

WE cannot therefore excuse ourselves from representing the theories of two very learned men of our age and nation; one of whom has excelled in the richness of his stile and fancy, and the other in the strength of parts and contrivance.

The Theory of  
Dr. Burnet.

THE former of them, Dr. *Burnet*, omitting to speak of the original of the universe, or even of the solar system, as made long before the *Mosaic* creation<sup>n</sup>, confines himself to the formation of the earth only, which he supposes to be done from a chaos, or confused mass, consisting of the principles of all terrestrial bodies, in this manner. He supposes, that the first change that would happen would be, that the heaviest and grossest parts would sink downwards towards the middle of the mass (for there he supposes the center of its gravity) and being more and more compressed, would harden by degrees, and constitute the interior parts of the earth. That the rest of the mass, which swam above, would also be divided, by the same principle of gravity, into two orders of bodies, the one liquid, like water, the other volatile, like air: for the more fine and active parts disintangling themselves by degrees from the rest, would mount above them; and having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in those open places, where they constitute that body we call air: that the other parts being grosser than these, and having a more languid motion, could not fly up separate from one another, but settled in a mass together under the air, upon the body of the

<sup>1</sup> Vid. STILLINGFLEET, Orig. SACTE. RAY on the Creation. CARTESII Princip. Philos. part 3. §. 52. ROHAULT. Phys. part 1. c. 21. <sup>k</sup> ROHAULT. ibid. part. 2. c. 25. <sup>l</sup> RAY's Physico-Theol. Discourses, Disc. 3. c. 5. &c. 3. Vid. DES CARTES, Princip. Philos. part 4. §. 2. <sup>m</sup> Vid. NEWTON. Princip. l. 1. prop. 38, 40, 53, &c. Ejusdem, Optic. p. 311, 342, &c. & NOTES S. CLARKE ad ROHAULTI Phys. part 1. c. 8, & part. 2. c. 25, &c. <sup>n</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8.

earth, composing not only water, strictly so called, but the whole mass of liquid bodies belonging to the earth. That there being two chief kinds of terrestrial liquors, those that are oily and light, and those that are lean and more earthy, like common water, which naturally separate from one another when they come to settle; the more oily and light part of this mass would consequently get above the other, and swim upon it. He proceeds to suppose, that the air was, as yet, thick, gross, and dark, there being abundance of terrestrial particles swimming in it, after the grossest were sunk down; which by their weight made their way more speedily: that the lesser and lighter, which remained, would sink too, but more slowly, and in a longer time; so as in their descent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the deep, or upon the watry mass, which would entangle, and stop them from passing any further; whereupon, mixing there with that unctuous substance, they composed a certain slime, or fat, soft, and light earth, spread upon the face of the waters. That this thin and tender orb of earth increased still more and more, as the little earthy parts that were detained in the air could make their way to it, some having a long journey from the upper regions, and others being very light, would float up and down a long while before they could disengage themselves and descend: but at length being all got thither, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they sucked it all up, and were wholly incorporate together, and so began to grow more stiff and firm, making both but one substance, which was the first concretion, or firm and consistent substance that rose upon the face of the chaos, and became at last an habitable earth, such as nature designed it. And such a body as this, he doubts not, would answer all the purposes of a rising world; for what can be a more proper seminary for plants and animals, than a soil of this temper and composition? a finer and lighter sort of earth, mixed with a benign juice, easy and obedient to the action of the sun, or what other causes were employed by the author of nature for the production of things in the new made earth, and perfectly answering the ancient descriptions of the primigenial soil or slime.

THE form of this first earth, both external and internal, is easily conceived from the manner of its formation. As to the external form, it would be smooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a sea. The internal form would consist of several regions involving one another, like orbs about the same center, or the several elements cast circularly about each other; the water being entirely contained under the upper crust of the earth, which formed a wonderful vault, hanging above the deep, sustained by nothing but its own measures and manner of construction.

To confirm so new and surprizing a representation of the form of the first earth, and to prove it must have been different from the present, he endeavours to shew, that if the earth had been always in the form it now bears, it would not have been capable of a deluge, which could not have been effected without such an infinite mass of water, as could neither be brought upon the earth, nor afterwards any way removed from it: and that the chaos, as a fluid body, would naturally and necessarily settle and cast itself into a smooth surface, every where equidistant from its center, and not into a surface broken into so many irregularities as our earth is; nor could it possibly imitate the cavities, dens, and broken holes within it. And these reasons he backs by authority of scripture, which plainly intimates a difference between the form or constitution of the old world and of the present, by reason of which difference, that was subject to perish by a deluge, as this is subject to perish by a conflagration; besides several passages which seem to describe the structure of the antediluvian earth, as founded and established on the waters, and set as an orb over the face of the deep; conformably to which, on the renovation, or restitution of nature to its primeval state, the new earth will appear without a sea. To which he adds the testimony of ancient tradition that the world was oviform, which was true of that original earth, not only in respect to its outward figure, but also to the inward composition of it; the central parts being represented by the yolk of the egg, the exterior region of the earth by the shell, and the abyss of water by the white that lies under the shell. The manner wherein he supposes this earth was supplied with water, will be taken notice of when we come to consider more particularly the state of the antediluvian earth.

SEVERAL objections have been made to the philosophy of this gentleman's hypothesis, as that his laws of gravitation ruin the whole contrivance; because if every thing subsided according to its specific gravity, the earth being heavier than the water, must necessarily place itself nearer the center, and so leave the waters to cover the face

*Objections  
thereto.*

\* BURNET'S Theory of the Earth, l. 1. c. 5. & Archæol. l. 2. c. 3.

\* Idem, Theory, l. 1. c. 2.

† Ibid. c. 4.

‡ 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7.

§ Psal. xxiv. 2. & cxxxvi. 6.

¶ Prov. viii. 27.

|| Revel. xxi. 1.

|| BURNET, Theor. l. 2. esp. 5. & Tellur. Theor. fact. l. 2. c. 10.



of the whole orb : that his fat or oily liquid to catch the terrene particles as they descended, is but a weak expedient, because it is impossible that oil, or any other liquor, should sustain such an immense heavy orb : that he has, without any reason, deprived the old world of the benefit and advantages of a sea, mountains, and minerals : but the great misfortune is, that so coherent and surprizing a scheme does not in several particulars accord with the letter of the scripture, with which he has in many places taken great liberty, supposing that the sacred books were not always to be so literally and naturally understood, as was generally believed hitherto. For considering the mean capacities of the *Jews*, which were not capable of such points of philosophic truths ; considering the most ancient ways of conveying (or rather concealing) sublime theorems by parables, fables, and hieroglyphics ; considering the scripture stile in some other cases, very different from the present plain way of discourse ; considering the main end of those writings, the benefit of the moral world, seemed not to require a strict adherence to truth in every circumstance relating to the natural ; and considering, lastly, that all ages had endeavoured in vain to clear these points according to the strictness of the most obvious sense, and that the greater improvements in philosophy seemed only to render them still more unaccountable ; all these considerations induced him to suppose, that the holy writers only secured the fundamental and general verities ; involving the rest under, and explaining the whole by a way of speaking, which was mystical and mythological, rather popular than true ; and fitted more to the needs of men than the reality of things <sup>a</sup>.

Mr. Whiston's  
Theory.

THE other theorist, Mr. *Whiston*, not only shews a greater regard to scripture, and has avoided many difficulties that were chargeable on the former ; but proceeds on more philosophical principles : He first lays down this proposition, that the *Mosaic* creation is not a nice and philosophical account of the origin of all things, but an historical and true representation of the formation of our single earth, out of a confused chaos, and of the successive and visible changes thereof each day, till it became the habitation of mankind <sup>a</sup> : which he proves from the first words of *Moses*, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, which plainly imply that the creation of the universe out of nothing, which we usually stile creation, was precedaneous to the six days work ; the historian immediately descending thence to the chaos of our earth, to which he afterwards confines himself ; mentioning, indeed, the making of the sun and other celestial bodies, to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehension, and make it complete ; but chiefly to secure the *Jews* from the worship of the host of heaven <sup>b</sup>. He therefore supposes that the sun, moon, and stars were created before, and only made visible and conspicuous to the earth on the fourth day <sup>c</sup> : that the ancient chaos, the origin of the earth, was the atmosphere of a comet <sup>d</sup>, which is no other than a planet unformed, or in its primæval state, placed in a very excentric orbit ; to support which proposition he endeavours to shew, that the atmosphere of a comet has those several properties which are recorded of the ancient chaos ; that it has such peculiar properties besides, as lay a rational foundation for some of those phenomena of our earth, which can scarce otherwise be philosophically explained, and that no other body, or mass of bodies, now known, or ever heard of in the world, can stand in competition, or pretend to the same character. He proceeds to suppose, that the six days of the creation were equal to six years ; a day and a year being one and the same thing <sup>e</sup> before the fall of man, when the diurnal rotation of the earth about its axis, as he thinks, first began <sup>f</sup> : which supposition agrees with the letter of *Moses*, and the stile of scripture elsewhere, wherein a day often denotes a year ; and allows a convenient space for the works of creation, which appear to have been leisurely, regular, and gradual, without any precipitancy, or acceleration by a miraculous hand on every occasion ; not to mention other arguments drawn from the peculiar characters of the state of nature before the fall, which will be observed hereafter.

ON these foundations, Mr. *Whiston* proceeds to account for the formation of the earth in this manner : That such formation was not a mere result from any necessary laws of mechanism independently on the divine power ; but the proper effect of the influence and interposition, and all along under the peculiar care of God, who not only created the matter of which the universe, and particularly the earth, was to consist, out of a non-existent state, and endued it with its several properties and powers, but interposed more particularly in the formation of the earth, by changing the course

<sup>a</sup> Vid. KEILL's Examinat. of Dr. Burnet's Theory. <sup>b</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8. <sup>c</sup> WHISTON's new Theory of the Earth. Disc. of the Mosaic Creation, p. 3. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 4. &c. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 24. &c. <sup>f</sup> WHISTON's Theory, B. II. p. 73. <sup>g</sup> EMPEDOCLES taught, that when mankind sprang originally from the earth, the length of the day, by reason of the slowness of the sun's motion, was equal to ten of our present months. PLUT. de placitis Philof. l. 5. c. 18. a surprizing testimony to this purpose. <sup>h</sup> WHISTON's Theory, B. II. p. 85, &c.

and orbit of the chaos into that of a planet; by immediately forming the seeds of all animals and vegetables; by ordering every distinct day's work to be completed in its proper period, that every thing should follow in its own order and place; and principally in the creation of our first parents. That at the time immediately preceding the six days creation, the face of the abyfs, or superior regions of the chaos, were involved in a thick darkness; agreeably to the nature of a comet, which is represented as containing a central, solid, hot body, of many hundred, or thousand miles in diameter, and besides that, a vastly large, fluid, heterogeneous mass, or congeries of bodies, in a very rare, separate, and expanded condition, whose diameter were ten or eleven times as long as that of the central solid, which is the atmosphere, or chaos itself. But on the change of the comet's orbit, from a very excentrical, to a moderately elliptical one, the commencing of the *Mosaic* creation, and the influence of the divine spirit, all things would begin to take their own places, and each species of bodies rank themselves according to the law of specific gravity. By which method the mass of dense fluids, which composed one part of the entire chaos, being heavier than the masses of earth and water and air, would sink downwards with the greatest velocity, and elevate those masses enclosed among them upwards, which must distinguish the chaos into two very different and distinct regions; the lower and larger whereof would be a collection of dense and heavy fluids, or a vast abyfs immediately encompassing the central solid; the higher and lesser would be a collection of earthy, watery, and airy parts confusedly mixed, and encompassing the said abyfs. And this he takes to be the state of darkness; for the crowding together all those opaque corpuscles, which before roved about the immense regions of the atmosphere, must, by consequence, exclude the rays of the sun much more than before <sup>b</sup>.

Things being in this state, the visible part of the first day's work was the production of light, or its successive appearance to all the parts of the earth; with the consequent distinction of darkness and light, night and day, upon the face of it. And this was effected by the separation of the upper and elementary chaos of earthy, watery, and airy corpuscles into two somewhat different regions; the one a solid orb of earth, with considerable quantities of water in its pores; the other an atmosphere in a peculiar sense, or mass of the lightest earthy, with the rest of the watery and airy particles, still somewhat confusedly mixed together. So that on this first day or year of the creation, the earthy, or denser parts, would take their places lowest on the surface of the great abyfs, would settle in part into the same, and compose an orb of earth; and in its interstices, and little cavities, all such watery particles as were already in this region, or descended upon it before its consolidation, would be enclosed; and that as far above the surface of the abyfs as their quantity would enable them to reach. On this first day also, the upper regions of the chaos, now in some measure freed from those earthy and opaque masses which before excluded the same, and caused the above-mentioned thick darkness, would, in some degree, admit the rays of the sun. Now therefore that glorious emanation, light, would begin to appear on the face of the earth; and by the annual motion, successively illuminate the several parts of it, and consequently occasion the vicissitude of night and day <sup>c</sup>.

The visible part of the second day's work was the elevation of the air, with all its contained vapours; the spreading it for an *expansum* above the earth; the distinction thence arising of superior and inferior waters; the former consisting of those vapours raised and sustained by the air; the latter of such as either were enclosed in the pores, interstices, and bowels of the earth, or lay upon the surface thereof. The heat of the sun, at the conclusion of the former day, beginning considerably to penetrate the superior regions of the chaos, and the lower earthy *strata* continuing to settle somewhat closer together, the watery parts would subside, and where they could get entrance, saturate their inward pores and vacuities, and the atmosphere would free itself more and more from the heaviest and most opaque corpuscles, and thereby become much more tenuous and clear than before. Whereupon, by the time the night, or first part of this second day was over, and the sun arose, the light and heat of that luminary would more freely and deeply penetrate the atmosphere, and become very sensible in these upper, or airy regions; and consequently vast quantities of vapours would be elevated and sustained there, and so increase the quantities which were there already; while in the mean time all the earthy corpuscles incapable of rarefaction, and with them all such watery particles as were so near the earth that the sun's power could not sufficiently reach them, were still sinking downwards, and the former increasing the crassitude and bulk of the solid earth, and the latter, if the earth was too

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. Book IV. p. 291, &c.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 307, &c.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 311.

solid to admit them, as by this time it would probably be, flowing down apace, and covering all its surface with water. So that the *expansum*, or firmament, which was this day spread out above the earth, was plainly the air; the superior waters, all those fresh ones, which, in the form of vapour, a nine or ten months heat of the sun, with the assistance of the central heat, could elevate, and the air sustain, besides those vast quantities of salt ones, which had never yet left those regions: the inferior waters were those which were not elevated, but remained below in the bowels, or on the surface of the earth <sup>k</sup>.

THE visible parts of the third day's work were two; the former, the collection of the inferior waters, or such as were now under the heaven, into the seas, with the consequent appearance of the dry land; the latter, the production of vegetables out of that ground so lately become dry. In order to apprehend which it must be considered, that the orb of the earth had been settling and fixing itself on the surface of the abyss from the very beginning of the creation; and was by the cohesion of its parts grown solid some time before all the lighter and remoter earthy parts were descended upon it, suppose by the end of the first day: by which means, and by reason of the different density and specific gravity of its columns, it was settled into the abyss in different degrees, and thereby became of an unequal surface, distinguished into mountains, plains, and vallies; which things being supposed, at the conclusion of the preceding day, the air being crowded with vapours to a prodigious degree, in the night, or former part of this third day, the said vapours must needs descend on the earth in vast quantities, leaving the air by degrees pretty free, and becoming of celestial, terrestrial waters: these waters being descended, by reason of the inequality of the earth's surface, and its solidity, must in some time have run down from the higher parts by the declivities and hollows, into the lowest vallies, and most depressed regions of all, and there composed the seas and lakes; so that in the morning, the entire face of the globe, which was before covered with the descending waters, must be distinguished into overflowed vallies, and extant continents. The dry land being now distinguished from the seas, and just become moist and juicy, like the primitive slime; on the sun rising, it was of all other the most fit season for the germination of the seeds of vegetables, and the growth of trees, herbs, and plants; for which purpose, nine or ten months continual presence of the sun was a time very proper and natural <sup>l</sup>.

THE fourth day's work was the placing the heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and stars in the *expansum* or firmament; that is, the rendring them visible and conspicuous on the face of the earth: together with their several assignations to their respective offices there. For though the light of the sun penetrated the atmosphere in some sort the first day, and in the succeeding ones had very considerable influence upon it, yet it is by no means to be supposed that his body was visible all that while; the air, even at this day, being not at all times so clear, as to render it discernible by us, though we are at the same time sufficiently sensible of his force and influence in the constant productions of nature. But on the coming on of this fourth day, and the sun's abode below the horizon for two or three months, those vapours which were raised the day before, must fall downwards, and so before the approach of the morning, leave the air in the greatest clearness and purity imaginable, and permit the moon first, and then the sun, most plainly to appear, and be conspicuous to the earth. This fourth day therefore is the time, when both these heavenly bodies, though in being before, yet so as to be wholly strangers to a spectator on earth, were rendred visible: the whole inanimate world, with its vegetable productions, being now complete, according to the tradition of the *Chinese* inhabiting *Formosa* and other islands, who hold that the world, when first created, was without form or shape; but, by one of their deities, was brought to its full perfection in four years <sup>n</sup>.

THE production of the fish and fowl out of the waters, with the benediction bestowed on them, in order to their propagation, was the work of the fifth day, which was a very proper time for their introduction. The terraqueous globe being now become habitable, both to the swimming and volatile animals; and the air clear, and so penetrable by that complete heat of the sun, which was requisite to the generation of such creatures; those seeds, or little bodies of fish and fowl, which were contained in the water (or moist fruitful slime of kin to it) were now exposed to the kindly warmth of the sun, and the constant supply of a most gentle and equal heat from beneath; being neither disturbed by any sudden alteration of the air from winds, nor by the agitations of tides, which in those small seas, and in the absence of the diurnal rotation were

\* Ibid. p. 317, &c.  
Theor. ubi sup. p. 325.

† Ibid. p. 320, &c.

‡ Atlas Chines. part 2. p. 46.

§ WHISTON'S

imperceptible and gradual : which seeds being invigorated with the divine benediction, became now prolific ; and a numerous off-spring of the swimming and volatile kind arose, whereby the two fluid elements, air and water, became replenished with those first pairs, which were enabled to propagate their species °,

THE sixth day's work was the production of all the terrestrial, or dry-land animals. The brute beasts were produced out of the earth ; after which the body of *Adam* was formed of the dust of the ground ; and by the breath of life, breathed into him in a peculiar manner, he became a living soul : and some time after, on the same day, he was cast into a deep sleep, and *Eve* was formed of a rib taken from his side. The earth being now grown more solid and dry, and the air fully clear and fit for respiration, and the other disposition of external nature being subservient, it was a proper season for the generation of the land animals, and the introduction of the noblest of them, man P.

THIS is the substance of the latter theory, wherein, among many ingenious and probable solutions, there are some suppositions which have been thought too bold and precarious. Objections to Mr. Whiston's theory.

IT has been objected, that he is probably mistaken as to the extent of the *Mosaic* creation ; it being pretty certain that the moon was formed at that time, or at least placed in its orbit, and made to turn round the earth ; for no comets have any secondary planets : so that something more must be intended by *Moses*, than the bare rendring the moon visible ; and the word *made*, being equally applied both to sun and moon, it is supposed it ought in both places to be taken in the same, that is, a literal sense.

THE atmosphere of a comet could not, it has been thought, have been the primitive chaos, being not an obscure, but a bright pellucid fluid, which is a consequence of the intense heat of the central solid ; and because the greatest part of the bodies which compose the upper *stratum* of the earth, would have been vitrified on the comets near approach to the sun, and so very improper for the formation of the earth.

THAT the diurnal rotation of the earth did not commence till after the fall, so that till that time days and years were exactly the same, has been held a paradox ; considering the prodigious cold that must be occasioned by the total absence of the sun for one half of the year, and the intense heat that must ensue upon its continual shining upon it for the other ; which immoderate degrees of heat and cold must be pernicious to the antediluvian plants and animals ; unless their bodies were of a very different constitution from what they are now. Nor can there be any necessity to lengthen a day into a year, for the sake of a gradual and regular formation of things, without precipitance or acceleration, where an Almighty Agent is acknowledged to be concerned q.

IT may not therefore be amiss, laying all hypotheses aside, briefly to propose such an explication of the cosmogony as may be most agreeable both to reason and the letter of scripture. The Mosaic creation explained.

AND first, it is conceived that the *Mosaic* creation is neither to be extended to the whole universe, nor yet confined to the terrestrial globe alone ; the middle opinion, that it included the solar system, and that only, seeming the most probable, from the near similitude and relation the several planets in that system bear to one another, and their having the same common center and luminary ; so that though the historian chiefly regards the earth in his whole narration, yet there is reason to presume that the other planets were formed in the same manner, and in the same time as the earth, of so many particular chaotic masses.

MOSES, after the general assertion that both heaven and earth were originally made r by God, and before he begins his account of their reduction into the present system, informs us, that the earth, in particular, was at first in an unformed and desert state, when, as a thing preparatory to the work, the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters ; by which spirit some understand the third person in the blessed Trinity †, others, that plastic nature ‡ which was subservient to him on this occasion, or some other emanation of the divine power ; which it is reasonable to suppose moved the chaotic mass, whose surface was covered with water, or other fluid matter, and impregnated it with several kinds of vital influence, preparing every part to receive the intended disposition, order, and life.

° Ibid. p. 228.

P Ibid. p. 329, &c.

q Vid. KEILL's Remarks on Mr. Whiston's Theory.

r The original word עָרָא is allowed not necessarily to signify a creation, or production out of nothing : yet as the Hebrew tongue has no other word to express such a creation, it is most likely *Moses* uses it here in that sense.

† GROTIUS, &c.

‡ Dr. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syst. p. 148. Yet

others by this spirit of God understand no more than a violent wind, which they suppose was sent to dry up the waters. Chal. paraphrase, DAUSIUS, &c.

THINGS being in this state, the confused stagnating parts of matter began to range themselves in order; and the grosser parts subsiding, the lighter and more tenuious mounted up, by which means the atmosphere being in some degree cleared, the luminous rays of the sun began to pierce it, and caused an imperfect and glimmering light, yet sufficient partly to dispel the before total darkness, and to distinguish day from night. And this account of the light, which appeared on the first day, is much more reasonable than to suppose the substance of the sun, much less the fixed stars, were then extracted from the chaos<sup>a</sup>; because more than ninety-nine parts in an hundred of the matter of the universe, are fiery corpuscles, and if they were included at first in the chaos, it could not possibly have been dark or caliginous. Nor is it probable <sup>a</sup> that even the terrene matter of the planets was taken from the *Mosaic* chaos, not only because it is expressly called *the earth*, but because such an imagination is directly overthrown by the now undoubted property of the universal gravitation of matter; not to mention the false supposition which must in that case be made, of the earth's being the center of the world<sup>b</sup>. To account for this day's light, before the sun is said to be made, there is no occasion to recur to the supposition of its being either the divine *Shechinah*<sup>c</sup>, or no more than a temporary light, occasioned by the rapid motion communicated by God to a portion of matter<sup>d</sup>.

THE second day, the expanse or air, called by *Moses* heaven, was perfected, being now freed from the gross terrene particles which before crowded it, and made capable of supporting clouds and aqueous vapours, which were the superior waters, as those on the earth were the inferior<sup>e</sup>. By the waters above the firmament cannot be understood the planetary waters<sup>f</sup>, for the reasons given above; and the notion the old christian fathers had of super-celestial waters, is perfectly groundless.

THE former part of the third day's work was to gather the waters, which before covered the face of the earth, into seas and lakes, that the dry land might appear. How this was effected is not easy to determine. That God himself should raise the mountains, and hollow the channels of the sea for this purpose, appears not a little indecent; for which reason some have supposed the mountains might have been thrown <sup>c</sup> up by the force of a subterraneous fire, or flatus, in the same manner as earthquakes are now caused<sup>g</sup>; but the more philosophical opinion is, that they were occasioned by the different densities of the several columns of the earth, when its surface was first formed, some sinking lower into the abyss than others; for it is more than probable that the mountainous columns are much hollower and lighter than the other, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion to the contrary<sup>h</sup>. The latter part of this day's work was the production of vegetables, which were designed as food for the future animals. But how great soever we suppose the fecundity of the primigenial earth to be, it is scarce to be imagined, that trees and plants could arrive at full growth, and bear their several fruits and feeds in so short a space as a day, without the assistance of a super-<sup>d</sup> natural power: and as God is on all hands allowed to have formed the seeds of those vegetables, it may not, perhaps, be wrong to attribute their sudden maturation also to his interposition; though it be well known how much vegetation may be helped and forwarded by art, even at this day, of which there have been some surprizing instances, and much more might be expected from nature in that vigorous state.

On the fourth day the two great lights, the sun and the moon, are said to have been made and placed in the heaven. It must not, however, be supposed they were then first created, or assigned to their respective orbs; for the sun was not only in being from the beginning of the *Mosaic* creation, but had all along great influence <sup>e</sup> on the earth, its light and heat gradually encreasing, and influencing the earth and its productions with greater power, as the air became from time to time more and more pure and defæcated; and the moon, as well as the other planets, kept pace with the earth in its formation; but only that the bodies of those luminaries, which had been hid from the earth till the fourth day, when the air was perfectly freed from the heterogeneous particles, and the vapours which before obscured it, did then first appear to the earth, and visibly begin to perform their several offices. The stars also are for the same reason said to be made on that day; tho' the

<sup>a</sup> Which is the opinion of Dr. NICHOLS, and others. See his Conference with a Theist, Vol. I. Part 2.  
<sup>b</sup> Vid. WHISTON, of the *Mosaic* Creation, p. 35, &c. <sup>c</sup> The notion of ABRAVANEL. <sup>d</sup> Vid. SAURIN, Dissert. p. 2. <sup>e</sup> GROTIUS, &c. <sup>f</sup> This is Dr. NICHOLS's Interpretation, ubi supra.  
<sup>g</sup> RAY on the Creation, and Bishop PATRICK in his Commentaries. <sup>h</sup> See WHISTON's Theory, Book II. p. 82.



planets, as we have said, were forming before; and the fixed stars were no part of this creation\*.

AFTER the formation of the inanimate world, *Moses* proceeds to the formation of animals; and he begins with fishes and fowls, which were both produced, on the fifth day, out of the waters in great numbers†. And as the original of fish and volatiles was from the same element, so there is supposed to be some congruity in their nature, being both oviparous, and their motions of swimming and flying something alike.

IN the former part of the sixth and last day, the terrestrial animals were produced out of the earth.

- a THE manner of the original formation of plants and animals, in which the wisdom of the creator principally appears, has never been accounted for by any philosopher with any tolerable success; matter, and the laws of motion having nothing at all to do in these things, whatever they have in the inanimate part of the world. How ridiculous and groundless those hypotheses are which make them to be produced from the earth, supposed ever so fruitful, by the influence and heat of the sun, appears from the late discovery made in philosophy, that there is no such thing as equivocal generation of any the meanest animal or plant; the sun, and earth, and water, and all the powers of nature in conjunction, being able to do nothing at all towards the producing of any thing endued with so much as even a vegetative life‡. It must be therefore necessarily allowed, that God himself, or some agent impowered by him, actually formed both plants and animals, making use of the earth and water as the matter only whereof he constituted their parts. But whether these first vegetative and sensitive creatures were created in their seeds only (which contain the plants and animals themselves in little, and dispersed over the superficial part of the land and water, which had power given them to hatch and bring them forth; or whether they were created in their full state of perfection, seems not easy to decide. It has been thought by some modern philosophers, that God at first created only two of each species of animals, from which all the rest proceeded by generation: to support which opinion, they observe, that there was but one man and one woman created, and at the deluge but two of each kind (of unclean beasts) were preserved in the ark. But it seems more consonant to scripture, that a great number of every kind were formed at first: we are assured the aquatic creatures and fowls were brought forth abundantly; and plants, having no locomotive power, must necessarily have been created dispersedly all the world over. There has been also a farther question moved concerning the creation of animals, viz. whether all animals that already have been, or hereafter shall be, were at first actually created by God? or whether he hath given to each kind of animal such a power of generation, as to prepare matter, and produce new individuals in their own bodies? and it seems to be the most reasonable opinion, that God did himself, at first, actually create all the individual animals that ever were, or ever shall be; and that there is no such thing as any production of new ones. For what were that but a creation of such individuals? and what did God at the first creation more than, if this be true, we see every day done; that is, produce a new animal out of matter, which itself prepares? all the difference is, that God does that in an instant, which the creature must take time to do. Besides, the parent animal cannot be the agent or efficient in the generation, or forming and nourishing of the foetus, because that is a work of art and reason, which brute creatures are not endued withal; nor indeed does man himself understand any thing of the process of generation in himself. Again, it is most probable, if not certain, that most animals have in them from the beginning, the seeds or eggs of all the young they shall afterwards bring forth; which when spent and exhausted, the creature becomes barren: the females of all viviparous quadrupeds being brought forth with their testes or ovaria; and all birds formed with their ovary, or egg-cluster, containing the seeds of all the eggs they shall ever lay. Now had the creature a power of producing new ones, what need was there that there should be so many at first formed in them? Whereupon these philosophers argue thus; Let us suppose God did at first create two animals, a male and a female: the female must be created with its ovaries,

of the formation of plants and animals.

\* Dr. NICHOLLS (ubi supr.) supports the opinion of the creation of other worlds or systems before ours, by a criticism on the Hebrew words *וְהָיָה* (in Genes. i. 16.) which signify *together with*; and thence concludes, that by *Moses's* text the moon was to rule the night and, or *together with*, the stars, which shine then only; the words *he made* being interpolated in our translation. By the stars coming in so abruptly in this place, some have been ready to think those words were added since *Moses's* time, or crept into the text from a marginal annotation, made to obviate an objection from idolaters, that the stars were not made.

† Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl, &c. Genes. i. 21. But afterwards it is said, that God formed the fowls of the air out of the ground, Genes. ii. 19. The Jews reconcile this, by supposing that they were formed out of both elements mixed, viz. out of soft ooze. But CALMET (in his commentary) says the first passage may be rendered, and let the fowl fly, &c.

‡ Dr. CLARKE's Demonstration of the being and attributes of God, p. 64.

which

which (as we have said) contain so many seeds or eggs as the creature should ever bring forth young. So it is clear, that not only the first pair, but the first generation of animals were actually created. Again, this generation, from their first appearance, had each of them (that is the females) its *ovaria*, containing in like manner, the seeds of its future off-spring; so that this second generation was also created in the first. The same may be demonstrated of the third and fourth; and so on of all the generations that shall be as long as the world shall last <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The creation of  
man,

WHEN the creation had proceeded thus far, and every thing that could be subservient to man, or advance his felicity, was compleated; he, who was to be the lord of all, and for whose sake the whole was framed, was brought into the world, being created in a solemn and immediate manner by God himself <sup>1</sup>, after a consultation, as it were, of the holy Trinity <sup>k</sup>, every Person wherein may justly be presumed to have been peculiarly concerned in the production of that being which was to bear the image of God, and be made capable, in some degree, of his immortality.

<sup>b</sup> and of woman.

MAN then was, by a divine power, created on the sixth day, after the terrestrial animals had been produced; his body was formed out of the dust of the ground <sup>1</sup>, whence he had the name of *Adam* <sup>m</sup>, and his soul immediately infused into him by his creator; in which better and immortal part more evidently consisted that image, or resemblance of God, wherein he is said to have been made <sup>n</sup>. The woman was formed also on the same day <sup>o</sup>, out of the side <sup>p</sup> of the man, who had been cast into a deep sleep for that end <sup>1</sup>. And this original, it is to be supposed, was chosen, to conciliate the stricter love and union between them; the side being also the most proper part to denote that equality with the man, for which the woman was designed; whereas if she had been taken from the head <sup>r</sup>, it might have argued some intended superiority, or if from the lower parts <sup>s</sup>, the contrary. From what *Adam* said on his first sight of the woman, *that she was bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*, it appears he well knew whence she was formed; whether he was sensible of the past operation, or had it otherwise revealed to him, as probably it was in a vision as he slept. Besides *Eve*, it is pretended by some *Rabbins*, that God made another woman out of the earth named *Lilith*, of whom the *Jews* relate many stories <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Traditions concerning their  
size,

THAT the first pair were created in an adult and perfect state, immediately capable of the full exercise of their natural powers and faculties, is not to be doubted: nor is it to be imagined, but that they both came out of their maker's hands in the greatest perfection both of body and mind <sup>u</sup>. But we must not hence entertain those extravagant opinions which some have held in those respects. The *Talmudists* say, that *Adam* reached from one end of the earth to the other, when first created, but that when he had sinned, God squeezed his stature to an hundred ells <sup>v</sup>: though

<sup>a</sup> RAY'S Physico-Theological Discourses, chap. 4. <sup>1</sup> Mr. WHISTON, conceiving it unfit and impossible for the divine nature of the Father to be so much, and in such a manner, concerned with the corporeal world, and the sinful race of mankind, is of opinion, that the same divine person, who was afterwards frequently conversant on earth, gave the law on mount *Sinai*, and took the title, adoration, and, to others, incommunicable name of the God of *Israel*; and who at last was incarnate, and died, and still makes intercession for us with the Father, and will judge the world at the last day; was actually and visibly on earth in a humane shape, and truly and really employed in this creation of the world, so frequently ascribed to him in the holy scriptures, and particularly in this formation of man. Vide his Theory, Book IV. p. 330. <sup>k</sup> Genes. i. 26. Most of the modern expositors take the plural number here used, *Let us make*, &c. to be no more than a majestic form of speech, as princes now use. The Jewish doctors are of opinion, that this deliberation was real, and held with such angelical beings as God might employ in the work of man's creation: and on this occasion tell the following story; That as *Moses* was writing his book by God's appointment, and these words came to be dictated, he made some difficulty to set them down; crying out, O Lord, wouldst thou then lead men into error, and make them doubt of the doctrine of the unity? whereupon God answered, I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err. Bereshitic Rabba. Philo the Jew says, the true reason of this expression is known to God only; yet he conjectures that man alone, of all creatures, being capable of the contraries of virtue and vice; the creation of such a mixed being was partly proper and partly improper for God himself, who therefore here bespeaks his coadjutors, that what is irreprehensible in the actions or will of man may be attributed to God, and what is otherwise, to his subordinate agents. De mundi opificio, p. 15, &c. <sup>m</sup> Genes. ii. 7. <sup>n</sup> אדמה *Adamah* in Hebrew signifies *Earth*, but more properly, as is said, a sort of red earth or clay, from the root אד to be red. Ludolphus derives it from the *Aethiopic*, *Adama*, i. e. to be pleasant or delightful, which epithets are attributed to the earth for its amenity, and might be to the first man for his beauty. But this name of *Adam*, it must be observed, is an appellative rather than a proper name, and includes even both the sexes. Ibid. According to some of the *Persian* Mages (but not the more orthodox) the first human pair were named *Missha* and *Mishana*. Hyde, Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. c. 10. <sup>o</sup> Genes. i. 26, 27. Ib. v. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. i. 27. <sup>q</sup> The original word, which strictly signifies a rib, may be also translated side, as it is all along by the *Septuagint*. <sup>r</sup> Genes. ii. 21. <sup>s</sup> Which some have imagined. Vid. St. ROMUALD, Abbege du Treior Chronolog. Tom. I. p. 35. <sup>t</sup> Some *Rabbins* ridiculously fancy that God at first made *Adam* with a tail, but finding it lessened the beauty of his workmanship, he resolved to cut it off; however, he made it serve for the matter whereout he formed the first woman. Vid. BARTOLOCCI Biblioth. Rabbin. Tom. I. p. 69. <sup>u</sup> Vid. St. ROMUALD, ubi supra. HEIDRAGER, Hist. patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. <sup>v</sup> Vid. PHILON. Jud. de mundi opificio. p. 31. <sup>w</sup> TALMUD, in libr. Sanhedrim.

others suppose this was done at the request of the angels, who were terrified at his gigantic size, and that God still left him nine hundred cubits high <sup>a</sup>; and that was not a great deal too much, if he waded through the sea into our continent after his expulsion from paradise, which, as some imagine, was separated from this world by the ocean <sup>b</sup>. The *Mohammedans* also have a tradition from their prophet, that *Adam* was as high as a tall palm tree <sup>c</sup>; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be such, being somewhat above two spans long, on the top of a mountain in the island of *Ceylon*, thence named *Pico de Adam*; and too little, if *Eve* were of so enormous a size, as is said, that when her head lay on one hill near *Mecca*, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket-shots asunder <sup>d</sup>. The beauty of *Eve* is said to have been so extraordinary, <sup>beauty,</sup> that the prince of the angels fell in love with her, which occasioned his fall <sup>e</sup>; and to give as charming an idea of *Adam's* person, some have imagined, that God, at his creation clothed himself with a human body superlatively beautiful, and by that model formed the body of *Adam*; which apparition was the first prelude of the incarnation <sup>f</sup>; and what is yet more wonderful, *Adam* all the while looked on, and saw his maker, in that lovely form, fashioning every limb <sup>g</sup>. Nor have the gifts of his <sup>and knowledge.</sup> mind been less magnified than his stature and beauty: some *Rabbins* <sup>h</sup> have been contented to equal him with *Moses* and *Solomon*; others assert that he was master of every science and art; that he knew more the first day of his creation than any other by the experience of a long life <sup>i</sup>; nay, that he surpassed the angels themselves in knowledge <sup>j</sup>: allegorically interpreting what is said of his stature's reaching from one end of the world to the other, of the extent of his understanding <sup>k</sup>.

BUT it is still more groundless and extravagant to suppose, as several *Rabbins* have done, that *Adam's* body was created double, male on one side, and female on the other, <sup>Supposed, by some, to have been created double.</sup> being joined together by the shoulders, the heads looking directly contrary ways: and that God, when he had made *Eve*, had no more to do than to split this body in two <sup>l</sup>. Others join them by their sides, and say the male body was on the right, which embraced the other round the neck with his left hand, while the other did the same to him with her right. These dreams are sufficiently refuted by the text of *Moses*. It may not however be improper to add a word of the *Hermaphrodites*, or *Androgynes*, <sup>Of the Androgynes of Plato.</sup> of which *Plato* has said so much: they were bodies which had the two sexes, with four arms, four legs, and two faces on one neck, turned one towards the other. This duplicity of members gave them a prodigious strength, and consequently inspired them with great insolence, and they thought of no less than making war against the gods: who consulting on means to bring them to reason, the advice of *Jupiter* was approved, and that was to split them in two; which being done, each part still preserved a strong inclination to unite itself to the other, and this was, according to him, the original of love <sup>m</sup>.

THE *Mohammedans* have several peculiar traditions about the creation of *Adam*. <sup>Mohammedan traditions concerning the creation of man.</sup> They say, that the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Israfil* were sent by God, one after another, to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours (whence some account for the various complexions of mankind <sup>n</sup>;) but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence, and desiring them to represent her fear to God, that the creature he designed to form would rebel against him, and draw down his curse upon her, they returned without performing God's command; whereupon he sent *Azrail* on the same errand, who executed his commission without remorse; for which reason God appointed him to separate the souls from the bodies, being therefore called the angel of death. The earth he had taken was carried into

<sup>a</sup> Vid. BARTOLOCCI Biblioth. Rabbini. Vol. I. p. 65, 66. cap. 14.

<sup>b</sup> YAHYA, Comment. in Korân.

<sup>c</sup> BARCEPHA, in tract. de Paradiso,

<sup>d</sup> MONCONIS, Voyages, part I. p. 372, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. BARTOLOCCI. ubi sup. p. 322.

<sup>f</sup> EUGUBIN. in Cosmopoeia, apud Salian. Annal. Tom. I. p. 106.

<sup>g</sup> The latin terms are, Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas aspexit ambrosioque vultus illor, pulcherrima brachia corpus suum fingentia, singulosque artus ducentia. Idem, Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Apud RIVINI

Serpent. Seducit. p. 50. <sup>i</sup> Vid. SALIAN. ubi sup. p. 107, 113. <sup>j</sup> To prove this, they pretend to alledge the testimony of God himself. They say, that the angels having spoken of man with some contempt, when God consulted them about his creation, God made answer that the man was wiser than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and asked them their names; which they being not able to tell, he put the same question to the man, who named them one after another; and being asked his own name, and God's name, he answered very justly, and gave God the name of JEHOVAH. RIVIN. Serpent. Seducit. p. 56. This story has been adopted by Mohammed in his Korân, cap. 2. ver. 30, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 49, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. HEIDEGGER. Hist. Patriarch.

Tom. I. p. 85. which author attributes this opinion to two famous Rabbins, Manasses Ben Israel (in Conciliat. in Genes.) & Moses Maimonides (in More Nevoch. p. 2. cap. 30.) who yet rather approve a different sentiment. <sup>m</sup> PLAT. in Sympol. pag. 1185. Ed. Francof. 1602.

<sup>n</sup> AL TERMEZI, from a tradition of Abu Musa al Athari.

*Adabia*, to a place now between *Merca* and *Tayef*, where, being first kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards formed by God himself into a human form, and left to dry for the space of forty days, or, as others say, as many years; the angels, in the interim, often visiting it, and *Eblis* (afterwards the devil) among the rest: but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing God designed that creature to be his superior, took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such. After this, God animated the figure of clay, and endued it with an intelligent soul; and when he had placed him in paradise, formed *Eve* out of his left side <sup>a</sup>.

The Phœnician tradition.

THE two first human pair, according to the *Phœnician* tradition, were begotten, or generated by the wind *Colpias*, and his wife *Baan*, which is interpreted night <sup>o</sup>; that is, by a hollow wind acting on unformed matter: the meaning being no more than this; that a wind inclosed in several cavities of unshapen matter, worked out of it the first man; the rude matter being the passive principle, or cause, and therefore here figuratively called the wife; and the inclosed wind being the active principle, and therefore here intimated to be as it were the husband, in this first generation <sup>p</sup>.

Of the human soul:

whether infused, or ex traduce.

THAT the soul of man is a spiritual substance, independent on the matter it informs, is evident to any who considers the power and freedom of its operations, which no accident can be supposed to have; and which matter, with all its refinements and maturations, can never be able to perform. It has however been questioned, whether the souls of men are infused into them immediately from God, or whether they are derived, *ex traduce*, from their parents. The latter opinion has been maintained, from all other creatures having the power of propagating their species in full perfection; by which it seems to follow, that mankind were indueed with the same; from the likeness of temper and disposition of mind, which children often take from their parents; and from the indecency of conceiving God to be incessantly making souls, whenever the sexes are stimulated to satisfy their natural appetite. But it is scarce possible to maintain the immateriality and immortality of the human soul on this supposition: for if the soul be propagated by generation, it must, to our best apprehension, be material, and liable to corruption <sup>q</sup>; it is therefore more reasonable to believe, that though God has committed the formation of our bodies to the agency of second causes, yet he has reserved the production of our souls to himself, who is the Father, and God of the spirits of all flesh <sup>r</sup>.

Whether our souls were created at once, or successively.

It has also been doubted, whether the souls of mankind were all created at once, together with that of *Adam*, in order to be united to certain bodies which should be prepared afterwards for their reception; or whether they are successively created, as the bodies they are to inform are made fit to receive them? Such of the old philosophers who believed the soul to be a distinct substance from the body, as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and *Plato*, concluded that all souls must pre-exist in the universe before generation and transmigration into their respective bodies; and this doctrine was not confined to human souls only, but extended universally to all souls and lives whatsoever; for the ancients were so far from denying the sense and consciousness of brutes, that the generality of them allowed them the faculty of reasoning <sup>s</sup>, though they were not able to express their thoughts as man did: for which reason they were supposed, by some, to transmigrate indifferently from men into other animals, and from animals into men; it being only the difference of the organs, and the modification of the matter to which they were united, wherein consisted the seeming disparity of their powers. Several of the ancient christians have also believed the pre-existence of souls, induced by this consideration, that it was incongruous to bring God upon the stage perpetually, and make him immediately interpose every where in the generation of men, by the miraculous production of their souls out of nothing. Nay, the continual creation and decreation of the souls of brutes has been thought so improbable, that it has been fancied they are but so many particular emanations, or effluxes, from that source of life <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> KHOND AMIN, JALLALO'DDIN, Comment. in Koran, &c. Vid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. Orient. p. 55.

<sup>o</sup> SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. As to the words *Colpias* and *Baan*, Bochart takes the first of them to be the same with קול-פי-יב Col-pi-yab, i. e. the voice of the mouth of God; but this is improbable, because it is plainly the name of a wind, derived from the Greek Κέρας, which signifies a hollow place or cavity, whether those little ones in our bosoms, garments, &c. or those large ones which we call bays in the sea-shore: nor is there such a phrase in the Hebrew tongue, as the voice of the mouth of Yah; besides other reasons. *Baan* he would correct *Baut*, which he affirms to signify the night: but it is more probably the בנה *Bohu* of Moies, as Scaliger and Grotius agree. Vid. CUMBERLAND'S Remarks on the Hist. of SANCHONIATHO, p. 207. <sup>p</sup> CUMBERLAND, ibid. p. 209. <sup>q</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 38. <sup>r</sup> Numb. xvi. 22. Vid. Mr. STACKHOUSE'S Body of Divinity, p. 223, &c. <sup>s</sup> Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis Philos. l. 5. cap. 20. See BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Perreira, Rem E.

above, which animate such matter as is fitly prepared to receive and be actuated by them, so long as it continues such; but when those organized bodies, by reason of their indisposition, become incapable of being further acted upon, are resumed and retracted into that original head or fountain; it seeming not at all absurd to grant perpetuity of duration to the soul even of brutes, any more than to every the least particle of matter<sup>c</sup>. Nor is this doctrine of pre-existence unknown to the *Mohammedans*, who imagine that God drew out of the loins of *Adam* all his posterity at once, and made a covenant with them that they should acknowledge him for their lord<sup>d</sup>. They say, that all these men were actually assembled together in a valley near *Mecca*, or as others say, in the plain of *Dabia* in *India*, in the shape of pismires, which were endued with understanding; and after they had, in the presence of the angels, as witnesses, confessed their dependance on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor<sup>e</sup>. That the *Jews* had likewise some notion of the soul's existing before the body, appears from their question put to our Saviour, whether the man that was born blind<sup>f</sup>, had himself sinned, or his parents, to deserve that punishment; and as this opinion was not then contradicted, some have supposed it to have been thereby tacitly approved.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, the vulgar opinion of the successive creation of souls, may with good reason be allowed; for why should we imagine that God put forth all his creative vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a spectator only of the consequent result, and permitting nature alone to do all, without any farther interposition<sup>g</sup>? and how is it possible, that if our souls ever were in such a state of pre-existence, we should have so perfectly lost all memory and consciousness of any thing?

BEFORE we have done with this subject, the creation of man, we must take some notice of the opinion of those who think mankind were in being before *Adam*, who was the progenitor of the *Jews* only. To support which, they alledge that *Moses* makes mention of two distinct creations, one of mankind in general<sup>h</sup>, and the other of *Adam* and *Eve*<sup>i</sup>; and in the progress of his history gives strong intimations that there were several more men in the world when they were created; else it is not easily to be conceived how *Cain* could be a tiller of the ground<sup>j</sup>, which must pre-suppose all the artificers that have relation to tillage; or what reason he had to apprehend, that every one that found him would slay him<sup>k</sup>; nor can his going into another country, marrying a wife, and building a city<sup>l</sup>, be otherwise accounted for. From which they would infer, that *Moses* intended only to give an account of the origin of the *Jews*, and not of the primitive parents of the whole humane race<sup>m</sup>. These objections are easily answered; for the passage wherein the creation of man is mentioned the second time, is plainly no more than a recapitulation of what had been said before of the creation of the world in general, with a more particular detail of that of our first parents. And as to the numbers of men supposed to be in the world about the time of the murder of *Abel*, it is by no means improbable, that these should be the descendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, whose posterity, in the space of near one hundred and thirty years, (for it was in that year of *Adam*'s age that *Seth*, who was given in lieu of *Abel*, was born) might, by a fair calculation, be multiplied to many thousand souls, considering the primitive fecundity, and that none are supposed to have died in the interim<sup>n</sup>.

BUT the most plausible objection of the *pre-adamites* is, that if *Adam* and *Eve* be allowed to be the progenitors of all mankind, there can be no tolerable cause assigned of the difference in colour between the whites and the blacks; it being very improbable they were both the off-spring of the same parents. To this it may be answered, that the variety of complexions in the world may be rationally accounted for another way. We know how the hair and colour of mens bodies differ, according to the climate they inhabit, and their greater or lesser distance from the sun: we may therefore well conclude, that the first colony, which settled in a very hot country, received a great change in their complexion, proportionable to the heat of the climate, and became very tawny, gradually inclining to blackness, as the sun was more intense upon them. Hence, in a generation or two, that high degree of tawnyiness might become natural, and at length the pride of the natives. The men might begin to value themselves upon this complexion, and the women to affect them the better for it; so that their love

<sup>c</sup> CUDWORTH, ubi supra, p. 44. &c.

<sup>d</sup> Al Koran, cap. vii. ver. 173.

<sup>e</sup> See D'HERBELOT,

Biblioth. orient. p. 54. MARRACCIUS in Alcoran. p. 290.

<sup>f</sup> John ix. 3.

<sup>g</sup> CUDWORTH, ubi

supra. <sup>h</sup> Genes. i. 27.

<sup>i</sup> Genes. ii. 9. Ib. v. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Genes. iv. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Genes. iv. 14.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. ver. 16, 17.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. PEYRERII Præadamit. l. 3. cap. 4.

<sup>n</sup> BLOUNT's Oracles of Reason, p. 218.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. NICHOLLS's Conference with a Theist, Vol. I. part I.



for their husbands, and daily conversation with them, might have a considerable influence upon the fruit of their wombs, and make each child grow blacker and blacker, according to the fancy and imagination of the mother; the force of which is evident from many instances. Upon this supposition, the children thus produced must every birth approach nearer to an absolute blackness; and as their tender bodies came to be exposed naked (as the manner of such countries is) to the violent heat of the sun, their skin must needs be scorched in an extraordinary manner, and, perhaps, its very texture altered, and by that means contract a blackness far superior to that of their parents. By such degrees it is not improbable that people of the fairest complexion, when removed into a very hot climate, may, in a few generations, become perfect negroes. As to what some have imagined, that this blackness was at first preternatural, and a judgment inflicted upon *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, for discovering his father's nakedness<sup>b</sup>, and that all people of that complexion are the progeny of that undutiful son<sup>c</sup>; this seems very unlikely, and without foundation, the curse on that occasion being laid on *Canaan*, the son of *Ham*, by name, and yet his posterity are allowed not to have been black.

Thus have we attended the earth through its several degrees of formation, seen it perfected, clothed with trees and plants, and replenished with animals; and at last man, for whom the whole was designed, and to whom the dominion of it was expressly given by its maker, introduced and placed in it.

The time and season of the creation.

Whether all this was really done in the space of six days, has been a question; some, as has been observed, thinking it much too short for such a work, and others too long<sup>k</sup>, supposing that the world was created in a moment, and that *Moses* extends it to six days, the better to help the imagination of the people, that things may seem to rise in some order and method, and to take off any image of haste, or precipitancy. But we cannot see any reason to depart from the letter of *Moses* in this particular, the creation described by him being not the creation of the substance of all things out of nothing, which was most probably the effect of one individual act, but the formation of one world, or system only, out of matter before created<sup>l</sup>.

It has been disputed also in what season of the year the world was made; which it is to be presumed must be meant in respect of the place where *Adam* was created; for otherwise all the seasons must have been in being at once in different parts of the world. Some have supposed the vernal equinox to have been the time; but others the autumnal, which opinion is the more generally received<sup>m</sup>, and seems to be confirmed from the years anciently beginning from that time<sup>n</sup>. This indeed was afterwards altered by *Moses*, who ordered the ecclesiastical year should commence from the vernal equinox, or the month *Nisan*<sup>o</sup>: but the *Jews* in civil affairs still continued to compute from the former, or the month *Tisri*.

The place where Adam was created.

Another subject of enquiry has been the place where *Adam* was created. There is an ancient tradition, that it was in *Syria*, near where *Damascus* now stands<sup>p</sup>; others will have it to have been in *Armenia*<sup>q</sup>; but it was, most probably, in or near the garden of *Eden*, the seat designed for him, where-ever that was.

Things made prior to the creation.

The *Mohammedans*, who have very right notions as to the creation of the world in six days, do however believe, that God, previous to that creation, made the table whereon, as they suppose, his decrees are written; the pen wherewith they are written; the waters whereon his throne is established; and the throne itself<sup>r</sup>: wherein they have have imitated the *Jews*, who say, that God created seven things before the world; viz. paradise, the law, the souls of just men, *Israel*, the throne of God's glory, *Jerusalem*, and the *Messiah*<sup>s</sup>.

Of angels.

Before we quit this subject, it may be expected we should say something of the creation of angels, who so eminently concerned themselves in the affairs of mankind, at least in the first ages of the world.

ANGELS, in the proper signification of the word<sup>t</sup>, do not import the nature of any being, but only the office, to which they are appointed, especially by way of message, or intercourse between God and his creatures; in which sense they are called the ministers of God, who do his pleasure, and ministring spirits sent forth to mini-

<sup>a</sup> Genes. ix. 22. <sup>b</sup> Ib. ver. 25. <sup>c</sup> St. AUSTIN. PHILO. JUD. LE GRAND, Hist. sacræ. <sup>d</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. p. 312. <sup>e</sup> Vid. JACOB. CAPPELLI Obierv. in Genes. c. i. ver. 14. p. 583. <sup>f</sup> Vid. Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. <sup>g</sup> Exod. xii. 2. <sup>h</sup> Vid. HEIDECC. Hist. Patriarchar. Tom. I. p. 84. <sup>i</sup> CALMET's Comment. in Genes. <sup>j</sup> Vid. ECHELLENS. Hist. Arab. c. 9. <sup>k</sup> Missechet Pelschim. <sup>l</sup> The word *Angel* is Greek, and signifies a Messenger: the Hebrew מַלְאָכִים, the Arabic ملائكة, and Persian فرشتگان, signify the same thing. The Angels are in *Daniel* (cap. iv. ver. 13, &c.) called חַשְׁמַנִּים or *Watchers*, from their vigilance; for which reason they are in the remains we have of the prophecy attributed to *Enoch*, named *Egregori*; which word imports the same in Greek.

ster for them who shall be heirs of salvation. That there are such beings as we call angels, that is, certain permanent substances, invisible and imperceptible to our senses, endued with understanding and power superior to that of humane nature, created by God, and subject to him, as the supreme Being; ministering to his divine providence in the government of the world by his appointment, and more especially attending the affairs of mankind; is a truth so fully attested by scripture, that it cannot be doubted, and was so generally acknowledged by the *Jews*, that it is scarce to be believed that even the *Sadducees* themselves utterly denied their existence, but only that they had no notion of their appearing in those latter times; as many *Christians*, though they do not absolutely impugn the being of spirits, yet are far from giving credit to the frequent stories of apparitions. Nay, the existence of such invisible beings was generally acknowledged by the ancient heathens, though under different appellations; the *Greeks* calling them *dæmons*, and the *Romans* *genii*, or *lares*<sup>a</sup>: *Epicurus* seems to have been the only one among the old philosophers who absolutely rejected them<sup>b</sup>; and indeed, the belief of middle intelligences influencing the affairs of the world, and serving as ministers or interpreters between God and man, is as extensive as the belief of a God; having never, as we know, been called in question by those who had any religion at all.

AND had we no such revelation and tradition, it seems very reasonable to suppose there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwise be in nature; for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, some having barely being, as earth, air, and water; some that besides being have life, as vegetables; some that besides life have sense and perception, as brute animals; and some that besides sense have reason and cogitation, as men: and as we see our sensitive part exists in beings beneath us; so it is very probable that our more noble and intellectual part exists in beings as much superior to us as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual ascent from the lowest rank of them, which borders upon man, to the highest, which comes as near as a finite creature can, to an infinite deity<sup>c</sup>.

THAT the angels were in being long before the *Mosaic* creation, is generally allowed<sup>d</sup>, and indeed cannot be doubted, since they were actually present, if not employed in that creation, *when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy*<sup>e</sup>; and since it is more than probable that the fall of the apostate angels was some time at least before it.

As to the natures of these beings, we are told that they are spirits<sup>b</sup>, but whether pure spirits divested of all matter, or united to some thin bodies, or corporeal vehicles, has been a controversy of long standing. Not only the ancient philosophers, but some of the christian fathers<sup>c</sup>, were of opinion that angels were clothed with ethereal or fiery bodies, of the same nature with those which we shall one day have, when we come to be equal to them. But the more current opinion, especially of later times, has been, that they are substances entirely spiritual, though they can at any time assume bodies, and appear in humane, or other shapes<sup>d</sup>.

THAT the angelical powers and abilities vastly excel those of man, cannot be denied, if we consider that their faculties are not clogged or impeded, as ours are, by any of those imperfections which are inseparable from corporeal beings: so that their understandings are always in perfect vigour; their inclinations regular; their motions strong and quick; their actions irresistible by material bodies, whose natural qualities they can controul or manage to their purposes, and occasion either blessings or calamities, public or private, here below. Instances of which are too numerous to mention.

BESIDES their attendance on God, and their waiting and executing his commands, they are also presumed to be employed in taking care of mankind and their concerns: and that every man had such a tutelar or guardian angel, even from his birth, was a firm belief and tradition among the *Jews*; and our SAVIOUR himself seems to have been of the same sentiment<sup>e</sup>. The heathens were also of the same persuasion<sup>f</sup>, and thought it a crime to neglect the admonitions of so divine a guide<sup>g</sup>. *Socrates* publickly confessed himself to be under the direction of such an angel, or *dæmon*, as

<sup>a</sup> Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis philos. l. 1. c. 8. & VARRON. apud August. de civit. Dei. l. 7. cap. 6.  
<sup>b</sup> Vid. PLUT. ibid. <sup>c</sup> Vid. STACKHOUSE'S Body of Divinity, p. 185, &c. <sup>d</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archaeol. l. 2. p. 300, &c. <sup>e</sup> Job xxxviii. 7. Yet some have imagined they were created the first day, and designed by *Moses* under the name of *lights*; Others, that they were created the sixth day, after man, to crown and consummate the creation, which rose by degrees from the less to the more perfect parts. <sup>f</sup> Vid. TILLOTSON'S Sermon. Vol. II. <sup>g</sup> S. BASIL, S. ATHANASIUS, and METHODIUS; and also S. AUGUSTIN. apud SIXT. Senens. l. 5. Annot. 8. Vid. Acta Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 5. <sup>h</sup> MAIMONID. More Nev. p. 2. cap. 49. <sup>i</sup> Vid. Matth. xviii. 10. <sup>j</sup> Vid. MENAND. ARRIAN. in Epictet. <sup>k</sup> Vid. M. ANTONIN. Meditat. l. 2. §. 15. l. 5. §. 19. &c. PLOTIN. Ennead. 3. l. 4. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 418.

several others have since done<sup>a</sup>. And on this tutelar genius of each person, they believed his happiness and fortune depended. Every genius did his best for the interest of his client; and if a man came by the worst, it was a sign the strength of his genius was inferior to that of his opponent, that is, of an inferior order; and this was governed by chance. There were some genii, whose ascendant was so great over others, that their very presence entirely disconcerted them; which was the case of that of *Augustus* in respect to that of *M. Antony*<sup>i</sup>: and for the same reason, perhaps, some persons have wit, and speak well, when others are absent, in whose presence they are confounded, and out of countenance. The *Romans* thought the tutelar genii of those who attained the empire, to be of an eminent order, on which account they had great honours shewn them: nations and cities also had their several genii<sup>k</sup>. The ancient *Persians* so firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over human affairs, that they gave their names to their months and the days of their month, and assigned them distinct offices and provinces<sup>l</sup>: and it is from them the *Jews* confess to have received the names of the months and angels, which they brought with them when they returned from the *Babylonish* captivity<sup>m</sup>. After which we find they also assigned charges to the angels, and in particular the patronage of empires and nations; *Michael* being the prince of the *Jews*<sup>n</sup>, as *Raphael* is supposed to have been of the *Persians*<sup>o</sup>.

THE *Mohammedans* have so great a respect for the angels, that they account a man an infidel who either denies their existence, or loves them not. They believe them to be free from sin, enjoying the presence of God, to whom they are never disobedient: that they have subtil pure bodies, being created of light; and have no distinction of sexes, nor do they need the refreshment of food or sleep. They suppose them to have different forms and offices; that some adore God in several postures; others sing his praises, and intercede for men; some carry and encompass his throne; others write the actions of men, and are assigned guardians to them<sup>p</sup>.

As the numbers of these celestial spirits are very great<sup>q</sup>, it is likewise reasonable to believe that there are several orders and degrees among them, which is also confirmed by scripture: whence some speculative men have distributed them into nine orders, according to the different names they are there called by; and reduced those orders into three hierarchies, as they call them; to the first of which belong seraphim, cherubim, and thrones; to the second, dominions, virtues and powers; and to the third, principalities, arch-angels, and angels. They imagine farther, that there are some who constantly reside in heaven; others who are ministers, and sent forth, as there is occasion, to execute the orders they receive from God by the former. The *Jews* reckon but four orders, or companies of angels<sup>r</sup>, each headed by an arch-angel; the first order being that of *Michael*, the second of *Gabriel*, the third of *Uriel*, and the fourth of *Raphael*; but though the *Jews* believe them to be but four, yet it seems there were rather seven<sup>s</sup>. The *Persians* also held there were subordinate degrees among the angels<sup>t</sup>.

Of the fallen angels.

ALTHOUGH the angels were originally created perfect, good, and obedient to their master's will, yet some of them sinned<sup>u</sup> and kept not their first estate<sup>v</sup>, but left their habitation, and so of the most blessed and glorious, became the most vile and miserable of all God's creatures. They were expelled the regions of light, and cast down to hell, to be reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, until the day of judgment. With heaven they lost their heavenly disposition, which delighted once in doing good, and praising God; and fell into a settled rancour against him, and malice against men: their inward peace was gone; all desire of doing good departed from them; and instead thereof, revengeful thoughts and despair took possession of them, and created an eternal hell within them.

The time of their fall, &c.

WHEN, and for what offence these apostate spirits fell from heaven, and plunged themselves into such an abyss of wickedness and woe, are questions very hard, if not impossible, to be determined by any clear evidence of scripture. As to the time, it is most reasonable to believe that their fall preceded the creation of the world; though some have imagined it to have been after, and that carnality, or lusting to converse

<sup>a</sup> Particularly *PLOTINUS*, whose daemon is said to have appeared at the evocation of an *Egyptian* priest in the temple of *Isis* at *Rome*, in the presence of *Plotinus* himself, and proved to be a god, and not a simple daemon; whereupon *Plotinus* was immediately congratulated by the priest on so extraordinary a prerogative. *PORPHYR.* in vita *Plotini*.

<sup>i</sup> *PLUTARCH.* in *Antonio*, p. 930.

<sup>k</sup> *Vid.* *DODWEL.*

<sup>l</sup> *præl. II. ad Spart. Hadrian.* p. 176. &c.

<sup>m</sup> *Vid.* *HYDE, Rel. vet. Pers.* cap. 19. & 20.

<sup>n</sup> *TAL-*

<sup>o</sup> *vid.* *Hierosol.* in *Roth ha shana.*

<sup>p</sup> *Dan. xii. 1.*

<sup>q</sup> *HYDE, ubi sup.* p. 270, 273.

<sup>r</sup> *Com-*

<sup>s</sup> *pendium Theolog. Moham. c. 3. apud Reland. de Rel. Mohammed.*

<sup>t</sup> *Revel. v. 18.*

<sup>u</sup> *MAIMONID.*

<sup>v</sup> *More Nevoch. part 2. c. 10.*

<sup>w</sup> *Revel. iv. 5. viii. 2. Tobit xii. 15.*

<sup>x</sup> *Vid.* *HYDE, de Rel. vet. Pers. c. 12. & 20.*

<sup>y</sup> *2 Pet. ii. 4.*

<sup>z</sup> *Jude, ver. 6.*

with women upon earth<sup>1</sup>, was the sin which ruined them<sup>2</sup>: an opinion built on a mistaken interpretation of scripture, as if angels were meant by the sons of God, who are said to have begotten the mighty men of old on the daughters of men<sup>3</sup>. Others have supposed, that the angels being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by CHRIST's assuming it, and thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted<sup>4</sup>: and with this opinion that of the *Mohammedans* has some affinity, who are taught, that the devil, who was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, and named *Azazil*<sup>5</sup>, forfeited paradise for refusing to worship, or pay homage to *Adam*; at the command of God<sup>6</sup>. But on what occasion soever it first shewed itself, pride seems to have been the leading sin of the angels<sup>7</sup>: who admiring, and valuing themselves too much on the excellence of their nature, and the height of their station, came at length to entertain so little respect for their creator, as to be guilty of downright rebellion and apostasy<sup>8</sup>.

It is certain from scripture, that these fallen angels were in great numbers<sup>9</sup>, and that there was also some order and subordination preserved among them; one especially being considered as their prince, and called by several names, *Belzebub*, *Satan*, or *Sammaël*, by the *Jews*; *Abârîman* by the *Persians*; and *Eblis* by the *Mohammedans*. Their constant employment is not only doing evil themselves, but endeavouring by all arts and means to seduce and pervert mankind, by tempting them to all kind of sin, and thereby bringing them into the same desperate state with themselves.

BESIDES the angels and devils, the *Mohammedans* believe there are a sort of intermediate creatures, which they call *Jin*, or *Genii*, of a grosser fabric than angels; some of whom are good, and others bad, and capable of future salvation, or damnation, as men are. The *Oriental*s pretend that these *Genii* inhabited the world for many thousand years before the creation of *Adam*, under the reigns of several princes, who all bore the common name of *Solomon*: but falling at length into an almost general corruption, *Eblis* was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that some of that generation still remaining, were by *Tahmûrath*, one of the ancient kings of *Persia*, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of *Kâf*. Of which successions, and wars, they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among this kind of beings (if they are not rather of different species) some being called absolutely *Jin*, some *Peri*, or *fairies*; some *Div*, or *giants*; others *Tacwins*, or *fates*<sup>10</sup>.

As to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we do not find they had any notion of evil spirits, or devils, in the usual sense of the word, if we except only *Plutarch's* evil principle before mentioned. Their infernal gods were not conceived to be of an evil nature; and though they believed the furies were the tormentors of wicked men in another life, yet they looked on them as goddesses, and the avengers only of evil actions.

MUCH more might be added to what we have already said on these subjects; but as we may be thought already to have exceeded the bounds of an introduction, we shall here conclude it, and hasten to the history itself.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 54. 2. <sup>2</sup> JOSEPHUS, PHILO JUD. ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, &c. <sup>3</sup> Genes. vi. 2, 4. <sup>4</sup> IRENAEUS, LACTANTIUS, GREGORY NYSSEN, &c. <sup>5</sup> Vid. RELAND. de Rel. Mohammed. p. 189, &c. <sup>6</sup> Al Korân, cap. 2. ver. 34. <sup>7</sup> Vid. i. Tim. iii. 6. and the magnificent comparison of the fall of proud *Sennacherib* to that of *Lucifer*; Isaiah xiv. 12, &c. <sup>8</sup> The opinion of St. CHRYSOSTOME, THEODORET, ATHANASIUS, &c. <sup>9</sup> Yet some have endeavoured to prove there is no more than one devil. Vid. Lettres de BAYLE, Tom. I. p. 360. <sup>10</sup> Vid. d'HERSELOW, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 370, &c.





# AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

## BOOK I.

### *The ASIATIC History to the Time of ALEXANDER the Great.*

#### CHAP. I.

#### *The General History of the WORLD till the FLOOD.*

#### SECT. I.

#### *The Creation of Man, and the Situation of the Garden of Eden.*

**I**N the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. The earth was once in a confused and desolate state, but by divine providence, and second causes subservient to that purpose, gradually, in the space of six days, reduced into a habitable world; clothed with trees, shrubs, plants, and flowers, and stocked with various kinds of animals. And when all these things were, by the care and beneficence of God, prepared for the reception of his principal guest, then, and not till then, was Man created and introduced into the world <sup>a</sup>.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4205.

The creation of  
the world, and  
of man.

WHATEVER opinions the ancient heathens might have of the origin of mankind, we are assured, by the most authentic records, that we are descended from two persons, <sup>a</sup> Adam and Eve <sup>b</sup>, who were formed by God in the most absolute perfection both of body and mind, and subject to none of those irregular appetites, diseases, wants, and sorrows, which they afterwards, by their rebellion, brought on themselves and their unhappy posterity. And lest any thing should be wanting to compleat their happiness, a most delightful habitation was prepared for them in *Eden*, by their gracious creator; a garden, or paradise <sup>c</sup>, whereon all the beauties of nature were profusely bestowed, well watered, and planted with all sorts of trees, that were either pleasant to the sight, or good for food. In the midst of which garden were two trees of a very peculiar, and it seems contrary nature; one called the tree of life, the fruit of which had the virtue of rendring those who eat it, in some degree at least, immortal; and the other the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the consequence of the tasting which was so pernicious to them and their off-spring.

The happy  
state of the  
first pair.

BUT before we proceed, it may be expected we should say something with reference to the situation of this garden, concerning which there has been so great a variety of opinions among learned men.

Situation of  
the garden of  
Eden.

SEVERAL of the primitive fathers believed that there never was a local paradise, and that all which is spoken of it in scripture is to be understood in an allegorical sense: others, who allowed the reality of paradise, have swerved so far from the letter, as to suppose it not to be situated on any part of this terrestrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a recess hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place possessed at present by the *Caspian*

Extraneous  
opinions con-  
cerning it.

<sup>a</sup> Genes. i.

<sup>b</sup> Genes. iii. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Genes. ii. 8, &c.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

sea, under the *Arctic* pole, and under the equator, with many more such extravagancies, which have been collected by several authors<sup>c</sup>, some of whom have thought it worth while to give such whimsies a serious answer.

ON the other hand, many of those who have allowed a terrestrial paradise, have fallen into no less extravagancies. There is scarce a corner of the earth which has not been ransacked in search of it. They have looked for it in *Asia*, in *Africa*, in *Europe*, in *America*, in *Tartary*; upon the banks of the *Danube*, and the *Ganges*; in the isle of *Ceylon*, in *Persia*, in *Armenia*, in *Mesopotamia*, in *Chaldea*, in *Arabia*, in *Palestine*, in *Syria*; about the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; near the cities of *Damascus* and *Tripoly*; in *Ethiopia*, towards the mountains of the moon; and which will doubtless be thought as much out of the way, in *Sweden*.

What owing  
to.

THIS diversity of opinions proceeds partly from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of christianity, of allegorizing all passages of scripture which had the least appearance of difficulty in them, and partly from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of *Moses*, and that of the heathen authors, whose imperfections are not yet perhaps sufficiently supplied to resolve this difficult problem. As for the *Jews*, from whom we might have expected some light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their bible, and have run as much astray as other nations in their descriptions of paradise; supposing, as *Josephus*<sup>f</sup> and all the rest of their authors have done, the *Ganges* and the *Nile* to be two of the four rivers, in which the christian fathers have almost unanimously followed them.

Several  
Edens.

THERE are several places which bear the name of *Eden*; we find two mentioned in scripture, besides that in the *Mosaical* description, if it be not one of them; viz. one near *Damascus* in *Syria*<sup>g</sup>, the other in or about *Thelassar* in *Chaldea*<sup>h</sup>. *Ptolemy* places an *Audan* in this last country, and another on the *Euphrates*. There is also another *Eden* in *Syria* near *Tripoly*<sup>i</sup>, in the road to *Damascus*, as the former seems likewise to be. *Cartwright*, in his travels<sup>k</sup>, gives an account of an island in the *Tigris*<sup>l</sup>, called *Eden*, as he informs us, by the people of the country, and about twelve miles above *Mausel* (A). There is a city near *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, still called *Aldena*, and *Aden* is a very noted one on the coast of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, a little without the straits of *Bab al Mondab*; for *Eden* or *Aden* signifying pleasure, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation, considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country; and the last seems to be the case of *Aden* in *Arabia*, which has nothing more than ordinary to deserve that name, but the barrenness of the neighbouring soil.

The Mosaical  
paradise local,  
not imaginary.

IT appears plainly from the *Mosaical* description (B), however preposterous a learned author<sup>m</sup> thinks it, that *Moses* had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers, very well known by the names he gives them, in his time; and (as appears from scripture) for many ages after. *Eden* is as evidently a real country as *Ararat*, where the ark rested, and *Shinaar*, where the sons of *Noah* removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another, in the *Mosaical* history: but the *Jews* having, probably,

<sup>c</sup> STEPH. MORINUS, dissert. de parad. terrest. præfix. oper. Bocharti, Edit. 1722. MOSES BAR CEPHA, de parad. comment. P. DAN. HUET. de situ paradisi. BURNET'S Theory of the Earth. RALEIGH'S hist. of the World, &c.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12. <sup>e</sup> Antiq. Jud. lib. I. cap. i. <sup>f</sup> Amos i. 5.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12. <sup>h</sup> MAUNDREL'S travels, p. 135. <sup>i</sup> Vid. The preacher's travels, p. 91, 95. <sup>j</sup> Vid. ASSEMANI Bibl. orient. tom. I. p. 516. <sup>k</sup> Dr. BURNET'S Theory of the Earth, book II. chap. i. at the end.

(A) This remark, whether true or false, seems to have occasioned Raleigh's straining the expression in the Nestorian epistles, (1) translated into Latin by Masius, where that isle is not called Eden, but is said to be in the Tigris, a river of Eden.

(B) And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden (2). — And a river went out of Eden to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads (3). The name of the

first is Pison [Fisbon]: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold (4). And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium [Bdolah] and the onyx-stone [Shoham] (5). And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia [Cush] (6). And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of [or eastward to] Assyria [Alshur]. And the fourth river is Euphrates [Perath or Frath] (7).

(1) Ad calcem Bar Cephæ, comment. de situ paradisi, p. 264. ver. 10. (4) Ver. 11. (5) Ver. 12. (6) Ver. 13.

(1) Gen. ii. 8. (7) Ver. 14.

(3) Ibid.

during

during the distraction of their affairs about the time of the captivity, lost the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of *Eden* (as indeed they have of most things relating to their antiquities) except that of the rivers *Hiddekel* and *Frat*; the christians, who have busied themselves much in search after it, have lost their way for want of guides, which has been the occasion of so many strange notions about it, as we have already mentioned; and there must always be a difference among men in opinions, where the uncertainty and defectiveness of the proofs leave room for controversy.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

SOME of the latest moderns <sup>a</sup>, misled by the affinity of names, have supposed they found the name of the *Pison* preserved in the *Pasi-tigris*, or rather (as they would have it, to favour their hypothesis) the *Piso-tigris*, whilst others <sup>c</sup> take it for granted, that it is the *Phasis*, as they conclude the *Aras* to be the *Gibon*, from the conformity of the signification; both those terms being used by the *Persians* to signify any great river in general. But at that rate, *Eden* may be any where, and every where, since a conformity of names, either in sound or signification, may be found in all countries; and if that sort of proof be admitted; unless under proper restrictions, it will be no hard matter to prove, that *America* was peopled immediately by the posterity of *Noah*, as some have alledged.

This enquiry  
uncertain and  
conjectural.

THE *Bdolab* and *Sbobam*, which were the produce of *Havilah*, being unknown names, as well as that of their native country, they are interpreted by every one so as to favour the scheme he espouses. Thus the *Bdolab* is rendered *bdellium*, the *carbuncle*, the *loadstone*, the *oleaster*. Those who place paradise in *Armenia*, will have it to be *crystal* <sup>v</sup>, because they find that stone thereabouts; and those who situate it in *Chaldea*, towards the *Persian* gulph, insist that it signifies *pearl*, which is fished in great quantity in *Babrein*, near *al Katif*, on the *Arabian* coast, where the country of *Havilah* is to be found, according to this hypothesis; and it must be owned, this conjecture seems to come nearest the truth, considering manna is compared <sup>u</sup> to the *Bdolab* for colour; and so the *Talmudists* describe manna to be round as coriander-seed, and white as pearls. In like manner the *Sbobam* is made by different authors to signify the *beryl*, and the *emerald* <sup>x</sup>; perhaps with as little propriety as it is rendered in our bibles the *onyx-stone*, which translation is condemned by *Bochart* <sup>y</sup> and others (C).

OF the three schemes which at present obtain amongst the learned, the first, which places paradise near *Damascus* in *Syria*, about the springs of *Jordan*, and has for its patrons *Heidegger* <sup>z</sup>, *Mr. le Clerc* <sup>aa</sup>, *Pere Abram* <sup>ab</sup>, and *Pere Hardouin* <sup>ac</sup>, seems the worst grounded, being destitute of all the marks specified in the *Mosaical* description, which ought always to be the principal test in this enquiry. The second hypothesis places *Eden* in *Armenia*, between the springs or heads of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Phasis*, and is espoused by two great men, eminent for their skill in geography, namely, *Sanfon*, and the late *Mr. Hadrian Reland* <sup>ad</sup>, besides *Calmet* <sup>ae</sup>. But this scheme is not much better supported than the first; for according to the modern discoveries, the *Phasis* does not rise in the mountains of *Armenia*, near the springs of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo* <sup>b</sup>, *Ptolemy* <sup>c</sup>, *Dionysius* <sup>d</sup>, and the rest of the ancients have wrongly informed us, which led them, without doubt, into this error; but by the map of *Colchis* or *Mingrelia*, in *Thevenot's* collection, and the account of *Sir John Chardin*, in his travels, that river has its source far away in mount *Caucasus*, and does not flow from south to north, but on the contrary from north to south; a great extent of country, and the river *Kor* (which by

The schemes  
which place  
Eden in Syria  
and Armenia  
ill-grounded.

<sup>a</sup> FRANCIS JUNIUS, HUGO GROTIUS.

differt. de situ paradisi, p. 7. CALMET, comment. sur la Gen. ii. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Numb. xi. 7.

<sup>c</sup> RELAND, ibid. p. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. I. p. 30.

<sup>e</sup> RELAND, ibid. p. 27.

p. 94.

<sup>f</sup> In Gen. cap. ii. 8.

<sup>g</sup> PHARUS vet. test. l. 2. n. 16. p. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Histor. patriarch.

or Piny.

<sup>i</sup> Dissertat. de situ paradisi.

<sup>j</sup> Dict. de la Bible, p. 150, & Commentaire sur la

Genese, chap. ii. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Lib. X. & XI.

<sup>l</sup> Tab. III. Asia.

<sup>m</sup> Periegesis.

(C) On this occasion we cannot help observing, that our translators have often swerved from the original Hebrew, to follow the Septuagint, if not the German version, especially in names and terms. Thus *Aram* is generally rendered *Syria*; *Khashtim*, *Chaldea*; *Mizraim*, *Egypt*; *Cush*, *Ethiopia*; and the like: but we need not send the reader further than the *Mosaical* description of *Eden* above-cited, in which it appears, there are no less than six variations. They have moreover intro-

duced a corrupt pronunciation, either by following the German orthography instead of the English, or continuing the orthography of the vulgate, which prevailed before the reformation. Thus they have constantly made use of the *J* consonant instead of the *Y*: *Jacob* and *Joseph* should be written *Yacob* and *Yoseph*, or rather *Yosif*; *Benjamin*, *Benyamin*, or rather *Benyamim*.

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its situation would much better supply the place of the *Pifon* than the *Pbasis*) interposing; as may be seen by the map. As one mistake generally draws on another, *Reland*, led again by that deceitful guide the similitude of names, supposes *Cush* to be the country of the *Cossæans* or *Cussæans*; but if the *Cossæans* were the inhabitants of the mountains <sup>c</sup>, which, with *Partbia*, bounded *Media* on the east; and which, in all likelihood, as he conjectures, was *Kubestân*, or the mountain country, as that name signifies; how could they be settled along the *Araxes*, which yet it was necessary they should be, to favour his opinion? for *Kubestân* is the most eastern or north-eastern part of *Irâk Ajami*, a well known province of *Irân* or *Persia* at large, agreeable to *Diodorus Siculus* <sup>f</sup> and *Arrian* <sup>g</sup>, who makes the country of the *Cossæans* <sup>a</sup> a part of *Media*; though some place them in *Persia*, and *Ptolemy* in *Susiana*: besides, the *Pbasis* and *Scythia* (which *Sanfon* understands by *Cush* or the *Cossæans*) seem to have been too remote to be known to *Moses*. Neither does this hypothesis account for that river which watered paradise, and from whence the other four had their rise; and *Reland* will not allow it can be done, but by supposing a subterranean river, which may as well serve for the scheme of the *Jews*, followed by the *Fathers*, which makes the *Pifon* and *Gibon*, the *Nile* and the *Ganges*.

The third  
scheme most  
probable.

ACCORDING to the third opinion, *Eden* is placed upon the united stream of the *Dijlat* or *Hiddekel* and *Frat*, called by the *Arabs*, *Sbat al Arab*, that is, the river of the *Arabs*; which <sup>b</sup> begins two days journey above *Basrab*, and about five leagues <sup>b</sup> below divides again into two or three channels, which empty themselves into the *Persian* gulph. By this hypothesis the *Sbat al Arab* is the river passing out of *Eden*, which river, considered according to the disposition of its channel, and not according to the course of its stream, divides into four heads or different branches, which make the four rivers; two below, viz. the two branches of the *Sbat*, which serve for the *Pifon* and *Gibon*; and two above, viz. the *Frat* and *Dijlat*, or the *Euphrates* and *Hiddekel*. According to this disposition, the western branch of the *Sbat* will be *Pifon*, and the adjoining part of *Arabia*, bordering on the *Persian* gulph, will be *Havilah*; and the eastern branch will be the *Gibon*, encompassing the country of *Cush* or *Kbuzestân*, a province of *Irân*, as it is still named by the <sup>c</sup> *Persians*.

Eden to be  
looked for in  
Chaldea.

THIS opinion was first started by *Calvin*, and is with some little variation followed by *Stephanus Morinus*, *Bochart*, and *Huet* bishop of *Avanches*; and, indeed, all the passages of scripture where *Eden* is mentioned, concur to establish it somewhere hereabouts. The prophet speaking of *Tyre*, says, *Haran, and Canneb, and Eden, were thy merchants* <sup>1</sup>. Now if *Cannab* be *Calne* or *Calyo*, which is taken to be *Ctesiphon* or *Medain*, the seat of the *Partbian* race of *Persian* kings, then *Eden* must have been to the south of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which seems to be from north to south. The same order is observed in two other places of the old testament, where mention is made of *Gozan, Haran, Rezesb, and* <sup>d</sup> *the children of Eden which were in Telassar* <sup>2</sup>. To this we may add an argument of some, that the city of *Enoch*, or rather *Hanukb*, built by *Cain*, and called after the name of his son, is placed to the east of *Eden* <sup>3</sup>; and *Ptolemy* places a city, called *Anuchta*, in *Susiana* or the country of *Cush*.

WITH regard to the natural marks ascribed to *Havilah*, authors mention that part of *Arabia* as productive of gold; and as for the *Bdolab* and *Sbobam*, they may be made the produce of any country, as we have before observed. However, the *Bdolab* being considered either as pearls, or bdellium (supposed to be a transparent, odoriferous, but bitter gum) is allowed to be a native of *Arabia*.

Objections to  
the third  
scheme.

BUT though this hypothesis seems the best of any that hath been yet advanced, <sup>e</sup> and to account tolerably well for the *Mosaical* description, yet is it liable to exception: for the two branches of the *Sbat al Arab*, which by this scheme represent the *Pifon* and the *Gibon*, seem not considerable enough to deserve the name of rivers, nor are of sufficient length to encompass countries of any extent; the place where the *Sbat al Arab* divides below *Basrab*, being not above eighteen leagues <sup>m</sup> distant from the places where those two branches fall into the sea. Indeed, if we could be sure there was a third branch, which, according to some accounts and maps, parting from the *Sbat* about *Basrab*, falls into the sea at *al Katif*, it might serve tolerably well for the *Pifon*; and for the *Gibon*, we should chuse to substitute either the river *Karon*, or the river *Karba*; the first of which falls into the *Sbat al* <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> STRABO, Lib. XIV. <sup>f</sup> Lib. XVII. cap. iii. <sup>g</sup> In histor. Ind. <sup>h</sup> THEV. TRIV. PART. II. chap. ix. <sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 23. <sup>2</sup> Isaiah xxxvii. 12. 2 Kings xix. 12. <sup>3</sup> Gen. iv. 17. <sup>m</sup> THEVENOT'S travels, Part II. chap. x. Teixeira, in his journey from Basrah to Aleppo.

*Arab*, the other into the *Tigris*, and may much more properly be said to encompass the whole land of *Cush*, as running through *Kbuzestan*; whereas the eastern branch of the *Sbat* washes only a corner of that country, or rather one side of an island made by it and the *Caron*.

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New schemes  
proposed.

Or suppose we should alter this scheme a little, and situate *Eden* above the confluence of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, we shall find one or two large arms crossing the intermediate country from one river to the other, which would much better supply the place of the *Pison* and *Gibon*, than the branches of the *Sbat al Arab*, provided other circumstances agreed with this alteration. If these branches of the *Tigris* had been known to *Grotius* and others, they would not perhaps have fallen into so gross a mistake, as to make the *Nabar Malca*, or *Royal River*, which passes from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, the *Gibon*: it would better have suited with the *Mosaic* description to have supposed it to be the river of *Eden*, which was divided into four heads, in which case the parts of those rivers to the south of the *Nabar Malca*, would serve for the *Pison* and *Gibon*; and indeed that would answer the *Mosaic* description, as to the rivers, almost without exception. But the truth is, such an hypothesis cannot be admitted without overthrowing the credibility of the scripture, and allowing the most ancient books in it were written after, or in the times of the *Babylonish* captivity; for the *Nabar Malca*, or *Basilicos Potamos*, as the *Greeks* called it, is an artificial canal still in being, cut from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, a little above *Babylon*, in the latter times of the *Babylonian* empire. The oriental authors attribute this work to *Nimrod*<sup>a</sup>; perhaps it may be the same with the river *Cutha*, which a *Persian* author<sup>c</sup> says was dug by a king of *Babel* of the same name, and supposed to be *Cush* the father of *Nimrod*.

Those who patronize the *Armenian* paradise, may likewise improve or amend their scheme out of the modern travellers and maps<sup>d</sup>, where they will find the *Morad Sbaï*, which falls into *Euphrates*, and the *Kor*, which joins the *Araxes* or *Aras*; either of them better fitted to supply the place of the *Pison* than the *Phasis*; or if they chuse to have the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* united with the other two *Mosaic* rivers, they may adopt the *Sert*, which falls into the *Tigris* at *Hesn Keisa*, and throw out the *Aras* and *Kor*; the head of which last *Ptolemy* has made to change place with that of the *Phasis*. As a wrong or confused account of the rise and course of rivers, delivered by the ancients, has been the occasion of many of the mistakes into which authors have fallen in treating of this subject, the inquirer ought to have recourse to the modern observations of geographers and travellers, which often help where the others fail, but have been too much neglected by the learned.

AFTER all, we ought not to be so earnest about this matter; for, strictly speaking, the *Mosaic* description does not agree with the state of things, either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common stream, of which the four rivers are properly branches, nor can one conceive how a whole land can be encompassed by a river, as *Havilah* is said to be by the *Pison*, and *Cush* by the *Gibon*, without being an island. But we are to consider paradise described according to *Moses's* notion of things, and that imperfect knowledge of the world which they had in those early times. It is absurd in this case to alledge an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the course of rivers; for *Moses* describes things as they were supposed to be at the time he wrote; nor is it credible that the *Hiddekel* and *Frat* were branches of a river before, and had springs of their own afterwards.

The Mosaic  
description of  
Eden imper-  
fect.

IT is observable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors, with relation to these two rivers; nor indeed is there the least room for it, they having retained their names nearly, if not exactly the same, to this day; for what the *Hebrews* called *Hiddekel*, the *Arabs*, and perhaps the *Affyrians* and *Chaldeans*, called *Dijlat* then, as they do at present; and the *Pherath*, *Forat*, or *Frat*, is still called *Frat* by the neighbouring people; for *Euphrates* is one of those corrupt names which our translations have borrowed from the *Septuagint* version, and which probably the *Greeks*, as *Reland*<sup>e</sup> judiciously observed, took from the *Persians*, who often set the word *Ab* or *Au*, which signifies water, before the names of rivers; of which word, and *Frat*, the name *Euphrates* is compounded. The other opinion which forms that name from a conjunction of *Frat* with the preceding particle *bua*, in the *Hebrew* text, is absurd; as supposing the *Greeks* first came acquainted with that river, by reading this passage of *Moses* relating to the situation of *Eden*.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. *HYDE*, de Reliq. vet. Persar. p. 40.  
<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> *TABARI*, in cap. de morte Sarz apud *HYDE*.

<sup>d</sup> De situ paradisi.

\* Particularly those of *DE LISLE*, which are far the best.



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Christ, 4105.  
Several para-  
dises.

THE oriental nations give the name of paradise to several places, rather for the deliciousness of their situation, than a real persuasion that any of them was the paradise of Adam, which the *Mohammedans* in particular do believe not to be on earth, but in the seventh heaven. And of the ancient *Persians*, some thought it to be in the sun, as the *Manichæans*, and other hereticks did; and others, that there is no paradise now in being, but after the resurrection the earth will be renewed, by being melted and changed into another form, and a paradisiacal state; so that they seem to have believed the whole earth to have been paradise, before the curse given it at the fall. However, the terrestrial paradises mentioned by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, are, 1. The plain of *Damascus*, which they call *al Gaulta*. 2. *Obolla*, a village in *Irak*, on the western branch of the *Sbat al Arab*, where there are most pleasant gardens. 3. *Sheb Bawân*, a place in *Fars*, or proper *Persia*, situate on the river *Nilûb*, near *Nubendiyân*. 4. *Sogd Samarkand*, or the valley of *Samarkand*. 5. *Gangdiz*, or the castle of the *Ganges*, called also *Bebishti Gang*, or the paradise of *Ganges*, *Arim* or *Arin*, and *Kubbat al ard*, or the vertex of the earth. 6. *Jam gherd*. But these two last places are imaginary, and supposed to be situate eastward of *China*, in the middle of the sea, where the zodiac and equator intersect each other, exactly at one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the fortunate islands (or *Canaries*), where they place the other intersection. So that these two places are supposed to be paradisiacal, as considered mathematically, and situate exactly under the intersection of the equator, where they think the temperance and clemency of the air must needs render such a situation extremely delightful. The *Indians* place their earthly paradise in *Cashmîr*, near the head of the *Ganges* (whence that above-mentioned seems to have taken its name, though in another part of the world) and this not only on account of the amenity of that small kingdom, especially in respect of the more southern parts of *India*; but because the river *Ganges*, which that nation esteems so sacred, is supposed to take its rise from thence. But the more general tradition of the east is, that paradise was in *Serendib*, or rather *Selandro* (D), that is the island of *Selan*, or, as we corruptly call it, *Ceylon*, or *Zeilan* (E). The *Arab* writers also take notice of several paradises, as that of *Iram* or *Aram*, in *Yaman* or *Arabia Felix*, built by *Shaddâd*, the son of *Ad*, who being destroyed, together with his people, by a divine judgment, his palace and gardens, wherein he exceedingly prided himself, were rendered invisible (though preserved to this day), and never seen but by *Gôp*'s particular permission; which favour one *Colabab* pretended to have received, in the reign of the *Khalif Mouwiyah*: and another planted by the *Molâhidab*, or *Ismaeliens*, a race of princes called by the *Europeans* *Assassins*, in a valley in *Curdistan*; which was designed, by its delightfulness, to ravish the persons to whom it was shewn, and make them believe it was in the prince's power to place them in paradise; and in hopes of that felicity, to engage them in an implicit obedience to all his commands, and to commit any villany which he should judge conducing to his designs.

NOR were the ancient heathens themselves without some obscure tradition concerning a paradise, or rather several paradises, in the earth; but they generally placed them out of our continent; in the ocean, or beyond it, or in another hemisphere; as the garden of the *Hesperides*, the *Fortunate islands*, *Ogygia*, and *Taprobane*, and the like; which as they were all characterized like so many paradises, so they were all seated out of this continent by their geography and descriptions of them. From which tradition, and the general inclination of the christian fathers, as well as profane authors, to place paradise in the southern hemisphere, or beyond the equinoctial, a late learned man was induced to believe the same thing; though he supposed the whole earth, before the fall, to be in an eminent degree paradisiacal.

\* Vid. MARRACC. in Alc. p. 24.    \* See before, p. 32.    \* HYDE de Rel. vet. Pers. c. xxxiii. p. 400.    w Vid. D' HERBELOT, p. 378, & 361.    \* Vid. BERNIER.    † Vid. HYDE, ubi supra, c. x. p. 172, &c.    \* Vid. D' HERBELOT, ubi sup. p. 378.    \* Vid. eund. p. 51, &c.    b Vid. DIODOR. Sic. l. ii. p. 173.    \* Dr. BURNET in his Theory, l. ii. c. 7.

(D) Div, in the Malabaric tongue, signifies an island.

(E) It is surprizing that Mr. LE CLERC should take *Serendib* for *Madagascar* (1).

(1) Comment. in Gen. c. viii. p. 72.

## S E C T. II.

## Of the fall of man.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
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**G**OD having placed *Adam*, immediately after his formation, in the garden of *Eden*, *Adam placed* whose situation we have been endeavouring to discover, to dress and to keep in paradise it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except only that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he strictly commanded him not to taste, under pain of death, the certain consequence of his disobedience <sup>1</sup>.

**T**HE first thing which *Adam* did, after his introduction into paradise, and the very day of his creation, was to give names to all the beasts and birds which presented themselves before him, not only for that purpose, but to perform their homage, as it were, and make *Adam* sensible that there was none among them fit to be a companion for him <sup>2</sup>. We might on this occasion say something of the original of speech, did we not reserve that enquiry for a more proper place. *He names the beasts and birds.*

**A**FTER this, **G**OD having formed *Eve* out of the side of *Adam*, as he slept, brought her to him, who knowing her to be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, took her for his wife, and lived with her, free from any sense of shame, though they were both naked <sup>3</sup>. *Takes Eve to wife.*

**H**ow long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain; it is probable they did not immediately transgress the divine command, but it should seem, by the narration of *Moses*, that their fall was not long after their creation. The Jews in general, and most of the christian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were created <sup>4</sup>; but this is next to impossible; for a day would be a great deal too short for the several actions, that must on that supposition have been comprized in it. Besides, **G**OD himself, after the sixth day was past, declared (as at the end of the preceding days) every thing to be very good <sup>5</sup>; which is not reconcilable with truth, if sin, the greatest evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore conjectured, that this calamity happened the eighth day <sup>6</sup>, and others the tenth of the world's age; supposing that in commemoration thereof the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was instituted in after-times <sup>7</sup>. If we can subscribe to the opinion of those who make a day and a year to have been the same before the fall <sup>8</sup>, there is indeed no difficulty in supposing it even on the sixth day. *The continuance of the state of innocence.*

**T**HE fall of man is succinctly related by *Moses*, in the following manner <sup>9</sup>; that the serpent being more subtle than any beast of the field, asked the woman, whether it was true, that **G**OD had not granted her and her husband leave to eat of every tree in the garden? to which she answered, that **G**OD had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden; which he commanded they should not taste, nor so much as touch, lest they should die. The serpent replied, that they should not die; for **G**OD knew the virtue of the tree, and that so soon as they eat of it their eyes would be opened, and they become like gods, knowing good and evil. Whereupon *Eve*, seeing the fruit tempting to the view, and desirable to make one wise, took of the fruit of it, and eat; and gave also to her husband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, and they knowing they were naked, sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons. After this, *Adam* and *Eve* hearing the voice of **G**OD walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themselves among the trees; but on **G**OD's calling for *Adam*, he excused himself for not appearing, because he was naked. Upon this, **G**OD demanded of him, who it was that told him he was naked, and whether he had disobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit? *Adam* did not encrease his guilt by denying it, but confessed, that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had tasted it. She being examined likewise, acknowledged what she had done, but said the serpent had seduced and deceived her. **G**OD then proceeded to judgment: he first cursed the serpent above all beasts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the dust; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their several off-spring; and that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, who should bruise the other's heel. The woman was punished with the pain of childbirth, and put in subjection to her husband; and as to the man, **G**OD cursed the

<sup>1</sup> Genes. ii. 17. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Genes. ii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ver. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ver. 21. &c.

<sup>5</sup> Vid.

EDWARDS'S survey, Vol. I.

<sup>6</sup> Genes. i. 31.

<sup>7</sup> EDWARDS, ubi supr.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. USHER

ad ann. mundi, 1. & BAYLE, Dict. hist. Art. Abel, Rem. A.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. WHISTON'S Theory, l. 2.

p. 96. &c.

<sup>10</sup> Genes. iii. 1. &c.

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ground for his sake, declaring that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, and that he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow; till he returned to the dust from whence he was taken. And at last, God having clothed them both with skins, turned them out of the garden, lest they should take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever: and to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubims at the east of the garden, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the passage to the tree of life.

Some objections  
to the letter of  
that relation.

THIS concise account being, at first view, 'incumbred with some improbabilities, several learned and pious men have been inclined to believe, the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical sense, and not according to the strictness of the letter; alleging for their excuse, that the ancients, and particularly the eastern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philosophy, a popular, and a mysterious or hidden one: of which dubious sort of stile the scripture often makes use in explaining natural things; sometimes in accommodating itself to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more veiled truth; and that to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal history of this sad catastrophe, the safest way is to understand it as a parabolical story, under which the real circumstances are disguised and concealed, as a mystery not fit to be more explicitly declared.

THE first objection made to the letter of this history is in relation to the serpent, and particularly the improbability of his having the use of speech, and rational discourse; for to suppose an evil spirit, or the devil, made use of the organs of this animal, has no foundation in the text of *Moses*, who attributes the seduction of *Eve* to the natural craftiness of the serpent only. Besides, the very speech of such an animal, if *Eve* had taken it to be dumb, must have so frightened her, that she would scarce have staid and entered into a conference with it. And if the serpent had originally the gift of speech, but lost it, as a punishment of his crime in seducing the woman, *Moses* would surely not have passed it over in silence, and mentioned so small a penalty as going on his belly, and licking the dust; the meaning of which words it is not easy to explain, unless we say, that the serpent did before walk upright, or on four feet; for if he crept from the beginning, it seems ridiculous to impute, as a punishment for a crime, what he was by nature subject to.

As to the trees, the nature of them both seem to have been very extraordinary: the tree of life, it is said, had the virtue to prolong life considerably, if not for ever. But if the longevity or immortality of men had depended only on one tree, what if *Adam* had not sinned? how could his posterity, when they were dispersed over the face of the whole earth, have been able to come and gather fruit from this tree? or how could one tree have sufficed all mankind? The nature of the tree of knowledge is still more difficult to conceive; it seems to have instilled into our first parents a new sense of shame and modesty, to which, before the fall, they were utter strangers. But a very different virtue is intimated to have been in the tree, that on eating of it a man became as a God, knowing good and evil.

SOME further objections have been also made to this history; as the slightness of the crime for which so terrible a punishment has been laid on mankind (for which reason some have thought *Moses's* design in this relation was to authorize the rigour of his own laws); the improbability of *Adam* and *Eve's* sewing fig-leaves together without thread or needle, and of God's making them coats of skins, and consequently by himself, or (as is more decent to suppose) by an angel, killing and flaying the animals; and the needless precaution of placing cherubims to guard the entrance of the garden, lest the exiles should endeavour to repossess themselves of it by fraud or force.

CONCLUDING therefore that these things will not bear a literal construction, an allegorical or figurative sense has been put on this whole account: and it is pretended that the history of the fall exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom he so easily seduced and overcame, is the emblem of sense; and so on.

The literal  
sense defended.

BUT though it cannot be denied, that some of the ancient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own school, yet it is apparent *Moses* had no such design; and as he pretends only to relate matters of fact, just as they happened, without art or disguise, it cannot be supposed but that this history of the fall is to be taken in a literal sense, as well as the rest of his writings.

<sup>1</sup> Sic vacat exiguis rebus adesse Deo. Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 7. See also PHIL. JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 36. MAIMON. More Nevoch. Part. II. c. 30. <sup>2</sup> Vid. SAURIN'S Dissertations.

As to the particular objections which have been mentioned, and first as to the serpent; it is answered, that as *Moses* contents himself with relating facts as they appeared, without any comment or explication; he makes the serpent, it is true, who was the visible instrument, to have been the seducer of the woman, and says nothing of the latent efficient cause: for which reason some of the ancient *Jews* were of opinion, that the whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent, which creature they suppose had originally the gift of reason and speech; so that *Eve* might well have understood him (F). Others, thinking this too difficult of belief, have imagined that it was not a real serpent, but only the devil under that name: but this opinion is no less liable to exception. For though the devil is frequently stiled in scripture the serpent, and the old serpent, yet why he should be called the most subtle beast of the field, we cannot conceive; neither will the punishment inflicted on the serpent suffer us to doubt but that a serpent's body, at least, was employed in the transaction.

Year of the World, 1.  
Year before Christ, 4105.  
The tempter was the devil, who abused the body of the serpent.

THE most common, therefore, and indeed the only probable opinion is, that it was the devil, some wicked and malicious spirit (probably the chief of those beings) who envied the happiness of mankind, and was thereupon resolved to bring them into the same miserable condition with himself, and his apostate companions; and that to effect his purpose, he made use of a serpent's body (G), as the properest organ by which to carry on his fraud with success. And this seems reasonable, not only from the improbability of a brute beast's over-reaching mankind in their highest pitch of understanding, but from the attestation of other parts of scripture, where the devil is called the old serpent; and is by our Saviour himself said to have been a murderer from the beginning, or the first creation, alluding to his mischievous destruction of mankind at that time: the author of the book of *Wisdom*, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the *Jewish* church, also telling us, that by the envy of the devil death came into the world<sup>a</sup>.

WHY the devil should chuse the body of a serpent rather than that of any other creature, was probably on account of that subtlety attributed to him by *Moses*; which may not, perhaps, so much denote the craft and insidiousness, as the familiar and insinuating nature of this creature (H). That the serpent before the fall was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man than any other creature; and that he did not then creep on the ground, but went erect (I), and had by his engaging behaviour gained, in some measure, the good will of our first parents, is not only the sentiment of both *Jews*<sup>b</sup> and *Christians*<sup>c</sup>, but seems likewise to have some foundation in scripture: for when God says, that he will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, it must be implied that there was some kind of friendship between them before.

Why he made choice of that creature.

IT is no way unreasonable therefore to suppose, that this creature was beloved both by *Adam* and *Eve*: she especially might be delighted with it; she laid it perhaps in her bosom, adorned her neck with its windings, or made it a bracelet for her arms. So that its being so intimate with the woman, made it the properer instrument for the devil's purpose, who sliding into it, might wantonly play before her, until he insensibly brought her to the forbidden tree, and then twisting round its branches, might take of the fruit and eat, to shew her, by experience, that there was nothing of death contained in it, before he began to bespeak her; and his speech might be the less surprising to her, because she might probably think (as he might positively affirm) that this new acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit.

BUT this conjecture is still more probable, if we will but allow that the serpent, whose body the devil possessed, was not of a common ordinary species, but

<sup>a</sup> Revel. xii. 9. Ibid. xx. 2. <sup>b</sup> Wisd. ii. 24. <sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra. <sup>d</sup> BASIL. Homil. de Paradiso. DAMASCEN. de Orthodox. Fid. lib. 2. c. 10.

(F) JOSEPHUS supposes that all creatures at that time used the same language, and that the serpent conversing familiarly with *Adam* and *Eve*, excited by envy of their happiness, maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of knowledge; for which, among other punishments, he was deprived of the use of speech, and of his feet, and obliged ever after to crawl upon the ground (1.) Of the same opinion are *ASEN EZRA*, and others.

(G) The *Arabs*, before *Mohammed*, believed that the devils were transformed into serpents (2.)

(H) The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that the devil offering to get into paradise to tempt *Adam*, was not admitted by the guard. Whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to *Adam* and his wife; but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him (3.)

(I) The *Mohammedans* also say, that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears (4.)

(1) Antiq. l. 2. c. 1. §. 4. in Alcoran. p. 22.

(2) Vid. ibid.

(3) RELAND. de Rel. Moham. l. 2. p. 271.

(4) See MARRACC.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

Of what kind  
the serpent  
probably was.

something like that flying fiery sort, which, as we are told, are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*. They are of a shining yellowish colour like brass, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating the sun-beams, make a glorious appearance. Now if the serpent, whose body the devil abused, was of this kind (though perhaps of a species far more glorious) it was a proper creature for his purpose: for these serpents are called in scripture *Seraphs* or *Seraphim*<sup>a</sup>, and gave name to those bright angelical beings which we commonly understand by that appellation: it being very probable, from the representations of them tolerated in the *Jewish* church, that the angels, when they ministered to *Adam* and *Eve*, were wont to put on certain splendid forms; some of them the form of *Cberubin*, or beautiful flying oxen, and others the shape of *Seraphim*, winged and shining serpents. The devil therefore might usurp the organs of one of these shining serpents, which by his art and skill in natural causes he might improve into such a surpassing brightness, as to represent to *Eve* the angelical appearance or *Shechinah* (K) to which she was accustomed; and having done this, it was no wonder that he so easily deceived her.

HOWEVER this be, it is reasonable to suppose that it was some beautiful creature, whom *Eve* took to be an angel that wished her well, while he discoursed with her. For it is impossible to conceive that she should be so simple and ignorant as to think that beasts could speak, much less that they knew more of God's mind than herself: nor seems it credible that she could be deceived but by a creature which appeared so gloriously as to make her mistake it for an heavenly minister, who might come to explain to her the divine command. And if we observe in what manner the tempter addresses himself to her (L), we shall find this supposition confirmed.

His addressing  
Eve.

It is not improbable<sup>a</sup> that the seducer, before he spoke to *Eve*, represented himself as one of the heavenly court, who came to congratulate the happiness that God had bestowed on them in paradise, which was so great, that he could not easily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden: he desired therefore to be satisfied from her own mouth of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; and as the woman acquainted him with the whole prohibition, he first suggests that she mistook the meaning of it, that death could not be the punishment of so small a fault; and to flatter her ambition, deludes her with a false promise, that on eating the fruit, which he pretended had a sovereign quality to illuminate the understanding, and advance the other faculties of the soul, she and her husband should immediately become as angels, nay, as Gods, and their happiness be inconceivably great, and independent on any but themselves.

THIS seems to have been the purport of the serpent's words, by which he gained the ear of *Eve*; and she, allured by the beauty of the fruit, and pushed on by curiosity and vanity, could not resist the temptation: and when she had eat, was so far from being sensible of her condition, that fancying herself already in possession of the chimerical happiness which had been promised her, she invited her husband to partake with her. And he, it is probable, after some reluctance, was prevailed on, by her charms and endearments, to violate the command, contrary to his sense of duty, and to share the fate which God's indignation for her transgression should bring upon her<sup>b</sup>.

The punishment  
of the  
serpent reason-  
able.

The sentence denounced on the serpent cannot seem strange, if we consider how different his original form was from his present; and that God probably intended the debasement of that once glorious creature, not so much to express his indignation against the beast, as to make it a monument of man's unhappy fall, and a testimony of his displeasure against sin: nor could this be unjust; the meer instrument of an enormous crime being detestable, and often destroyed by human laws; and this great change in the serpent, perhaps, not felt, at least not distinguished or conceived by him as a misfortune<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Numb. xxi. 6.  
vinity, p. 284, &c.

<sup>b</sup> See Bishop PATRICK's Commentary.  
<sup>c</sup> Vid. NICHOLLS's Conf. Vol. I.

<sup>k</sup> See STACKHOUSE's Body of Di-

(K) This seems to be the opinion of TERTULLIAN, when he tells us, that *Eve* gave attention to the serpent, as to the Son of God, &c. (1).

(L) The learned ABRAVANEL supposes the whole to be only dumb shew, and that the serpent did not speak at all, neither did *Eve* say any thing to it; but that being a very nimble and active

creature, it got upon the tree of knowledge, took and eat of the fruit; that *Eve*, having seen it several times do so, and not die, concluded with herself that the said fruit did not occasion death, and that it might not only be grateful to the taste, but procure them that knowledge which God seemed to have grudged them (2).

(1) De Præscript. Hæret. p. 220.

(2) STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 287.



In reference to the two trees, which seem to be so very extraordinary, it is but reasonable to imagine there was a wide difference between the state of innocence and our present condition; and consequently, that there were some things consonant to the first state, which are very incongruous to our present. Now of those *Moses* has mentioned but a few, and among them these trees. As to the tree of life, nothing can be more agreeable to a state of innocence, which seems to imply a state of immortality; and something was requisite to make men immortal when their bodies were not so; and what can be supposed more effectual than the fruit of such a tree? When God had designed that mens bodies should never yield to death, it seems but reasonable he should direct them to the eating of such a fruit whose juice was of that spirituous nature as to impregnate their blood with an indefatigable vigour, and to keep them up in constant youth, without pain, disease, or weakness, till such time as he should translate them to a better world (M). Whether this tree was the only one of the species is uncertain; but if it was, it is probable that, had there been no lapse, many of them would have been transplanted to other parts of the world, as the innocent off-spring had encreased; and when mankind had sinned, it is likely God destroyed this species out of the world, as now grown useless and inconsistent with the curse and punishment of man. And of this tree the heathens seem to have had some traditional notion, when they speak of the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, which maintained the immortality of their gods, and *Moly*, which was the great *Panacea*, or universal medicine celebrated by the poets <sup>d</sup>.

THE tree of the knowledge of good and evil is conceived to have been so called, either because it had really a virtue to open man's understanding, and to make him distinguish between good and evil; or else because the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the good of obedience, and the evil of transgression: but others suppose it so called, merely from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to confer knowledge, having received its name from the unfortunate deception; though it be, in a preceding passage, called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, by way of anticipation: and as to God's saying, *Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil*, that is taken to be a bitter irony, to upbraid man with his foolish disobedience and disappointment <sup>e</sup>.

BUT what particular tree this tree of knowledge was, has been a matter of much conjecture; the vine, the apple, the common, and *Indian fig-tree* (N), and wheat, though no tree, have all put in their claims (O); and though the generality are for the common

<sup>d</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. BARCEPHAM de Parad. part 1. c. 19.

EDWARDS'S Survey, Vol. I.

<sup>f</sup> Vid.

NICHOLLS, ubi supra.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. BARCEPHAM, ubi sup. p. 48.

(M) It is the joint opinion of the best ancient writers, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, that in case our first parents had continued in their obedience, they would, after such a time of trial as the divine wisdom should think convenient, have been translated or removed from earth to heaven; and that their posterity likewise would have been liable to no sorrow or misery of any kind, but possessed of constant happiness, and in their several courses and successions taken up into a heavenly paradise (1.)

(N) *Goropius Becanus* is most confident it was the *Indian fig-tree*; which notion, however, he did not borrow from *Moses Barcephas*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* supposes (1). The chief reasons urged why it should be this tree, are 1. The goodness of the fruit, and fairness of the tree. 2. The breadth of its leaves, very commodious for hiding the nakedness of *Adam* and *Eve*, which it is supposed they would cover as soon as ever they perceived it; and therefore from the forbidden tree, that being the next at hand. 3. The largeness and thickness of the tree, very proper to conceal them, as they imagined, from the presence of God. But here *Becanus*, from the words of the vulgate version, *in medio ligni*, imagined they hid themselves in the body of the tree itself, though the stem of the *Indian fig-tree*, notwithstanding the extravagant size given it by some authors, be not very large. As Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had himself seen many of these trees in *America*, has given a description of them, we think it worth while to

transcribe it. "They grow, says he, in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the soil), they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem; for from the utmost end of the head-branches, there issueth out a gummy juice, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few months reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being sided both from the top boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh itself a tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of these young trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year, and less (in that world of perpetual spring) become also trees of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, and as strait as nature and art can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a grove, as no other tree in the world can do. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones, may, indeed, shroud four hundred, or four thousand horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole valleys——But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never find (3)."

(O) The *Mohammedans* have the like different opinions among them relating to this tree; some affirm it was an ear of wheat; others a fig-tree; and a third party a vine (4).

(1) See BULL'S State of Man before the Fall. BARCEPHA de Parad. Part I. c. 12.

(2) Barcephas

takes it, indeed, to have been the fig-tree; but does not join the word *Indian* to it, as we can find.

(3) Hist. of the World, Part I. Book I. c. 4 §. 2.

(4) Vid. MARRACE, in Alc. p. 22.

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World, &  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

The trial by  
forbidding a  
fruit, rational.

And the pu-  
nishment con-  
sequently just.

The circum-  
stances of the  
aprons and  
coats explain-  
ed.

The cherubim  
and flaming  
sword, what?

fig-tree, yet what *Moses* has so industriously concealed, is above the power of any to discover. *Philo the Jew*, according to his custom, allegorizes what is said of both these trees, supposing that no such ever were, nor ever will be in the world<sup>m</sup> (P).

THAT the trial of man's obedience should be by such a prohibition as is mentioned by *Moses*, seems perfectly rational, and adapted to the state of innocence; no moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpose, because there was then scarce a possibility of their transgressing any such: it must therefore have been some indifferent action, neither good nor evil in itself, but so far only as it was commanded or forbidden. And what so natural and agreeable to the state of our first parents (considering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them every moment an opportunity of shewing their observance of the divine command, by their abstaining from it<sup>n</sup>.

AND this takes off the objection against the punishment inflicted on man for his disobedience, as too severe, and no way proportionable to the offence; for we are deceived, if we suppose that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of God. And considering this crime to have been a downright rebellion against God, and committed against the clearest conviction of conscience, with other aggravating circumstances, it will appear to have been a crime so heinous, that nothing now-a-days can be supposed to resemble it.

No sooner was the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree gone off, and the criminals began to return to their senses again, but the eyes (Q) of their understanding were opened, and they perceived their own nakedness (R), and the foul degradation of their nature; to conceal which, as far as they were able, they twisted, or platted the flexible branches of the fig-tree round their waists, so that the broad leaves hanging down might serve them instead of aprons: for we must not imagine that they sewed the leaves together, as taylor's do their cloth, which is more than the words of *Moses* imply (S).

JUDGMENT being passed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is said that God, before he drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of paradise, clothed them with skins, which it is conceived is not necessarily to be understood, as if God himself, or even an angel, made the coats; it being common for the *Hebrew* tongue verbally to attribute things to God, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permission of his ordinary providence. So that it is probable *Adam* and *Eve* only received instructions how to make them<sup>o</sup>.

As to the cherubims and flaming sword placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are several opinions concerning them. They who place paradise in the southern hemisphere, conceive the sword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which in the parallel situation the earth is then supposed to have had, must have been a region of flame intolerably hot like a furnace, and consequently impassable; its encompassing the whole earth sufficiently answering the *Mosaic* description P, that it turned every way.

<sup>m</sup> PHILO JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 35.

Confer. ubi supra.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> TERTULLIAN. Apolog. cap. 47. Vid. BURNET's Theory, Book II. c. 7. Theor. Sacr. Telluris, l. 2. c. 6.

(P) Those who admire allegorical interpretations will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the sensual act of generation, for which the punishment inflicted on the woman was the pain of child-birth (1). But this opinion has not the least foundation in the words of *Moses*; especially if we consider that *Adam* knew not his wife till after their expulsion out of paradise.

(Q) The expression that the eyes of them were opened, occasioned a popular belief, that *Adam* and *Eve* were blind till they had transgressed; which imagination St. *Austin* has taken the pains to refute (2).

(R) By perceiving their nakedness, a late writer conceives no more is meant than that they were sensible of their transgression. Thus after the golden calf was consecrated, *Moses* is said to have seen the people naked; (*Exod.* xxxii. 25.) And in the new testament *συμυδς* is sometimes taken for a sinner. Others, indeed, suppose that the fruit of this forbidden tree provoked our first parents to lust, and some indecent motions of the body; for accord-

ing to the modesty of the *Hebrew* tongue, *nakedness* may well enough denote an irregular appetite to venereal pleasures: (and this is the opinion of St. *Austin*, mentioned hereafter.) But our author thinks this conjecture is without any manner of foundation, and that it is hard to conceive how *Adam* and *Eve* should not know themselves to be naked before their fall; or why they should be more ashamed of their nakedness then, than they were before. When they were the only inhabitants of the world, their bed, under the canopy of heaven, was equally as chaste as if it had been covered and enclosed; and therefore this nakedness of theirs must, in his opinion, be understood in a figurative sense (3).

(S) The original word *סָבַח*, which is translated *Sewed*, signifies no more than to put together, to apply, or fit; in which sense it is used *Job* xvi. 15. and *Ezek.* xiii. 18. And *לָבַח*, which we render *leaves*, signifies also branches of trees, such as were fit to make booths or bowers; *Nehem.* vii. 15. (4).

(1) Vid. BARCEPHAM de Parad. ubi sup. LEON Hebreu, Philosophie d'amour, Dial. 3. p. 620, &c. (2) AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 17. supra.

(3) LE CLERC's Dissertat.

(4) Dr. NICHOLLS's Conf. ubi

Others have thought it to have been a wall or circle of fire encompassing paradise (T); and that this flame was an accension of some inflammable matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till the beauty of it was defaced: which opinion may be more probable to them who place paradise about *Babylon*, where there is such an abundance of naphtha and bitumen, and where there are fields, which even yet, at some time of the year, seem all on fire. And if it be objected, that the cherubims had nothing to do with such a wall; it is answered, that it is usual for the scriptures to express all extraordinary works of God by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a destroying angel; and the like <sup>1</sup>. Some Rabbins<sup>2</sup> are of opinion that this flaming sword was an angel; which they found on that passage, where it is said, that God maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire<sup>3</sup>. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming sword, which was esteemed by the Jews a second angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, viz. a *Seraph*, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery serpent, whose body vibrated in the air with lustre, and may be fitly described by the image of such a sword<sup>4</sup>.

Year of the World, 1.  
Year before Christ, 4305

HAVING thus examined the circumstances of the fall, it may be proper to consider the effects it had upon our first parents and their posterity, and also upon the ground, which was cursed for their sake.

The effects of the fall, on men, and on the ground.

THE unhappy pair did not indeed die immediately, but they became subject to death, which continually hung over their heads; the time they had to live, being but as the space between a criminal's condemnation and his execution. They had lost God's favour, and forfeited paradise: the necessities of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman: so that the remembrance of their past happiness, and the prospect of the innumerable miseries to which they had made themselves and their off-spring obnoxious, must needs fill them with regret and despair. For since they could not by generation transmit any thing to their posterity, but what they had themselves; their descendants were destined in like manner to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death, the necessary consequences of *Adam's* transgression: nor is there in this any injustice, we being thereby deprived only of what he had no title to. But that we are thereby become the objects of God's wrath, and deserving eternal damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of *Adam's* sin (which is the doctrine of St. *Austin* and his disciples, thence named *Supralapsarians*) has seemed to many a very harsh opinion, and to reflect on the goodness and justice of God.

As this is a point greatly controverted among divines<sup>5</sup>, and foreign to our present design, we shall only say; that the general manifest depravity and corruption of human nature, so very different from what we must suppose it to have been in its original state, would induce us to believe it the effect of our first parents transgression; whereupon unruly passions and appetites got that superiority over, and influence on our wills, which reason alone ought to have; and this might be possibly occasioned, in some degree at least, by the infirmities which our bodies necessarily contracted, by proceeding from such a root, and by the great change brought on the earth, air, and other elements, by the curse. For whatever the ancients have said of the plenty and happiness of the golden age, seems chiefly to have been some broken notions and traditions of man's first estate in paradise, and of that universal harmony wherein the world and all things would have continued, had not his fall introduced a change. The fruits of the earth were at first spontaneous, and the soil, without being torn and tormented, satisfied the wants and desires of man; but upon his apostasy from God, as a punishment for his sin, God cursed the ground, which immediately brought forth thorns and thistles; for we must not suppose, with some, that the original fertility of the earth continued till the destruction brought upon it by the universal deluge. The deluge was, indeed, the completion of the curse, but some considerable effects of it appeared before; otherwise how could *Adam* be said to eat bread in sorrow, and in the sweat of his face all the days of his life? As the earth was impoverished on man's transgression, so the air and other elements became disordered, in some measure unwholesome, and sometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, pestilences,

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Anselm. *Elucid.* c. 15.

Nevoch. p. 1. cap. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm civ. 4.

<sup>3</sup> NICHOLLS, ubi sup.

<sup>4</sup> TENNISON of Idolatry.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. MAIMONID. More

See STACKHOUSE's

(T) The words commonly rendred *flaming sword*, are in the original the *flame of cutting*, or *division*, or a *devouring flame*; for the same word which signi-

fies a *sword*, signifies also *division*; and is in the new testament translated both ways (1).

(1) See Matth. x. 34. & Luke xii. 51. NICHOLLS, ubi sup.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

The change in  
the constitution  
of man.

earthquakes, storms, and all manner of natural calamities, which cause an innumerable variety of diseases and distempers<sup>v</sup>.

BUT in order to give a more clear idea in what degree and manner nature became impaired by the fall; it may be proper to consider the constitution of man's body (for what concerns his soul is not properly within the compass of this design) and of the earth in that primitive state; and by what means they were reduced to their present condition.

As to the constitution of man's body, it appears that nakedness was then no inconvenience or shame, and consequently there was no sense of any need to cover it. Those inclinations which provide for the propagation of mankind, were, it seems, so regular, and so entirely under the command of reason, that not so much as an apron was esteemed necessary to hide those parts, which all the world have since thought proper to conceal<sup>1</sup>. But some have imagined, that in case man had persevered in his state of innocence, there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but mankind would have been otherwise propagated (V); and this the ancient fathers were inclined to believe, from their pre-possession in favour of the merits and excellency of celibacy<sup>2</sup>. This opinion St. *Augustin* combated by very strong arguments<sup>3</sup>, such as the benediction of God, and his command to encrease and multiply; the distinction of the sexes preceding the fall; and the absurdity of supposing sin to have been necessary for the propagation of mankind. Yet he agrees, that in the state of innocence, the work of generation would have been carried on without any mixture of passion, or loss of virginity; and that man would then have proceeded to the propagation of his species, whenever he judged it requisite, without any incitement of lust. In the primitive state also, the temper of the human body seems to have been more soft, pliable, and alterable than now it is: some sorts of fruits and food were able to cause a mighty change therein, either to fix and adapt it to its present condition, or discompose and disorder it: thus the fruit of the tree of life had the virtue of rendering the body permanent and immortal, on the one hand; and that of the tree of knowledge, of bringing upon it diseases, corruptions, and mortality, on the other; but the first effect of this latter fruit is supposed to have been the revolt of the parts subservient to generation, which, it is pretended, appears from the shame which immediately seized those who had tasted it (W). And, to say the truth, since man, in his fallen state, was unable to conform himself to the dictates of reason, love was necessarily to be introduced into the world; for otherwise it is not conceived how mankind could have subsisted: so that the passions were then raised, in order to induce men to do that to satisfy their appetites, which before they did merely from prudential considerations<sup>4</sup>.

THERE was also a considerable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which she has since been in; particularly, she was then in a state of greater equality with the man, and little more subject to sorrow in the propagation of posterity than he<sup>d</sup>. Nay, the very animals seem to have been, at that time in a state of greater capacities and operations; nearer approaching to reason and discourse, and partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happiness than they have been ever since<sup>e</sup>.

The change in  
the constitution  
of the earth,  
&c. as declared  
according to Dr.  
Burnet.

WHEREIN the fecundity and amenity of the primitive earth consisted, and by what means it became so much altered for the worse, is difficult to be determined. It is indeed presently accounted for, if we have recourse to the divine interposition, and suppose that the sterility of the earth, and malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature was effected by God, or his subordinate agents. But to assign a probable natural cause of such effects is not so easy. Dr. *Burnet's* notion is, that the fertility and paradisiacal state of the first earth was entirely owing to a perpetual equinox, the consequence of the situation of its axis, which he supposed to have been then parallel to the axis of the ecliptic, in which it was carried about the sun with the other planets. And that it really had such a situation, he thinks needs no other proof than its own

<sup>v</sup> Vid. STACKHOUSE, ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. WHISTON'S Theory, Book III. p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Vid.

SALIAN. Annal. Tom. I. p. 174. CORNEL. à LAPIDE, in Gen. II. BARCEPHA de Parad. part. I. c. 25.

<sup>d</sup> AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 21, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Eve,

Rem. F.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. WHISTON'S Theory, Book III. p. 239.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 240.

(V) *Paracelsus* was so firmly persuaded of this, that he maintained *Adam* and *Eve* to have been created without the parts of generation; which afterwards grew out of their bodies like excrescences (1).

(W) Some *Rabbins* also seem to have attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden fruit (2).

(1) Apud Vossium de Philos. cap. 9. p. 71. Rem. C.

(2) Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Eve,

evidence; for it is the immediate result and common effect of gravity or libration, that a body left freely to itself in a fluid medium, should settle in such a posture as best answers to its gravitation; and the first earth being uniform, regular, and every way equally ballanced<sup>f</sup>, there was no reason why it should encline at one end, more than the other, towards the sun. And this position he supposes the earth kept till the deluge, when it was so broken and divided, according to his hypothesis, that it lost its equal poise; and the centre of its gravity changing, one pole became more enclined to the sun, and the other more removed from it, and to the parallel situation, which it had before, was changed to an oblique one; whence proceeded the variety of seasons, and those irregularities in the temperature of the air, which have since obtained <sup>g</sup>. But this does not account for the immediate effect of God's curse on the earth, which, as has been observed, must by no means be deferred so late as to the flood.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 405.



To avoid this difficulty, Mr. *Whiston* has supposed that the earth in its primitive state had no diurnal motion about its own axis, but only an annual motion about the sun; so that the sun and planets then rose in the west, and set in the east, contrary to what they have ever since done (X).

On this supposition, as well as the former, there would also be a perpetual equinox through the world, which characters the fathers usually applied to the paradisiacal state, and the ancient heathens to the golden age<sup>h</sup>. The great change therefore which was made in nature at the fall, he takes to be the commencing of a new motion or rotation of the earth about its present axis: by this means the poles of the world, which to the first inhabitants of the earth (dwelling near the intersection of the ancient ecliptic with the present northern tropic) were neither considerably elevated nor depressed, suddenly changed their situation; the northern pole appeared to be elevated above, and the southern depressed below the horizon: and the course of the heavens seemed bent or inclined to the southern parts of the world (Y). And the probable mechanical cause of this commencement of the earth's diurnal motion, after its annual had continued some time, assigned by him is, the impulse of a comet with little or no atmosphere, or of a central solid hitting obliquely upon the earth along some parts of its present equator: from which impulse both the annual orbit of the earth would be altered, and a vertiginous motion about a new and real axis would certainly commence. And he observes that in all probability this comet was of the bigness of one of the small secondary, rather than of the large primary planets; for otherwise by its causing vast tides in the abyss, after it was passed by, it would have occasioned many more alterations in the earth than we have reason to believe happened at that time (Z).

—and Mr.  
Whiston.

<sup>f</sup> See the Introduction, p. 37. c.

<sup>g</sup> BURNET'S Theory of the Earth, Book II. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Vid.

BURNET'S Theor. l. 2. c. 1. & 10. Archæol. l. 2. c. 5. & 6. <sup>i</sup> WHISTON'S Theory, Book II. p. 98, &c.

(X) This he thinks may have been the foundation of that story in *Herodotus* (1), who tells us, that the sun, in the space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, four times inverted his course, and rose in the west. But what he mainly depends on, is that discourse in *Plato* (2), where relating some very ancient traditions (as he expressly says they are, and delivered by our first parents to their posterity) about the primitive state of things, he says, that there was a great change made in the heavenly motions, the sun and other stars formerly setting in the same place where they now rise, and rising where they now set; which change he attributes to GOD, who sometimes directs the motion of the universe himself, and at other times, after so many periodical revolutions as he sees fitting, leaves it; whereupon it is, as it were, spontaneously carried about by a motion contrary to the former. And this change *Plato* reckons the greatest and most entire of any the heavenly bodies undergo.

(Y) The inclination of the earth is much insisted upon by the ancients. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Lemæippus* was of opinion the earth fell towards the south, because of the rareness of those parts; the northern regions being grown rigid and compact, while the southern were scorched, or on fire (3).

*Democritus* and *Empedocles* gave nearly the same reason for it; and *Diogenes* and *Anaxagoras* specify the very time when this happened; viz. after the first coalition of the world, and the production of animals out of the earth: and they thought this inclination was probably the effect of providence, on purpose that some parts of the world might become habitable, and others uninhabitable, by reason of the frigid, torrid, and temperate climates thereof (4).

(Z) That the diurnal motion did not begin till some time after the annual, Mr. *Whiston* imagines to be evinced from the late discovery (as it is called) of an internal magnet freely moving within the earth, and from which all the variations of the magnetic needle are supposed to arise. The poles of this interior magnet being, as they suppose, distant from the earth's axis, slowly change their places in respect of the external earth, by a motion westward: whence he concludes, that the enclosed magnet or nucleus, has not attained the same velocity with the exterior parts in their diurnal revolution, because the impulse by which the diurnal motion was first impressed upon the external earth, has not yet been so perfectly communicated to the internal magnet, as to equal the first motion impressed and still preserved by the superior parts of the globe (5).

(1) HERODOT. l. 2. c. 142. (2) PLATO, in Politic. p. 174, 175. (3) PLUT. de placit. philos. l. 3. c. 12. (4) Idem, ibid. l. 2. c. 8. (5) Vid. Dr. HALLER'S Theory of the variation of the magnetic needle, Philol. Trans. N° 195.



Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

BUT besides the impression of this new motion, another effect of such a collision of a comet would be the change of the earth's orbit from an ellipsis, as it was before the fall, to a perfect circle. For Mr. *Whiston* supposes the reduction of the very oblong eccentric orbit of the earth into a circular one, which he thinks it had before the deluge, was gradual, and not done all at once; the greatest part at the commencing of the *Mosaic* creation, and the rest at the commencing of the diurnal motion. All this being supposed, and that providence adjusted all circumstances so as should be most for the advantage of the regions adjoining to paradise, where alone *Adam* and the other creatures dwelt in this state; we shall have the earth revolving in a moderately eccentric ellipsis, without any diurnal rotation, about the sun in the space of a year; we shall have some diameter of the earth, which passed near paradise, parallel to the longer axis of its ellipsis, and the place of paradise respecting nearly the same fixed stars with the *perihelion* of the ellipsis. Which being again supposed, we may observe, that as a circular orbit is much the best for a globe inhabited all round (as the earth was designed to be after the fall), that providing equally for the convenience of both hemispheres; so is this elliptic orbit the best for a globe inhabited but in one place, as the earth was in its primitive state, this providing peculiarly for the happiness of that particular spot where alone the living part of the creation was to reside. For the heat of the day time would gradually encrease before, and decrease after noon, but yet would never be over violent; because the increase of the heat, by the sun's rising higher and higher above the horizon in the forenoon or spring, would be prevented, in a great measure, by the earth's real receding from him, and approaching nearer his *aphelion* during the same time: and *vice versa* in the afternoon or summer, which would render the state of the air more equal and uniform. And thus also the too long duration of the night would be entirely avoided: for the whole night-time would then bear a small proportion to the day, and amount perhaps to no more than two months; out of which must be deducted the two twilights, each of near a fortnight, which would reduce the darkness of the night itself to about a single month; out of which another fortnight is to be still deducted for the time of the moon's being above the horizon, and enlightning the earth: so that at last, if the moon's *crepuscula* be allowed for, as they ought to be, we shall scarce have a week of pure darkness in the whole year, to the great comfort and advantage of this truly paradisiacal state; wherein there would be a constant warmth without the frequent interposition of cold; an air perfectly clear and homogeneous, and susceptible of the utmost power of the solar heat, and the seasons equable, or gradually distinguished from one another, with other natural consequences. But so soon as man had rendered himself unworthy of that happy state, and God had pronounced a curse on the ground, presently the earth began a new and strange motion, and revolved from west to east upon its own axis: the succession of day and night returned frequently, while the annual motion, performed on a different axis, distinguished the seasons, and in conjunction with the diurnal, described the equator and the tropics; by which, and the polar circles, the face of the earth was distinguished into zones, with respect whereto the particular regions of the earth changed their situation; so that paradise, which was before near the middle or ecliptic, was now beyond the northern tropic. The figure of the earth, which was before truly spherical, degenerated into an oblate spheroid; the torrid zone rising about fifteen or sixteen miles upwards, and the frigid one subsiding as much downwards. The *compages* of the upper earth, and of its *strata*, became thereby chapped and broken, and so carried up the warm steams from beneath, arising from the hot central solid, to particular receptacles and *volcano's*, which before served, in a more equal and uniform manner, to heat and invigorate the entire earth and its productions. In these and other circumstances was the state of nature altered for the worse on the fall, according to this gentleman's theory.

\* Ibid. p. 114, &c.

\* Ibid. Book IV. p. 353, &c.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge stated.

BEFORE we enter on the history of the antediluvian world, it will be necessary that we should settle the chronology of this period.

As *Moses* has not set down the particular time of any transaction before the flood, except only the years of the fathers age, wherein the several descendants of *Adam*, in the line of *Setb*, were begotten, and the length of their several lives ; all we can do in this period, is to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of those patriarchs, and the distance of time from the creation to the deluge.

AND this might be easily done, if there were no varieties in the several copies we now have of *Moses's* writings ; which are the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and the *Greek* version of the *Septuagint* : but as these differ very considerably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions, concerning the chronology of the first ages of the world, some preferring one copy, and some another.

THAT the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we shall in the following table subjoin the numbers of each ; to which we take the liberty to add those of *Josephus*, as corrected by *Dr. Wills* and *Mr. Whiston*, the numbers in the present copies of that historian being greatly corrupted.

A TABLE of the Years of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

Their Ages at their Son's Birth.					Years they lived after the Son's Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Joseph.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.
<i>Adam</i> , - - -	130	130	230	130	800	800	700	930	930	930
<i>Setb</i> , - - -	105	105	205	105	807	807	707	912	912	912
<i>Enos</i> , - - -	90	90	190	90	815	815	715	905	905	905
<i>Cainan</i> , - - -	70	70	170	70	840	840	740	910	910	910
<i>Mabalalcel</i> , - - -	65	65	165	65	830	830	730	895	895	895
<i>Jared</i> , - - -	162	62	162	62	800	785	800	962	847	962
<i>Enoch</i> , - - -	65	65	165	65	300	300	200	365	365	365
<i>Methuselah</i> , - - -	187	67	187	187	782	653	802	969	720	696
<i>Lamech</i> , - - -	182	53	188	182	595	600	365	777	653	753
<i>Noah</i> was aged } at the Flood, }	600	600	600	600						
To the Flood,	-1656	1307	2262	1556						

To this Table it will be necessary, in order to explain the consequences of these variations, to add separate chronological tables, shewing in what year of his contemporaries the birth and death of each patriarch happened, according to the computation of each of the said three copies.

*A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Hebrew.*

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth,	Years of Enos,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Mahalaleel,	Years of Jared,	Years of Enoch,	Years of Methuselah,	Years of Lamech,	Years of Noah,
Adam created, -										
Seth born, - -	130									
Enos born, - -	235	105								
Cainan born, -	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born,	395	265	160	70						
Jared born, -	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born, -	622	492	387	297	227	162				
Methuselah born,	687	557	452	362	292	227	65			
Lamech born, -	874	744	639	549	479	414	252	187		
Adam dies, -	930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Enoch translated,	987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Seth dies, - -	1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
Noah born, - -	1056		821	731	661	596		369	182	
Enos dies, - -	1140		905	817	745	680		453	266	84
Cainan dies, - -	1235			910	840	775		548	361	179
Mahalaleel dies, -	1290				895	830		603	416	234
Jared dies, - -	1422					962		735	548	366
Japhet born, - -	1556							869	682	500
Shem born, - -	1558							871	684	502
Lamech dies, - -	1651							964	777	595
Methuselah dies, -	1656							969		600
The Flood, - - -										

*A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Septuagint.*

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth,	Years of Enos,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Mahalaleel,	Years of Jared,	Years of Enoch,	Years of Methuselah,	Years of Lamech,	Years of Noah,
Adam created, -										
Seth born, - -	230									
Enos born, - -	435	205								
Cainan born, - -	625	395	190							
Mahalaleel born, -	795	565	360	170						
Adam dies, - -	930	700	495	305	135					
Jared born, - -	960	730	525	335	165					
Enoch born, - -	1122	892	687	497	327	162				
Seth dies, - -	1142	912	707	517	347	182				
Methuselah born, -	1287		852	662	492	327	165			
Enos dies, - -	1340		905	715	545	380	218			
Lamech born, - -	1474			849	679	514	352	187		
Enoch translated, -	1487			862	692	527	365	200		
Cainan dies, - -	1535			910	740	575		248		
Noah born, - -	1662				867	702		375	188	
Mahalaleel dies, -	1690				895	730		403	216	28
Jared dies, - -	1922					962		635	448	260
Japhet born, - -	2162							875	688	500
Shem born, - -	2164							877	690	502
Lamech dies, - -	2227							940	753	565
Methuselah dies, -	2256							969		594
The Flood, - -	2262									600

*A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth,	Years of Enos,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Mahalaleel,	Years of Jared,	Years of Enoch,	Years of Methuselah,	Years of Lamech,	Years of Noab,
Adam created, —										
Seth born, —	130									
Enos born, —	235	105								
Cainan born, —	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born, —	395	265	160	70						
Jared born, —	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born, —	522	392	287	197	127	62				
Methuselah born, —	587	457	352	262	192	127	65			
Lamech born, —	654	524	419	329	259	194	132	67		
Noab born, —	707	577	472	382	312	247	185	120	53	
Enoch translated, —	837	757	652	562	497	427	365	300	233	180
Adam dies, —	930	800	695	605	535	470		343	276	223
Seth dies, —	1042	912	807	717	647	582		462	388	335
Enos dies, —	1140		905	815	745	680		553	486	433
Japhet born, —	1207			882	812	747		620	553	500
Shem born, —	1209			884	814	749		622	555	502
Cainan dies, —	1235			910	840	775		648	581	528
Mahalaleel dies, —	1290				895	830		703	636	583
Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech die, —	1307	The Flood,				847		720	653	600

To the varieties exhibited in the two last tables, others might be added, by admitting the various readings of some numbers in the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint*: for as to the *Hebrew* copies, there is here a constant agreement among them (A).

THE manuscript from which the *Samaritan* pentateuch was published (B), agrees exactly with the *Samaritan* numbers given by *Eusebius*<sup>a</sup>. But *St. Jerom* tells us<sup>b</sup>, that in his time there were some *Samaritan* copies which make *Methuselah* 187 years old at the birth of *Lamech*, and *Lamech* 182 at the birth of *Noab*, just as the *Hebrew* does. Now if these numbers be approved as the true original numbers, the interval from the creation to the flood will be 1556 years (C); differing from the *Hebrew* computation but 100 years, in the age of *Jared* at the birth of *Enoch*: and if this last be allowed to be a mistake of the transcriber, by his dropping a number, and writing 62 instead of 162, as has been suspected, the *Samaritan* will be perfectly reconciled with the *Hebrew*, and all difference between them vanish (D).

THERE are indeed some other variations in the *Samaritan* numbers, as given by *Eusebius*; but as they are plainly owing to the negligence of the copier, or the printer, we think it needless to trouble the reader with them.

SCALIGER, on the authority of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, having at the end a table of the years of the patriarchs to the time of *Moses*, would correct two of the *Samaritan* numbers in *Eusebius*; viz. instead of 65, the age of *Mahalaleel* when he begat *Jared*, he thinks it should be 75; and instead of 67, the age of *Methuselah*, when he begat *Lamech*, he would have it 77<sup>c</sup>. By which alterations he reckons 20 years

<sup>a</sup> In *Chronic. Græc.* p. 3, 4. <sup>b</sup> In *Quæst. in Genes.* <sup>c</sup> SCALIGER in *Græc. Euseb.* p. 403.

(A) It is observable, that the *Hebrew* numbers were exactly the same when the two *Talmuds* were composed; and that the *Chaldee* paraphrase of *Onkelos*, which is allowed to have been written about the time of our Saviour, does also agree with the *Hebrew* chronology.

(B) This MS. was written A. D. 1404. (1).

(C) Mr. WHISTON allowing of these two corrections, which are supported by the attestation of *Josephus*, follows this computation in his chronological table (2).

(D) This is the hypothesis of Father Tournemine, who in his *Samaritan* chronology reckons 1656 years to the deluge.

(1) Vid. JOAN MORIN. in *Præf. Ed. Septuag. Græc.* Paris, 1618. (2) See also his *Essay* towards restoring the true text of the old Test. &c. p. 27.

more to the flood than *Eusebius* and the manuscript; that is, 1327 (E). But as he acknowledges the table, whereon he grounds these corrections, contains some great absurdities, it seems unreasonable to oppose it to the joint authority of *Eusebius* and the *Samaritan* manuscript <sup>d</sup>.

As to the *Septuagint*, in the common editions of that version, the age of *Methuselah* at the birth of *Lamech*, is 167, and consequently, the sum total of this period, according to them, is no more than 2242. But in this case *Methuselah* will outlive the flood 14 years; and we may well wonder, with *Eusebius* <sup>e</sup>, where he was preserved. To obviate this objection, we are told that in some copies *Methuselah* is said to have lived but 782 (not 802) years after the birth of *Lamech*, and no more <sup>a</sup> than 949 in all <sup>f</sup>. But the *Alexandrian* manuscript entirely takes away the difficulty, by giving the same number in this place with the *Hebrew*.

PEZZON is of opinion, that the age of *Lamech* at the birth of *Noah*, should be but 182, as it is both in the *Hebrew* and in *Josephus*, supposing, with St. *Austin*, that the present number is the error of the scribe, who first copied the original *Septuagint* manuscript in *Ptolemy's* library <sup>g</sup>. So that he computes 2256 years to the flood. And if this correction be admitted, and one more mentioned also by St. *Austin* <sup>h</sup>, viz. that *Lamech* lived 595 years after the birth of *Noah*, and not 565, as in the present copies, there will then remain no other difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Hebrew* than 600 years added to the ages of six of the patriarchs when they begat their sons <sup>i</sup>, and *Methuselah* will, conformably to the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan*, die in the year of the flood. <sup>b</sup>

As we have chosen to follow the chronology of the present *Samaritan* copies, after the flood, for the reasons which will be found in another place, we have done the same in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the *Hebrew* or *Septuagint*, by those who prefer the accounts of those copies.

## SECT. IV.

### The History of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

Year of the  
World, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 4305.

WHERE *Adam* dwelt after his expulsion from paradise, is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off (F). He now consummated his marriage with *Eve*, which, as the words of *Moses* seem to imply, he had not done before the fall <sup>k</sup> (G): a strong argument for the short duration of the state of innocence. The eldest son of *Adam*, named *Cain*, was born probably in the first year of the world; and his second, *Abel* (H).

<sup>a</sup> Vid. LUD. CAPPELLI Chronol. Sac. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. Græc. p. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> AUGUSTIN.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. PEZZON, l'Antiquité des temps rétablie, p. 57. & CAPPELLI Chronolog. sac.

<sup>g</sup> Genes. iii. 24- iv. 1.

(E) It is remarkable that *Scaliger*, taking the *Samaritan* numbers to be brought down no lower than to the birth of *Noah*, computes 1947 years to the flood, according to that chronology; wherein he is again mistaken 20 years, in the adding of the 600 years of *Noah's* life to the former number. And he at the same time quarrels with *Synellus* for not committing the same fault (1).

(F) The eastern tradition is, that *Adam* went into *India* (2) and did penance on the mountain thence named *Pico de Adam*, in the isle of *Ceylon*, for several years. Some Rabbins pretend, that he was separated from *Eve* for 130 years, and lived with another woman named *Lilith*, formed out of the ground like himself; during which time he begat demons on her, as the devils did on *Eve* (3). *Daaimonides* supposes, that by those demons were meant only wicked and impious men, as the race of *Adam* were before *Seth*, whom he is therefore said to have begotten in his own likeness, and after his image (4). The *Mohammedans* say, that when they were cast down from paradise, *Adam* fell on *Ceylon*, and *Eve* near *Jeddah* in *Arabia*; and that after a separation

of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafas*; and that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their species (5).

(G) Yet some Rabbins, as R. *Solomon Yarchi*, and R. *Moses Haddarshan* (6), were of a contrary opinion. Others of them indeed went much farther, as Father *Bartolucci* assures us, whose words we subjoin (to shew what abominable imaginations some men are capable of) but desire to be excused the translating of them. *De protoparantse Adamo ita sinistra sentiunt, ut ipsum etiam nefaria incontinentia, quod referre pudet, insimulant; & ante Eve formationem, omnia jumenta ferasque campi carnaliter cognovisse aiunt* (7).

(H) Some Rabbins imagined, that *Cain* and *Abel* were twins (which *Calvin* (8) also supposed) but, that *Cain* was the off-spring of the devil, or *Samael*, who first lay with *Eve*; and that she afterwards, by superfetation, conceived *Abel* by *Adam* (9). Some heretics fancied both *Cain* and *Abel* to have been the issue of the devil (10).

(1) SCALIG. in Græc. Euseb. p. 403. orient. p. 55.

(2) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. & BARTOLOCC. Bibl. Rabbini. Tom. I. p. 291.

(3) MAIM. More Nevoch. p. 1. c. 7.

(4) Vid. D'HERBEL. ubi supra.

(5) Vid. HEIDEGG. p. 111. in Genes. iv. 2.

(6) BARTOLOCC. ubi sup. p. 75.

(7) Vid. CORN. 2 LAPIDE.

(8) BARTOLOCC. ubi supra.

(9) Vid. EPIFAN. Hæres. 40.



a the year following \*. When they were grown up, they betook themselves to distinct employments; the former of them to husbandry, and the latter to the keeping of sheep. And their inward dispositions were still more different; *Cain* being wicked and avaricious, but *Abel* just and virtuous.

In process of time the two brothers brought their respective offerings to God †; *Cain* of the fruit of the ground, and *Abel* of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof \*\*; but they met with very different success: for God had respect to, or accepted the offering of *Abel*, but *Cain's* he did not accept ‡. At this preference *Cain* was so enraged and transported with envy against his brother, that he could not help shewing it by his countenance. God however condescended to expostulate the matter with him, and asked him what reason he had to be angry, since if he did well, he should be accepted; and he could blame none but himself for what was the consequence of his own ill behaviour: and, in particular, he could not justly be angry with *Abel*, who had no design to supplant him, and should always pay him the respect due to an elder brother. But this admonition had so little effect on *Cain*, that on a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he rose up against *Abel*

Year of the World, 2.  
Year before Christ, 4304.

Year of the World, 129.  
Year before Christ, 4177.

Cain and Abel, their offerings, Abel murdered.

\* Genes. iv. 2.

† JOSEPH. Ant. l. i. c. 2.

\* The name *Cain* signifies an acquisition, or possession, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb קָנָה *Kana*, to acquire. *Abel*, or rather *Habel*, signifies vanity, and not mourning, as *Josephus* (1) and *Eusebius* (2) suppose.

The Arab authors say, that before *Cabil* (for so they call *Cain*) *Adam* had a son named عبد الحارث *Abd alhareth*, on the following occasion. When *Eve* was big with her first child, the devil came to her, and asked her if she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it: She being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to *Adam*, and acquainted him with the matter, who not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive; whereupon the devil appeared to him, and told him, that as he knew the mysterious name of God, he would, in virtue thereof, by his prayers, obtain of God, that *Eve* might be safely delivered of a son in his (*Adam's*) own likeness, provided he would promise to call his name *Abd alhareth*, or the servant of *al Hareth* (which was the devil's name in heaven) instead of *Abdallah*, or the servant of God, as *Adam* had designed. This *Adam* and his wife agreed to, and accordingly gave the child that name, upon which it immediately died (3). The parents are taxed with this in the *Koran*, as an Act looking towards idolatry (4). But the whole story seems to have no other foundation, than *Cain's* being called by *Moses* *Obed adamah*, i. e. a tiller of the ground, which might be translated by the Arabs *Abd alhareth*.

*Abu'lfaragius* (5) says *Cain* was born in the thirtieth Year of the world, with a twin sister, whom that Author calls *Klimia*, *Eutychius* (6) *Acrun*, and others *Kilmanna*; and that thirty years after, *Abel* was born with a twin sister also, named *Lebudha*, or *Lefura*, by *Eutychius* (who says *Lefura* was her Greek name) *Oswain*, and by others *Delborah* (7).

† It has been supposed by some (but without any ground) that they brought their offerings to *Adam* to offer for them (8).

The oriental tradition makes these sacrifices to have been offered, and *Cain's* malice excited against his brother on the following occasion. When they were grown up, in the one hundred and thirtieth year of the world, according to *Abu'lfaragius*, *Adam* proposed to *Eve*, that *Cain* should marry *Abel's* twin sister, and *Abel* *Cain's*: but this *Cain* refused to agree to, insinuating to have his own sister, who was

the handsomest of the two. *Adam* hereupon was greatly displeased, because it was against the divine command that he should marry his twin sister (for it being the common opinion, that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since *Cain* and *Abel* must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree) and ordered his sons to make their offerings before they took their wives, referring the dispute, probably, to God's determination. But while they went up the mountain for that purpose, the devil put it into *Cain's* head to rid himself of his brother; for which wicked intent, his sacrifice was not accepted; and they were no sooner come down from the mountain, than he fell on *Abel*, and killed him with a stone (9). Thus was a woman, according to this story, the occasion of the first quarrel in the world; *Nam fuit ante Helenam*, &c.

\*\* The opinion of those who think *Abel* did not kill or offer the Animals themselves, but only their milk and wool, will be considered hereafter, when we enquire into the origin of sacrifices.

‡ Though the difference put by God between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing but the wickedness and ill disposition of *Cain*, and the righteousness and faith of *Abel* (10); yet it has been imagined, that *Cain's* ill success was owing to some defect in his offering, or his presenting the worst part of it to God, and reserving the best to himself. The reason given by *Josephus* (11) is very frivolous; he says, that God was more delighted with *Abel's* offering, as being the spontaneous production of nature; and displeased with *Cain's*, because it was forced by the art and industry of a covetous man (12).

In what visible manner God declared his acceptance of *Abel's* offering, is not expressed by *Moses*. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven descended on the sacrifice and consumed it, but did not touch *Cain's*. This is supported by the version of *Theodotion*, who translates the word חָטָא, which we render *had respect unto*, *εὐπρέπει*, *he set on fire*; the usual sign whereby God has been pleased to testify his approbation in other instances. The *Mohammedans* likewise affirm the same thing (13). And the heathens themselves boasted of the like extraordinary marks of the divine favour in some particular places (14).

(1) *Antiq.* l. ii. cap. 6. (2) *De Prop. Ev.* l. 2. (3) *Vid.* D'HERBIOT. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 438, &c. SELDEN *de jure Nat.* &c. l. 5. c. 8. MARACC. in *Alcor.* p. 291. (4) AL KORAN, c. 7. VER. 189, &c. (5) p. 6. (6) p. 15. (7) *Vid.* PLEKRIUM in *Genes.* iv. 1. HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr.*

l. i. p. 112.

(8) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *ubi sup.* p. 117.

(9) *ABU'LFARAG.* p. 6, 7. EUTYCH.

p. 15, 16. (10) *Vid.* Heb. xi. 4. (11) *Antiq.*

l. i. c. 2. (12) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr.* t. 1.

p. 120. (13) *Vid.* MARACC. in *Alcor.* p. 229.

(14) See BAYLE *Diff. Hist. Art. Egnatia.*

Year of the  
World, 129.  
Year before  
Christ, 4177.

Cain's punishment.

his brother and slew him<sup>\*</sup>, and buried his body, in hopes of concealing the murder<sup>a</sup>.

AFTER the commission of this horrid fact, Cain being questioned by GOD about his brother, returned an evasive answer, that he knew not what was become of him; churlishly asking, *if he was his brother's keeper?* But GOD soon convinced him that what he had done was not hid from him; and as a punishment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful soil, which should not reward his labour with the plenty and encrease he had before experienced. This sentence, though it fell short of the heinousness of his guilt, was yet thought too severe by Cain, who complained that *his punishment was greater than he could bear*; since he was to be banished from the presence of GOD, and from his near relations, and being a vagabond and friendless, would be in danger of being killed by the next that should meet him †. But GOD told him, that whosoever slew Cain, vengeance should

<sup>\*</sup> Genes. iv. 3—8.

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPH. ubi sup.

<sup>\*</sup> Before the commission of the fact, Moses tells us, according to the *English* translation, that Cain talked with Abel his brother. The words strictly signify, Cain said unto Abel his brother: after which there is a blank space left in the *Hebrew* copies, as if something was wanting. The *Samaritan Pentateuch*, and *Septuagint* version, supply this, by adding the words, *Let us go into the field*: but the *Jerusalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel* have obliged us with the whole conversation. Says Cain, *There is no future judgment, nor judge, nor life after this, nor reward for the just, nor punishment for the wicked: the world was neither created, nor is governed by the mercy of GOD, forasmuch as thy oblation was accepted, and mine rejected.* To which Abel answered, *There is a future judgment, and a judge, and a life to come: there is both a reward for the just, and a punishment for the unjust: the world was created, and is governed by the mercy of GOD. And because my works are better than thine, therefore was my oblation accepted, and thine rejected.* Upon which ensued the quarrel which ended in Abel's murder. An ill beginning of religious controversy. Mohammed has also, in his *Koran* (1), inserted the debate between the two brothers, somewhat to the same purpose.

The time, place, and manner of this murder are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the Birth of Seth, who was appointed instead of Abel: but St. *Austin* (2) will not allow Seth to be the next Son which Eve had after Abel's death; supposing that expression to mean no more than that Seth succeeded that righteous person in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion, that Adam assigned his sons their several employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as *Eusebius* says he did) that Cain and Abel made their offerings A. M. 100, and that thirty years after, Abel was killed. But neither reason nor scripture lead us to believe that Cain concealed his resentment so many years (3). The place where Abel was slain, according to an ancient tradition, is said to be still shewn at the foot of a hill near *Damascus* (4). As to the manner wherein Cain committed this murder, there is a great variety of opinions. *Eutychius* and the *Arabs* say he struck him on the head with a stone; some  *Jews* tell us, that he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that he killed him with the jaw-bone of an ass, which is the weapon the painters generally put into Cain's hand: some arm him with a fork; St. *Chrysostom* with a sword, St. *Irenaeus* with a scythe, and *Prudentius* with a pruning hook (5).

Whether Abel was a married man or not, has

(1) *Chap. 5. ver. 33, &c.* (2) *De civit. Dei, L. 15. c. 15.* (3) See BAYLE *Dict. Hist. Art. Abel, Rem. C.* (4) *Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. t. 1. p. 126.* (5) *Vid. BAYLE ubi sup. Rem. G.* (6) BASIL. & AMBROS. *apud CORN. & LAPIDE in Genes. iv. & v.* (7) *Vid. BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Abeliens.* (8) *Vid. SALIAN. Annal.*

been disputed. Some of the ancient fathers have maintained the affirmative (6), as did also some heretics called *Abelians* (7). But it is improbable he should continue single if he lived to be near one hundred and thirty: the world wanted peopling too much to allow any room for such continency. Nor do St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin* (8) seem to doubt of his being married, though Moses makes no mention of his offspring.

The Rabbins, and some Christians (9) say, that Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years, during which time they lived separate; Adam particularly in a valley near *Hebron*, thence named the valley of tears (10). The inhabitants of *Ceylon* pretend, that the salt lake on the mountain of *Colombo* was formed by the tears which Eve shed on this occasion (11).

† These words of Cain are variously interpreted. The first sentence, which our version renders, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, some translate, *My sin is greater than can be forgiven* (for *און* signifies iniquity rather than punishment, and *סלח* to forgive, as well as to bear); and others interrogatively, *Is my Sin too great to be forgiven?* which last is the sense followed by the *Hebrew* expositors, and seems to be the best (12). The latter words, in the *English* translation, *And it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me*, have also been rendered, *I wish that any person that finds me may kill me* (13).

That there were such numbers of men in the world, at the time of Abel's murder, that Cain might justly apprehend some danger from them, will appear from the calculations hereafter made of the increase of mankind before the flood. Mr. *Bayle* (14) thinks that Cain was not so much afraid of his kindred, the descendants of Adam, (though he might justly fear the resentment of Abel's children, if he left any) but of some strangers whom he apprehended he should meet in his banishment, where he would be friendless, and have none to support him; and therefore supposes, that, in his fright, he either did not consider there were no men in the world but what were the offspring of his father, or else feigned an apprehension, to move GOD's compassion. But we conceive there will be no occasion for either of those suppositions, if we consider in how few descents the degrees of kindred, at least of affection, decrease, and at length vanish; and that Cain might justly be looked on, even among his relations, as a common enemy. Not to mention the vast numbers of men, which he could not but think would in a few years to come overspread the earth, and have probably little knowledge of, or respect for him.

tom. 1. p. 184. (9) EUTYCH. p. 16. (10) *Vid. SALIAN. ubi sup. p. 190.* (11) *Vid. CHEVREAU, Hist. du Monde, tom. 4. p. 255.* (12) See SHUCKFORD'S *Connection*, vol. 1. p. 6. (13) LIGHTFOOT, vol. 1. p. 3. (14) *Dict. Hist. Art. Cain, Rem. A.*

- a be taken on him seven fold; and the more effectually to secure him from that apprehension, was pleased to give him a sign\* (probably by some sensible miracle) that none that met him should take away his life†.

CAIN, soon after this unfortunate affair, having wandred about for some time, at length settled with his wife and family in the land of *Nod*, where he built a city, and called it, after the name of his son, *Enoch*‡.

- WHERE the land of *Nod* (which word signifies *wandering*) was situate, is uncertain. *Moses* places it, according to our translation, *on the east of Eden*; and it has been observed, that *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Anuchiba* in *Susiana*, or *Kbuzestân*, a country lying eastward from *Chaldea*: which situation, and the near resemblance of the name *Anuchiba* to the original *Hanokh* (for *tba* is supposed to be only the *Chaldee* termination) induced the learned *Huet* to believe it to be the same with that built by *Cain*. But it seems very improbable, that the city of *Enoch*, built before the flood, should either withstand the deluge, or retain its antient name after so great an alteration of the face of things. Besides, *Susiana* being a very fertile and pleasant country, it is not likely *Cain* should be banished thither; but rather to some barren and desolate land, remote from the place of his nativity, and separated by mountains, or other natural obstructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reason *Grotius* and *Junius* are of opinion, that the country into which *Cain* retired, was the desert *Arabia*; but that lying on the west, and not on the east of *Eden*, to remove so formidable an objection, it is said, that the words which we translate *on the East of Eden*, signify no more than *before*, or *over-against* *Eden*, as the *Septuagint* have rendered it‡.

WHEN *Cain* built this city, cannot be conjectured by any circumstance recorded by *Moses*; but it is probable he did it not till many years after his banishment, and when his posterity was greatly increased. *Philo* supposes he also built six other cities, named *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*; but what foundation he had for it we cannot conceive‡.

- JOSEPHUS says, that the punishment inflicted on *Cain* was so far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worse, and became a reprobate to all sense of goodness, indulging himself in all manner of pleasures, though he wronged his neighbours to procure them: that he got together abundance of wealth by rapine and violence; encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their instructor in evil courses: that he first corrupted that simplicity wherein men had till then lived, by the invention of measures and weights; changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of such things, and their greatness of mind, into fraud and cunning: and that he also first set bounds to fields and possessions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependants to live in a community†, the better, it is probable, to secure their ill-gotten wealth.

- SOON after the murder of *Abel*, and probably the next year, his loss was made up to his parents in another son they had, whom *Eve* named *Seth*, that is, *appointed*, because he was appointed instead of *Abel*, whom *Cain* slew‡.

\* Genes. iv. 9—14.

† Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

‡ See RALIGH'S Hist. of the World, book I. c. 6. §. 4. Hist. Art. Cain, Rem. D.

\* Genes. iv. 25.

† See WELLS'S Geogr. of the Old Testament.

‡ JOSEPH. ANT. L. I. c. 2. See BAYLE Dict.

\* This is the true sense of this passage, and not that God set a mark upon Cain (1) according to the common exposition; in pursuance of which, many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to this imaginary mark. Some say that God stigmatized Cain on the forehead with a letter, which was to serve him as a passport, being taken either from the name of *Abel* (2), or the ineffable name of God (3) or from the word *repentance*, that every one might perceive *Cain* had repented. Others say this mark consisted of three letters, which composed the name of the *Sabbath* (4), or else that it was the sign of the cross (5). Others suppose that *Abel's* dog was given him as a constant companion, either to warn people not to attack him (6), or to prevent his taking any dangerous road (7). Others say that his face was covered with leprosy (8). Others, that the mark was

nothing but a wild aspect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in a horrid manner (9). Most of the fathers imagined that his body continually trembled to that degree, that he could not get his victuals to his mouth (10). The *Septuagint* version favours this opinion; for instead of a fugitive and a vagabond, they have translated *σένον* & *τρίμων*, *lamenting and trembling*; and the *Hebrew* words do indeed import a restlessness and uneasiness of mind, with which *Cain* is supposed to have been afflicted all his life (11). Some say that wherever he stopped, the earth shook and trembled around him (12). Others pretend that God inspired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that *Cain* had a horn grew on his forehead, to warn folks to avoid him (13.)

(1) Vid. SHUCKFORD, p. 8.

(2) Veteres

Hebraei apud Gesehrard.

(3) SOLOM. YARHI.

Vid. SALDEN. Otia Theol. p. 345.

(4) In Tan-

clumæ, fol. 4.

(5) SALDEN. ubi sup.

(6) Ibid.

(7) CORN. & LAPIDE in Genes. iv.

(8) SALDEN.

ubi sup.

(9) Vid. SALIAN. annal. tom. 1. p. 191.

(10) PROCOPIUS in Genes. iv. Vid. etiam

HIERONYM. Epist. cxiv. ad Damas.

(11) Vid. EUTYCH. p. 16.

(12) Apud SALDEN. ubi sup.

(13) Apud SALIAN. ubi sup. Vid. BAYLE Dict.

Hist. Art. Cain, Rem. B. & HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 129.

Year of the World, 129.  
Year before Christ, 4177.

He goes into banishment, and builds a city.

Grotius more quick.

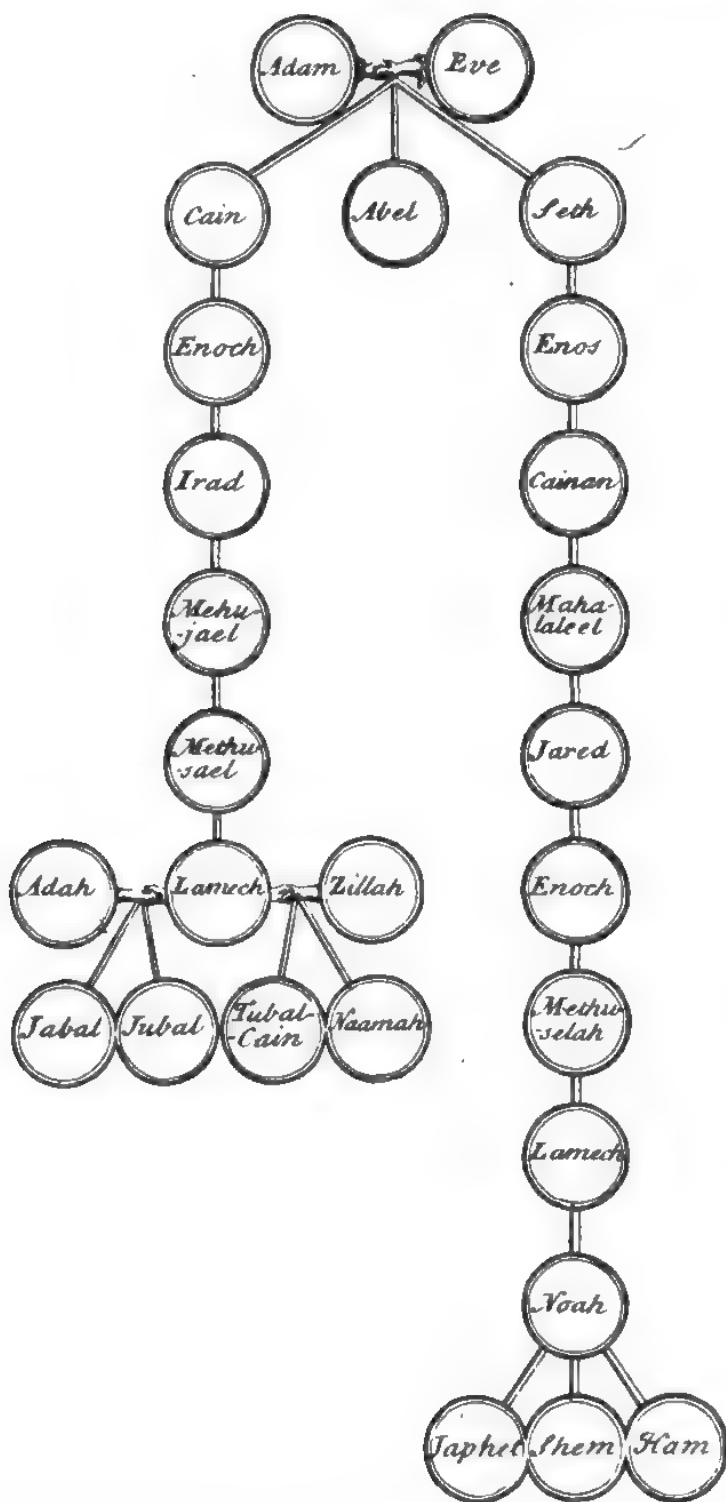
Year of the World, 130.  
Year before Christ, 4176.

Seth born.

Year of the  
World, 130.  
Year before  
Christ, 4176.

The genealogy  
of the antediluvians.

As the whole progeny of *Adam*, of whom we have any mention in Scripture, were the descendants of *Cain* and *Seth*, it may be proper to give the following genealogical table of the antediluvians.



Of the line of  
Cain.

THE sacred historian confining himself chiefly to the line of *Seth*, from whence *Noah* was descended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of *Cain*; nor can we thence form any conjectures how long he \* or any of his descendants lived.

\* There is an oriental tradition, which was believed by several christians in St. *Jerom's* time (1), that *Cain* was accidentally killed by *Lamech*, one of his own posterity: for they say, that *Cain* being old and dim-lighted, and in continual terror on account of the murder he had committed, used to wander up and down in the woods, and one day sat down in a thicket to rest himself; and that *Lamech*, who was also blind, being

a hunting, attended by a youth (whom some will have to be his son *Tubal-cain*) either himself heard a rustling, or was informed by the lad that there was something in the bushes, which he took to be a wild beast, and thereupon letting fly an arrow, he struck *Cain* (for it proved to be him) to the heart; when he came to know what he had done, he in a rage fell upon his conductor, and killed him also (2). Others relate

(1) *Vid. HIERONYM. in Epist. ad Damas.*

(2) *R. GEDALIAH in Shal'sheleth hakkab. p. 92. Vid. EUTYCH. p. 22.*

■ All that we have recorded is, that *Lamech*, the fifth in descent from him, married two wives, *Adah* and *Zillah*<sup>a</sup>, which is observed to be the first known instance of polygamy; that by the former he had two sons, *Jabal*, who was the first that dwelt in tents, and fed cattle<sup>b</sup>; and *Jubal*, the inventor of musick: and by the other, a son named *Tubal-Cain*, who found out the art of forging and working of metals<sup>c</sup>; and a daughter named *Naamah*<sup>d</sup>, supposed by some<sup>e</sup> to have invented spinning and weaving<sup>f</sup>. And that on some occasion or other, *Lamech* made a speech to his wives<sup>g</sup>, the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters<sup>h</sup>.

Year of the World, 130.  
Year before Christ, 4176.

HOWEVER, we are assured by other historians<sup>i</sup>, and it is highly probable, that the posterity of *Cain* were enormously wicked, exceeding their father, if possible, in all manner of villanies; every succeeding generation growing worse than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutish lusts. This reprobate race is generally supposed to be meant by *Moses* under the designation of *men*, and the daughters of *men*, as the other family of *Seth* is by that of the sons of *God*<sup>j</sup>.

SETH had this year a son named *Enos*; about which time it is thought that his descendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as those of *Cain* were for the reverse, had the appellation we have just mentioned given them. For it is conceived that those words<sup>k</sup>, which in our translation are rendered *then began men to call upon the name of the LORD*, properly signify, *then men began to be called by, or after the name*

Year of the World, 135.  
Year before Christ, 4071.  
Enos born.

<sup>a</sup> Genes. iv. 19. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22. <sup>c</sup> R. LIPOMAN. in catena, & GENEBRARD in Chron. Vid. VOSSII de Idolol. l. i. c. 17. <sup>d</sup> Genes. iv. 23, 24. <sup>e</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. i. c. 2. EUTYCH. p. 25. EBN AL ANID, &c. <sup>f</sup> Vid. HEIDEGG. ubi supra, p. 136. <sup>g</sup> Genes. iv. 26.

late the latter circumstances differently, and say that he killed *Cain* with a stone which he flung at him, and the youth, ignorantly, as he clapped his hands in sorrow for what he had done (1). And this they say was the occasion of those words of *Lamech* to his wives, mentioned in a following note. This accident some place in the seven hundred and thirtieth year of *Cain's* age (2); others in the years of the world seven hundred and one, or eight hundred seventy five (3). According to *Tosiatius*, *Cain* lived near eight hundred years (4). There are some who fix his death in the year of the world nine hundred and thirty one, and pretend that he was knocked on the head by the fall of a house (5). *Paul de Burgos* makes him perish in the deluge (6); and there are others who say he killed himself (7).

<sup>a</sup> This seems to be understood, as *R. Solomon Yarchi* explains the passage, of feeding cattle in the desert, and removing with their tents and herds from place to place, as they found pasture, which is the way of life of the *Arabs*, thence called *Strenita*: for others, and in particular *Abel*, followed a pastoral life before *Jabal* (8).

<sup>b</sup> *Josephus* (9) commends *Tubal-Cain* (whom he calls *Tubal*) for his great strength and skill in war; to the perfecting of which art he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

<sup>c</sup> Some imagine *Naamah* to have been the wife of *Noah* (10); others of *Ham* (11); and that she being saved from the destruction of the deluge, was therefore mentioned by *Moses*. Her name signifies *delightful*, or *beautiful*; and her person is said to have been so charming, that *Aza* and *Azael*, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her demons called *Gedim* (12).

Many authors, from some affinity in the names and inventions of these children of *Lamech*, have thought *Jubal* to have been the *Apollo*, *Tubal-Cain* the *Vulcan*, and *Naamah* the *Venus* or *Minerva* of

the heathens. And not to omit *Jabal*, it has been imagined he was their *Pales* (13). But these are at best suppositions only, and very precarious ones too, as will be shown in a more proper place.

*Josephus* makes the whole number of *Lamech's* issue by his two wives, to be seventy-seven (14).

<sup>g</sup> His words, according to our translation, are; *Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.* Almost to the same purpose are the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Syriac* versions; and they are commonly explained by the above-mentioned tradition of *Lamech's* unfortunately killing *Cain*, and the youth that attended him; which being an undesigned act, he had reason to think he deserved a much less punishment than *Cain* (15).

Others take these words to be a thraconical menace of *Lamech*, (whom they suppose to be a vindictive impious person) spoken on occasion of some quarrel he had with his wives; and that the sense is, *I will or would kill a man if he wounded me, and a young man if he hurt me*, &c. (16).

The *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, and the *Arabic* translation, read the passage interrogatively or negatively, *Have I slain a man? that is, I have not slain a man, that I should bear the guilt, or be punished for it; nor have I killed a young man, that my seed should be destroyed for it.* And it is thought *Lamech* spoke them on occasion of some terror or apprehension his family was in, lest *Abel's* murder should be revenged on them; which fear he shews to be groundless, because he had done nothing to deserve any ill treatment (17). This interpretation seems the most reasonable, but cannot be depended on; the speech being introduced by *Moses* very abruptly, and without any connection with what precedes or follows it.

(1) ELMACIN. or rather EBN AL ANID, p. 7. (2) EUTYCH. ubi sup. (3) Apud SALIAN. annal. l. i. p. 214. (4) Apud eund. ibid. (5) ST. RICHARD. Nitroge Chronol. citing CEDRENIUS, SYNCHELL. p. 11. (6) Apud PERERUM in Genes. iv. ver. 23, 24. (7) ARMENI apud Guidon. Carmelitum citante Prateolo, in elench. heret. p. 63. (8) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. patr. l. i. p. 141. (9) Antiq. l. i. c. 2. (10) BERECHIT RABBA. R. SOL.

YARHI. (11) CUMBERLAND'S Rem. on SANCHONIATHO, p. 107. (12) In libro ZOHAR. (13) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. l. i. p. 141, & seq. (14) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 2. (15) Vid. PERER. in locum. (16) Vid. HEIDEGG. ubi sup. p. 140. BAYLE Diss. Hist. Art. Lamech, Rem. D. E. (17) See SHUCKFORD'S Connection, vol. I. p. 10, &c.



Year of the  
World, 235.  
Year before  
Christ, 4071.

of the Lord, that is, the sons of God<sup>a</sup>. But some take the words, according to the former version, to mean that then the public worship of God was first set up, and proper ceremonies and stated times appointed for that service<sup>1</sup>: And others, particularly the Jews, suppose they intimate, that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its rise about this time, either adhering to the latter version, or translating the passage thus; *Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the Lord*<sup>2</sup>.

Of the three next descendants of Seth, Cainan, Mahalaleel and Jared, and of Methuselah and Lamech, the grandfather and father of Noah, Moses has recorded no more than their several ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do Seth and Enos, for their piety, and the salutary injunctions they left behind them, forbidding their children all intercourse with the race of cursed Cain<sup>3</sup>.

ENOCH the son of Jared, and father of Methuselah, was a person of most extraordinary piety, walking with God, as the Scripture expresses it, for at least the last three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which exemplary behaviour in so corrupt an age, he was taken up by God into heaven, without tasting death<sup>4</sup>.

Year of the  
World, 887.  
Year before  
Christ, 3419.

Enoch translated.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. p. 148. SHUCKFORD'S Connect. vol. I. p. 41.

<sup>1</sup> PERER.

DRUSIUS, MERCERUS, &c. Vid. SIMSON Chron. col. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. SELDEN de diis Syris proleg. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. EUTYCH. p. 20, &c. ELMACIN.

<sup>4</sup> Genes. v. 22 & 24.

\* The interpretation of Onelos is, *Then men left off calling upon the name of the Lord*; as if the worship of God began then to be neglected.

Some of the Jews (particularly Simonides) have gone so far as to charge Enos himself with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whose mediation men might address themselves to God (1).

But the introduction of the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies and angels, is by the Sabians, the professors of it, referred to Seth himself. They give him also a son called Sabi, from whom the sect seems to have taken its name, unless it be rather derived from נִסְיָ Saha, or the host of heaven, the objects of their worship: of this sect we shall take occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, observing only in this place, that they call the book which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, the book of Seth, and reckon the patriarch Enoch also among the propagators of Sabiism (2).

† Moses expresses it thus; *And Enoch walked with God, and he was not: for God took him*. Which passage the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews paraphrases in this manner; *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God* (3). By which words it seems plain, that Enoch did not die, but suffered only such a change as was necessary to fit him for the place whither he was going (4). Yet several of the Jews believe he actually died (5).

The Jewish commentators suppose Enoch was carried into the terrestrial paradise (6). Of the same opinion were some of the christian fathers (7). And it has been imagined that both he and Elias will return from thence, at the coming of Antichrist, with whom they are to wage war (8). But these notions are justly rejected by the most judicious interpreters. The vulgate translation of an apocryphal book says, indeed, that Enoch was translated into paradise. *Henoch placuit Deo, & translatus fuit in*

*paradisum, ut det gentibus poenitentiam* (9); but it has been observed, that the Greek says only that he was translated, without making any mention of paradise.

The Koran mentions the assumption of Enoch (10), who is there called إدريس Edris, which name is derived from עִדְרִישׁ, in Hebrew, to enquire into, and in Arabic, to read, or study with attention; and was given him for his supposed eminent learning and great knowledge. The Mohammedan commentators say, that Edris is now alive in one of the seven heavens, being carried thither after he had tasted death, but that God restored him to life (11).

The learning of Enoch, and particularly his skill in the mathematical sciences, has been celebrated by Jews, Christians and Mohammedans.

The Jews say he first invented letters, and became acquainted with the signs of heaven (12). They call him Metatron (13), (though some take this to be a name of the angel Gabriel) (14) which the Targum of Jonathan seems to interpret by the following words, the great scribe: but Buxtorf (15) is rather inclined to think it signifies the ambassador, or messenger of God, and is the same with the Latin word *Metator* (16).

The Greek christians supposed Enoch to be the same with the first Egyptian Hermes, who dwelt at Sais; that he first discoursed of superior substances, and foretold the deluge; and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences, fearing lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction (17). Eusebius (18) also attributes the invention of astronomy to Enoch, and says he was the same with Atlas, to whom the Greeks ascribe the same thing. Origen (19) mentions a book attributed to Enoch, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the Ethiopians in their tongue (20). The learned Mr. du Peirese used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose (21).

The

(1) Vid. HOTTINGER. *Smegma Orient.* p. 230. HEIDEGG. *ubi sup.* p. 148.

(2) Vid. POCCOCK.

*Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 138.

(3) Heb. xi. 5.

(4) Vid. 1 Corinth. xv. 50.

(5) ABEN EZRA.

HISCUNI, &c. *apud* HEIDEGG. *ubi sup.* p. 169.

(6) KIMHI in lib. 2. Reg. ii. 1.

(7) IRENAEUS,

PROFOP. GAZAUS, JUSTIN. MARTYR. *apud* HEIDEGG. p. 171.

Sed also ABULFARAG. p. 7.

(8) HEIDEGG. *ibid.* (9) *Ecclus.* xlv. 16. (10) AL

KORAN, cap. xii. ver. 54, 55. (11) JALLAL'OD-

DIN, &c. (12) Vid. HOTTING. *Smegma Orient.*

p. 239. (13) JUCHARIN, p. 5. ZOHAR ex Mi-

drasb Ruth. fol. 81. (14) Vid. HYDE de Rel. vet.

Persar. p. 263. (15) In Lexico Talmud. (16) Vid.

HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. i. p. 167. (17) ABUL-

FARAG. p. 9. (18) *Apud* Euseb. de prep.

Ev. l. 9. c. 17. (19) Hamid. 28. in lib. Numer.

& in Anaceph. l. de principe. (20) GENE-

BEARD. Chronol. p. 14. (21) D'HERBEL. Bibl.

THAT

■ THAT *Enoch* was a prophet, and that some prophecy of his was preserved either in writing, or (as is most probable) by tradition, even to our SAVIOUR'S time, appears from the passage quoted thence by St. *Jude*<sup>n</sup>. However the piece under the title of the *scripture or prophecy of Enoch*, of which we have some fragments extant\*, is allowed to be a manifest forgery; though several of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deserves<sup>o</sup>. Many passages are quoted thence in that very ancient writing, the Testament of the twelve patriarchs, and it is also cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*<sup>p</sup>. St. *Austin* makes mention of the scripture of *Enoch*, but denies it to be genuine<sup>q</sup>. And when *Celsus* objected its authority to *Origin*, he replied that the books attributed to *Enoch* were not looked upon by the church as divine writings<sup>r</sup>. That there was a book, under the name of *Enoch*, in the hands of the *Jews*, appears from its being referred to in their ancient book *Zohar*<sup>s</sup>.

Year of the World, 887.  
Year before Christ, 3419.

ADAM having seen a numerous posterity issued from his own loins †, after a life of nine hundred and thirty years ‡, paid that natural debt to which he had by his disobedience subjected himself and them<sup>t</sup>. That he repented of his sin, and made his peace with GOD, is very reasonable to believe<sup>\*\*</sup>, notwithstanding the uncharitable opinions of some to the contrary ††.

Year of the World, 930.  
Year before Christ, 3376.  
Adam dies.

WHERE he was buried cannot be collected from Scripture. St. *Jerom*<sup>u</sup> seems to approve of the opinion of those who imagine he was buried at *Hebron* ‡‡, in the cave

Conjectures concerning the place of his burial.

<sup>n</sup> Jude, ver. 14, 15. <sup>o</sup> TERTULLIAN de habitu mulier. IRENÆUS, CYPRIAN, LACTANTIUS, &c. <sup>p</sup> In Eclogis ex prophet. p. 801, 808. <sup>q</sup> De civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 23. & l. 18. c. 38. <sup>r</sup> ORIGEN. contra Cels. l. 5. <sup>s</sup> Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 176. <sup>t</sup> Genes. v. 5. <sup>u</sup> HIERON. in Matth. xxvii.

The *Mohammedan* authors say, that *Edris* received thirty books of revelations from GOD, wherein the secrets of the most occult sciences were written; and that he found out the use of the pen, the needle, (for they pretend he was a taylor, and the first of the trade) arithmetic, and astronomy. They also tell us he was the first who took up arms for religion, or the cause of GOD; for being sent to preach to, and reclaim the posterity of *Cain*, who refused to give ear to him, he thereupon made war upon them, carrying their wives and children into slavery. The same authors say, that *Enoch* was the innocent cause of idolatry; for one of his friends mistaking him after his assumption, at the suggestion of the devil, made a statue of him, to which he paid peculiar honours, which in time degenerated into a superstitious adoration (1).

Father *Bartolocci* has endeavoured to shew from the testimony of the more ancient *Jews*, that *Enoch*, surnamed *Edris*, was a different person from the antediluvian *Enoch*, and that he lived many ages after him (2).

\* These fragments were first published by *Joseph Scaliger* in his notes on the *Greek Chronicon* of *Eusebius* (3); and afterwards more correctly by *J. Goar*, in his edition of the *Chronography* of *George Syncellus* (4). We shall give the reader the substance of them by and by.

† Besides *Adam*'s three sons named by *Moses*, and the supposed twin-sisters of *Cain* and *Abel* (5), we are told he had two daughters, one named *Azuam*, or *Same*, who married *Cain*, and the other *Azava*, who was the wife of *Seth* (6).

‡ The oriental authors are so exact as to fix the very day and hour of the death of *Adam*, and also of several of the other patriarchs (7). But we presume our omitting those niceties will not be judged a fault.

\*\* The *Jews* say both *Adam* and *Eve* were very

penitent (8), and that he in particular was so exceedingly afflicted for his sin, that he had died of grief, had not GOD sent the angel *Raziel* to comfort him (9). They even acknowledge him to have been favoured with the gift of prophecy, and that he foretold the flood (10). The *Mohammedans* also do not only reckon him among the prophets, but make him one of the six (the others being *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Jesus*, and *Mohammed*) who introduced a new dispensation; and say that GOD gave him ten books of revelations, containing laws, promises, threatenings, and prophecies (11); which notion perhaps they borrowed of the *Jewish* authors, who pretend that *Adam* wrote the book intitled *Sepher Jesira*, or the book of the creation (which others attribute to *Abraham*) and certain treatises of the duty (12). Some *Rabbins* make him to have been the author of the ninety second *Psalms*: and in some manuscripts the *Chaldee* title of that *Psalms* imports it to be the hymn which the first man sang on the Sabbath-day (13). *Eusebius Nieremberg* (14) has been credulous enough to give us two hymns, faithfully copied from the revelation of *Amadeus* in the library of the *Escurial*, as the genuine compositions of *Adam*; one being that which he repeated on his first interview with *Eve*, and the other the penitential *Psalms* sung by them after the fall.

† A certain heretical sect, named *Tatianites*, affirmed he was damned (15).

‡ This is offered to be proved by this passage of scripture, according to the vulgate translation, *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariath-arbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est* (16). But the name *Adam* is unwarrantably inserted in the text, the *Hebrew* plainly signifying (as the other versions render it) that *Hebron* was formerly called *Kerjath Arba*, or the city of *Arba*, who had been a great man among the *Anakims*. There is however another origin of that ancient name of *Hebron* given by

(1) Vid. RELAND. de Reliq. Moham. p. 22. D'HERBELOT ubi sup. ABULFARAG. p. 10. (2) Bibl. Rabbin. t. 2. p. 845. (3) P. 404, &c. (4) P. 11, &c. and p. 14, &c. (5) See before, p. 73. in the notes. (6) SYNCHELLUS ex parva Genes. p. 11. & SETHIANI Hæretici, apud Epiphani. l. 1. p. 287. (7) Vid. EUTYCH. p. 19, &c. ELMACIN. p. 6, &c. (8) Vid. R. ESCHERZ Pirke, c. 20. R. GUNDAL, p. 92.

(9) Lib. JESIRA. Vid. REUCHLIN. de arte cabalistica, p. 8. (10) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. (11) Vid. HOTTING. Hist. Orient. p. 15. RELAND de rel. Moham. p. 21. (12) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 314. (13) GASP. SCHOTTUS Techn. curiosa, p. 556. (14) Apud SCHOTTUM ibid. (15) Vid. EPIPHAN. Hæres. 46. EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. p. 27. (16) Job. xiv. 15.

Year of the  
World, 930.  
Year before  
Christ, 3376.

of *Macpelah*, or the double cave, which *Abraham*, many ages after, bought for a burying-place for himself and family\*. The oriental Christians say, that when *Adam* saw death approaching, he called *Seth*, *Enos*, *Canaan*, and *Mahalaleel* to him, and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincense, and cassia, and deposite it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had chosen for the repository of his remains, thence named the cave of *al Konuz*\*\*. The primitive fathers generally believe that he died in the place where *Jerusalem* was afterwards built, and that he was interred on mount *Calvary*†, in the very spot whereon *CHRIST* was crucified‡; which opinion opened a large field for rhetorical flourishes and allusions\*. The *Mohammedans* will have *Adam's* sepulchre to have been on the mountain *Abu-kabis*, near *Mecca*; and the antient *Persians* in *Serendib* or *Ceylon*, where it was for some time, as they pretend, guarded by lions\*.

THE time of the death of *Eve*, the mother of all living‡, is not intimated in Scripture; but there are some who venture to tell us, that she out-lived her husband ten years<sup>b</sup>.

AFTER the death of *Adam*, the eastern writers say, that *Seth* with his family separated themselves from the profligate race of *Cain*, and removed to the mountain where *Adam* was buried, which they chose for their habitation; *Cain* and his family remaining below in the valley where *Abel* was slain<sup>c</sup>. But how this near neighbourhood is consistent with Scripture, which plainly intimates *Cain's* banishment into a country at some considerable distance from the residence of *Adam* and his posterity by *Seth*, we cannot conceive: unless it should be supposed, that *Cain*, or his descendants, left their own settlements to dispossess *Seth* and his offspring; or else that the posterity of both were by this time so greatly encreased, that after gradually extending their borders on both sides, they at length met, and straitened each other. However this be, the eastern tradition is, that the progeny of *Seth* lived in the said mountain in great sanctity and purity of manners\*\*. Their constant employment was praising *God*, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruits of the trees which grew on the mountains, so that they had no occasion to undergo any servile

\* Genes. xxiii. 3, &c.  
tom. i. p. 225.  
Orient. p. 56.

\* EUTYCH. Annal. p. 19. ELMACIN. p. 6.  
\* See BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Adam, Rem. L.  
\* Apud SALIAN. t. i. p. 231.

† Vid. SALIANI Annal.  
\* Vid. D'HERBELOT. Eibl.  
\* EUTYCH. p. 19.

by some writers, who taking the word *Arba*, which also signifies four, in that sense, and not for a proper name, say that city was so called, because four couple were there buried, viz. *Adam* and *Eve*, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* and *Leah* (1).

\* From the Arabic *كانازا* *kanaza*, to lay up privately, as treasure, &c. Some Jews say, that this precaution was ordered by *Adam* to be taken, lest his posterity should make his relics an object of idolatry (2).

The eastern Christians add, that he farther directed his family, that when they were obliged to leave the neighbourhood of paradise, they should take his body with them, and place it in the midst of the earth, because thence should come his salvation, and that of all his posterity (3). Which order, it is said, was repeated by *Lamech* to his son *Noah*, with this addition, that he should take with the body, gold, frankincense and myrrh, as offerings, and appoint one of his sons to attend the corps to, and at the new sepulchre, who was to be a religious person, and unmarried; was to shed no blood, nor offer any sacrifices but bread and wine only; was to be clothed in skins, and should neither cut his hair, nor pare his nails, and was to be called the priest of God; meaning thereby *Melchizedek* (4). And this *Noah* and *Melchizedek* are said to have performed.

† This opinion may be reconciled with the preceding, if we suppose the body was removed to *Golgotha* after the flood, in pursuance of the above-mentioned orders. *Jacobus Edessenus* says (5) that

*Noah* carried the bones of *Adam* with him into the ark, and when he came out of it he divided them among his sons, giving the skull to *Seth*, who coming into *Judea*, repositied it in the sepulchre of *Adam* on mount *Calvary*.

A commentator has an odd story, which is absurdly enough fathered on some Jews; that *Seth*, at the command of an angel, put into *Adam's* mouth, when he was interred, a seed of the tree of knowledge, which afterwards grew to be a tree, and that *CHRIST's* cross was made of it (6).

To accompany this story, we shall add two more of the same stamp, though not so properly belonging to this place. One is, that *Eve* broke a branch from the tree of knowledge, of which she made a cudgel, and by that cogent argument prevailed on her husband to eat of the forbidden fruit (7). The other, that *Seth* planted a branch of the tree of life, which had been either brought to *Adam* by an angel, or begged by *Seth* at the gate of paradise; and that the same becoming a tree, *Moses* afterwards from that tree took his rod with which he performed so many miracles, the bough with which he made sweet the bitter waters of *Marah*, and the pole whereon he fixed the brazen serpent (8).

‡ From whence she had her name, which is properly written *Hawewah*, and derived from the root *חיה* *Haya*, to live (9).

\*\* Our authors, if we may credit them, tell us, that paradise was so little higher than the mountain, that the children of *Seth* could hear the voices of the angels celebrating the praises of God, and even join with them in that service (10).

(1) R. ELIEZER Pirke, c. 20. F.d. HEIDEGG. ubi sup. p. 106. (2) R. ELIEZER ubi sup. JUCHASIN, p. 5. (3) EUTYCH. p. 19. (4) Idem, p. 32. (5) Apud BARCEPHAN de Parad. part. 1. c. 14.

(6) CORN. & LAPIDE in Genes. ii. 9. citing PINEDO. (7) Apud SALDEN. Otia Theol. p. 607. (8) Vid. eund. p. 608. & MOEBIUM de arce serpente. (9) Genes. iii. 20. (10) ELMACIN. p. 6. EUTYCH. p. 20. labours,

a labours, nor the trouble of sowing or getting in harvest; they were utter strangers to envy, injustice, or deceit. Their only oath was by *the blood of Abel*; and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worship *God*, and to visit the body of *Adam*, as a means of procuring the divine blessing <sup>a</sup>.

Year of the World, 930. Year before Christ, 3376.

HOWEVER, what time they had to spare in these happy circumstances, they seem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in sublime speculations; while the children of *Cain*, seeking no farther than present convenience and pleasure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts and musical instruments. For it is said that the offspring of *Seth*, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the science of astronomy; and lest their inventions should be forgotten or lost before they were publickly known, understanding from a prediction of *Adam's* that there would be a general destruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick, and the other of stone, and engraved their inventions on each of them, that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of stone might remain; which, *Josephus* <sup>a</sup> tell us, was to be seen in his time in the land of *Syriad* <sup>b</sup>.

How long the descendants of *Seth* continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain. *Moses* says, *That when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose* <sup>c</sup>. By which it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was their marrying into the wicked family of *Cain*, by which means their manners were soon debauched, and at length degenerated so far, that *the wickedness of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually* <sup>a</sup>. *Josephus* writes, that the family of *Seth* persevered in the true worship of *God*, and in the pursuit of virtue for seven generations; after which, in process of time, they neglected both, shewing twice as much eagerness after wickedness, as they had formerly shewn zeal for virtue: by which means they drew down on themselves the indignation of *God* <sup>b</sup>.

The defection of the sons of Seth.

THE oriental writers place the beginning of this defection somewhat sooner, in the days of *Jared* <sup>c</sup>, and in his fortieth year <sup>d</sup>; when they say one hundred of the sons of *Seth*, hearing the noise of the music, and riotous mirth of the *Cainites*, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain. And on their arrival among them, were so captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themselves with them <sup>e</sup>. And so these sons of *Seth* perished by whoring with the daughters of *Cain*; for when they offered to return again to their former abode, the stones of the mountain (it is said) became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther <sup>f</sup>. The lubricity of the *Cainites* is described in very strong terms. The men neighed after the women like horses, and the women in the same manner after the men, com-

<sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. p. 20. ELMACIN. p. 6. <sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. ANT. l. 1. c. 2. <sup>c</sup> Genes. vi. 1, 2. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 5. <sup>e</sup> JOSEPH. ANT. l. 1. c. 3. <sup>f</sup> ELMACIN. p. 9. EUTYCH. p. 27. <sup>g</sup> ABULFARAG. p. 8. Vid. etiam EPIPHAN. Hæres. l. 1. <sup>h</sup> Idem, ibid. <sup>i</sup> EUTYCH. p. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Where this land of *Syriad* was, is a great dispute. The name is variously written in the manuscripts, *Συρία* <sup>1</sup> *Συριάδα*, and *Συειάδα*; by others *Συειάδα* (1), and by *Enstatius* *Συειάδα*, which last seems the more correct. Some place it in *Syria*; others (2) with a little more probability, have taken it to be the same with *Seirath* mentioned in scripture (3), and suppose the *Συειάδα* *pefilim*, which the *English* translation renders the quarries, near *Gilgal*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, were the ruins of *Seth's* stone pillar. Yet others (4) understand those *pefilim*, or *τὰ γλυφτά*, the sculptures, as the *Septuagint* translate the word, to have been certain idols, lately set up there by *Eglon*.

But the more certain opinion (5) is, that the *Syriadic* land was in *Egypt*; for we are told that *Mambræ* extracted his history from certain pillars there, whereon inscriptions had been made by *Noah*, or the first *Mercury*, in the sacred letters and dialect; but were, after the flood, translated from the sacred

dialect into the *Greek* tongue, but written in the sacred letters, and laid up in books by the second *Mercury* in the sacred recesses of the *Egyptian* temples (6). These pillars were in subterraneous caverns near *Thebes*, and beyond the *Nile*, not far from the founding statue of *Memnon*, in a place called *Syringes* (7), which are described to be certain winding apartments under ground, and which (as it is said) those who were skilled in ancient rites, foreseeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing lest the memory of their ceremonies should be obliterated, built and contrived in vaults dug with vast labour in several places; cutting on the walls many sorts of birds and beasts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters (8). And that *Seth* was not a name unknown to the *Egyptians*, appears from *Plutarch*, who tells us, that they constantly called *Typhon*, which was a *Greek* name, *Seth* (9); and hence it is probable *Josephus* was led into the mistake of ascribing these pillars to the son of *Adam*.

(1) MALELA, GLYCAS, CEDRENIUS, & *Vetus Interpr.* (2) VOSSIIUS de LXX Interpr. p. 271. & de stat. mundi, c. 10. MARSHAM Canon. Chron. p. 39. (3) Judg. iii. 19, 26. (4) CHYTRÆUS, &c. (5) Vid. DODWELL.

Differt. de Sanchun. p. 26, 36. FABRIC. Biblioth. Gr. l. 1. c. 11. STILLINGFLEET Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2. & alius. (6) SYNCHELL. p. 40. (7) PAUSAN. l. 1. p. 78. (8) AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 22. p. 232. (9) FLUT. de Isid. & Offr. p. 351, & 357.

Year of the  
World, 930.  
Year before  
Christ, 3376.

The opinion of  
those who sup-  
pose angels de-  
filed themselves  
with women.

mitting whoredom and all manner of filthiness promiscuously with one another in pub-  
lic; the old women being, if possible, more brutish and lewd than the young. The  
fathers lay with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers, so that the  
children could not distinguish their parents, nor the parents their children.

THE appellation of the sons of GOD, given by *Moses* to the children of *Seth*, led  
*Josephus*<sup>a</sup>, *Philo Judæus*<sup>b</sup>, and several of the fathers<sup>c</sup>, into a strange interpretation of  
this passage, as if the angels, who are also called in scripture the sons of GOD<sup>d</sup>, were  
thereby asserted to have had to do with women, and to have begotten on them the in-  
solent and impious race we shall mention immediately\*. This supposition we think

<sup>a</sup> Jos. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> PHILO JUD. de gigant. p. 184. <sup>c</sup> JUSTIN M. TERTULLIAN, ATHENAG.  
CLEMENS ALEXANDR. EUSEB. LACTANTIUS, AMBROSIVS, &c alii apud Sixtum Senenf. Bibl. S. L. 5.  
annot. 77. SULP. SEVER. Hist. SACR. l. 1. p. 8. <sup>d</sup> Job i. 6. ii. 1. xxxviii. 7.

\* This opinion seems to have been originally oc-  
casioned by some copies of the *Septuagint*, which,  
in the days of St. *Austin*, had in this place the angels  
of God (1). *Lactantius* supposes the angels who  
were guilty of this enormity, had been sent down by  
God to guard and take care of mankind, and being  
endued with free-will, were charged by him not to  
forfeit the dignity of their celestial nature, by defiling  
themselves with the corruptions of the earth; but  
that the devil at length enticed them to debauch  
themselves with women. He adds, that being not  
admitted into heaven, by reason of the wickedness  
into which they had plunged themselves, they fell  
down to the earth, and became the devil's mindlers;  
but that those who were begotten by them, being  
neither angles nor men, but of a middle nature,  
were not received into hell, no more than their  
parents were into heaven. Hence arose two kinds  
of demons, celestial and terrestrial. These are un-  
clean spirits, the authors of whatever evils are com-  
mitted, and whose prince is the devil (2). From  
hence very probably proceeded the notions of *In-  
cubi*, or demons, who are supposed to have carnal  
knowledge of women (3).

But the fancy of angels defiling themselves with  
women, has been greatly propagated by that forgery  
we have mentioned above, entitled the prophecy of  
*Enoch*. The fragments we have still extant of  
which give a more particular history of these imagi-  
nary transactions; wherefore we shall here insert an ex-  
tract of those fragments, though some particulars might  
perhaps be more properly reserved for another place.

When men were greatly increased, they had  
daughters of such excellent beauty, that the *Egregori*,  
or watching angels (4), fell in love with them, and  
proposed to one another, that they should go down  
and chuse themselves wives of the daughters of men:  
to which *Semiasas*, their prince, replying, that he  
was apprehensive they would not go through with  
the affair, but leave him to bear the guilt alone, they  
all swore, and bound themselves under imprecations,  
that they would not recede from their resolution.  
The number of these *Egregori* was two hundred,  
who, in the days of *Jared*, descended on the top  
of mount *Hermion*, which was so called from the oath  
they had taken. Their princes were twenty, whose  
names (if the readers have any curiosity to know  
them) follow:

<i>Semiasas</i> , their chief,	<i>Zaniel</i> ,	<i>Samiel</i> ,
<i>Ananias</i> ,	<i>Bakiel</i> ,	<i>Sarinas</i> ,
<i>Aniel</i> ,	<i>Azazel</i> ,	<i>Eumiel</i> ,
<i>Chobabiel</i> ,	<i>Pharmarus</i> ,	<i>Tyriel</i> ,
<i>Orammiane</i> ,	<i>Amarel</i> ,	<i>Jumiel</i> ,
<i>Raniel</i> ,	<i>Anagemas</i> ,	<i>Sariel</i> .
<i>Sampsich</i> ,	<i>Thausiel</i> ,	

These, and the rest of them, in the year of the  
world one thousand one hundred and seventy, took

themselves wives, and began to commit lewdness  
with them, which they continued to do until the  
flood; and the women bore to them three genera-  
tions. The first generation were the giants, the  
giants begat the *Nephilim*, and the *Nephilim* those  
named *Eliud*, and they were multiplied according to  
their stature, and taught themselves and their wives  
magic and enchantments. The tenth of their princes,  
named *Azazel*, taught them to make swords, breast-  
plates, and instruments of war; as also the working  
of metals, particularly gold and silver, and fashioning  
various ornaments for the women: he also instructed  
them in the preparing of cosmetics, the polishing of  
precious stones, and the art of dying. These things  
the sons of men provided for themselves and their  
daughters, and they transgressed; and also seduced  
those that were virtuous among them, and wicked-  
ness prevailed greatly in the earth. *Semiasas*, the  
chief of these angels, taught the force of poisonous  
roots and herbs; *Pharmarus* the eleventh, charms  
and incantations; the ninth astrology; the fourth  
astrology; the eighth aerology; the third the signs  
of the earth; the seventh those of the sun; the  
twentieth those of the moon; and in like manner  
each of them revealed certain secrets to their wives  
and children. Afterward the giants began to de-  
vour human flesh: by which means the number of  
men daily decreasing, those that remained cried to  
heaven against their cruelty, and besought God to  
remember them. Thus the four arch-angels hearing,  
looked down upon the earth, and beholding a great  
deal of blood shed thereon, and that all manner of  
impiety and disorder was committed, made their re-  
port thereof to GOD, and at his command bound  
the princes of those transgressors, and threw them  
into the abyss, there to be kept to the day of  
judgment (5). *Uriel* in particular was sent to  
*Noah*, the son of *Lamech*, to acquaint him that  
the whole earth was to be destroyed by a deluge,  
and instruct him by what means to escape it.  
*Raphael* was ordered to bind *Azazel* [*Azazel*] hand  
and foot, and to throw him into darkness, in the  
desert of *Dudael*, and to lay him upon sharp stones,  
and cover him with darkness, that he might dwell  
therein for ever, being destined to the punishment  
of fire on the day of judgment. The words which  
follow directing him to heal the earth of the  
wounds caused therein by the secrets revealed by  
the *Egregori*, are something dark, and deserve not  
the trouble of an explication. *Gabriel's* charge  
was to destroy the giants, the sons of the *Egregori*,  
by exciting them to mutual and intestine wars,  
that they might fall by each others hands; and  
*Michael* was commanded to bind *Semiasas*, and  
the rest of his companions, and to lead them, af-  
ter they had seen the slaughter of their beloved  
sons, to the utmost parts of the earth, where they  
were

(1) AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 23. (2) LAC-  
TANTIUS de orig. err. l. 2. c. 15. (3) Vid.  
AUGUST. ubi sup. cap. 65. (4) See p. 48.

before, in the notes. (5) Ex primo libro ENOCH:  
apud Syncellum, p. 11, 12, 13. Vid. 2 Pet. ii. 4.



<sup>a</sup> needs no refutation, being utterly repugnant to the notions we have of the nature of those spiritual beings, who are neither married nor given in marriage<sup>r</sup>; though it be hard to accuse, as some have done<sup>s</sup>, those who have fallen into this mistake, of heresy and blasphemy. Others indeed, and particularly several of the *Jewish* writers, by the sons of *God*, understand the fallen angels<sup>t</sup>, who seeing the daughters of *Cain* walking in the nakedness of the flesh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them<sup>u</sup>.

Year of the World, 930.  
Year before Christ, 33-6.

<sup>b</sup> WHILE we are on this head, it may not be amiss to mention another opinion more reasonable than the last, which is embraced by the *Jewish* interpreters<sup>v</sup>; they suppose that by the sons of *God* in this place, are meant the princes, great men and magistrates of those times, who, instead of using their authority to punish and discountenance vice, were themselves the greatest examples and promoters of lewdness and debauchery, taking the daughters of men, or the inferior and meaner sort of people, and debauching them by force<sup>†</sup>.

THE example of these sons of *Seth*, who, tempted by the allurements of the daughters of *Cain*, first left their seat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time descended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took them wives in like manner of that profligate and abandoned race<sup>w</sup>. From these unhappy marriages issued a generation, which seem to have been no less extraordinary for their great stature and strength, than for their monstrous impiety and injustice. There were <sup>c</sup> in those days giants<sup>x</sup> & in the earth<sup>y</sup>, who being most probably of *Cain's* race, both

The issue of the Sethites, and the daughters of Cain, and their impiety.

<sup>r</sup> Matth. xxii. 30. Luke xx. 34, 35. <sup>s</sup> PHILASTRIUS BRIXTENSIS adv. HÆR. cap. 108. CHRYSOST. Homil. 22. in Genes. c. v. <sup>t</sup> R. ELIEZER, c. 13. <sup>u</sup> TARGUM ONKELOS & BEN UZZIEL. R. SOL. YARHI, ABEN EZRA, &c. <sup>v</sup> EUTYCH. p. 27. <sup>w</sup> Genes. vi. 4.

were to be confined for seventy generations, till the consummation of all things, and the day of judgment, when they were to be thrown into the gulph of fire. The giants, being begotten by a mixture of spirit and flesh, were condemned to become evil spirits, doing mischief upon the earth, appearing as spectres, and taking no food; but were to rise with mankind at the general resurrection. Therefore from the day of the slaughter of the giants, the *Nephilim*, the mighty men of the earth, and the great men of renown, the spirits which went forth from their souls, as from flesh, were to continue their mischievous employments till the last day. It was also decreed that mount *Hermion*, where those angels mutually bound themselves by an oath, should never be without snow and cold till the day of judgment, when it should melt like wax. Mankind are also threatened with a general destruction, and that their life should be but one hundred and twenty years (6).

This is the substance of those fragments, many parts of which are so greatly corrupted, that it is difficult to make sense of them; but the best is, the loss is not great.

\* Two of them were *Aza* and *Azael*, mentioned before (7). *Shamhozi* (whose name comes very near that of *Semiasas*) was another; he was the companion of *Azael*, and begat on some woman *Hiyah* and *Hhiyah*, who begat *Sidon* and *Og*. *Shamhozi* is said to have repented of his crime, and in penance for the same to have hung himself up between heaven and earth, in which posture he still remains; but *Azael* continuing impenitent, presides over the womens toilets (8), and is the same with the goat *Azael* mentioned by *Moses* (9). A fourth of these debauched angels, named *Mabrael*, is said to have lain with *Hani's* wife about the time of the flood, and *Sidon*, it is pretended, was the issue of that adultery (10).

These ancient traditions concerning angels were not unknown to *Mohammed*. The *Koran* (11) men-

tions two, named *Harut* and *Marut*, who taught magic at *Babel*. These the commentators say were sent down to be judges on earth, which office they executed with integrity for some time, till *Zehara*, or the star *Venus*, descended, and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was really a woman.) As soon as they saw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires; but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned, but were not admitted. On the intercession of a certain man, they were allowed to chuse whether they would be punished in this life, or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in *Babel* (12). This story was taken directly from the *Persians*, who make mention of two rebellious angels of the same names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downward, in the territory of *Babel* (13).

† To support this interpretation, they tell us that the verb *קָיַם*, which is generally rendered to take, signifies also to ravish, or take by violence.

‡ The Hebrew word is נִפְלִימִים *Nephilim*, from נָפַל *Naphal*, to fall; which derivation is urged in defence of that opinion, which makes them incarnate spirits, or the fallen angels, under the shape of men (14). The targum of *Ben Uzziel* agrees with this interpretation, and names two of those angels then conversant on earth, viz. *Shamhozi* and *Uziel*. But the root signifies also to fall upon, to rush with violence, &c. According to which sense *Symmachus* translates *Nephilim* *βίαιαι*, and *Aquila* *ἐκκρίσσορας*. The other translations generally rendering it giants.

Some take these *Nephilim* to have been men of ordinary stature, and so called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciousness and insolence (15), which, as it seems, was the opinion of *Josephus* (16). But others, with greater reason, believe

(6) Ex cod. *ibid.* p. 24, 25, 26. (7) Pag. 77. in *mois.* (8) *ELIASHI RABBA* in *Genes.* vi. 2. (9) *Levitic.* xvi. 8. (10) *JUCHASIN.* (11) *Cop.* ii. ver. 302, &c. (12) *Vid.* MARACC. in *Alcor.*

p. 44. (13) *Vid.* HYDE de *rel. vet. Persar.* c. 12. (14) *Vid.* PAUL. BURGENS. in *loc.* (15) *PHILO JUD. de Gigant.* GOROP. BECANUS in *Gigantomach.* TEMPORARIUS. (16) *Antiq.* l. i. c. 3.

by father and mother, and born before the conjunction of the two families\*, made a use of their superior power to spoil and tyrannize over the weaker. And the same course of life was followed by the new mongrel offspring, who signalized themselves also by robberies and oppressions, and became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown†.

Year of the  
World, 1287.  
Year before  
Christ, 3019.

The 120 years  
of God's for-  
bearance.

**MANKIND** running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the posterity of *Seth*, who had for some ages retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of *Cain*, infected with the same contagion of profaneness and immorality, so that all sorts of wickedness began to overspread the earth; and this, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions they probably received by persons from time to time sent by **GOD**; the divine vengeance might with justice have been immediately executed on so perverse a generation: but **GOD**, out of his great mercy, was pleased to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no less than one hundred and twenty years; during which space, but no longer, his spirit should strive with man‡, or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked course of life†.

**NOAH** preaches. **AMIDST** this general corruption, one man however was found to be just and perfect in his generation‡, walking with **GOD**°. This extraordinary person was

\* Genes. vi. 4.

† Ibid. ver. 3.

‡ Ibid. ver. 9.

believe they were also of extraordinary stature and strength (1); the word *Nephilim* being manifestly used elsewhere in scripture (2) to denote men above the common size. Not but that it may also signify those that fall away, apostates (3).

That there were in these ancient times men of a gigantic size and strength, is a thing very credible, both from later instances in historians, both sacred and profane, and modern instances in our own times (4). But we must not hence conclude, as some have done, that mankind in general were in the first ages of a much larger stature than they are at present (5); giants being manifestly spoken of as rarities, and the wonders of their time, though their number seems to have been much greater before the flood.

The opinion of *J. Bolduc* (6), the *Capucine*, is too singular to be omitted. He supposes that the different words by which giants seem to be intended in scripture, as *Nephilim*, *Rephaim*, *Zuzim*, *Gibborim*, *Enakim*, *Zamzummim*, *Elim*, &c. do not, for the most part, denote the uncommon size, but the strength and excellence of the piety and truth of the holy patriarchs, the first propagators of mankind and divine worship. The *Nephilim*, in particular, he imagines to be those who were distinguished from others, in that they worshipped **GOD** by falling down, or prostration; in the same manner as the fathers of the order of *St. Francis* of *Assise* are remarkable for adoring in the same posture, and kissing the earth before the host.

Some authors have enquired into the original cause of this monstrous stature of the giants; *St. Cyril* thinks it a judgment of **GOD** on the lust of their parents (7). They who suppose them to be the issue of the fallen spirits, say it was by their artful promoting and raising the lechery and pleasure of the women with whom they had to do (8). Some attribute it to the vigour of the sons of *Seth* (9); while others make *Seth's* descendants in general to have been of a very large size, and those of *Cain* on the contrary of a less (10).

\* This the words of *Moses* seem to imply; *There were giants* (says he) *in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God*

*came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, &c.* So that there appear to have been two distinct races of *Nephilim*: one of which arose pretty early in the world, being of the posterity of *Cain*; and another, which began some ages after, being the issue of the sons of *Seth* by the daughters of *Cain* (11); and both of them probably continued to the flood.

† This passage of scripture is variously interpreted; the *English* translation seems to give the true sense of the *Hebrew*; but the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Syriac* versions render the word *strive with* (which we translate *strive with*) *continue*, or *dwell in*; supposing the meaning to be, either that **GOD's** spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or else that the spirit, or breath of life, should not always continue in him, that is, no longer than the space of one hundred and twenty years, after which, if he continued impenitent, he should be destroyed. And this is the sense of *Onkelos*. The *Jews* have much useless learning in their comments on this text (12). But they who infer from hence that the standard of man's life was now reduced and limited to one hundred and twenty years (13), are manifestly mistaken; for that reduction was not made immediately after the flood, nor till the days of *Moses*. And *St. Peter* plainly approves the other sense, when he observes that *the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing* (14); yet this notion spread even among the heathen writers (15).

‡ From this expression some *Jews* would infer that *Noah* was a good man comparatively speaking only, in respect of the great wickedness of the rest of the world; but that had he lived in *Abraham's* time, he would have had but a small share of reputation for virtue (16). But this unjust surmise, had it any foundation in the words of *Moses*, is refuted by the testimony of *Ezekiel* (17), who names him as one of the three that had been most eminent for righteousness, and should save their lives by their own merits in the most universal calamities. It is true they give another reason for their opinion, viz. because *Noah* did not intercede for the old world, as *Abraham* did for *Sodom*.

(1) *Vid. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 4. CHRYS. in loc. THEODORET. quæst. 48. in Genes. R. SOL. YARHI, ASENZRA. (2) Numb. xiii. 33, 34. (3) See 2 Kings xxv. 11. Jerem. xxxvii. 13. and xxxviii. 19. (4) *Vid. DERHAM's Physico-Theol. b. v. c. 4. GREW's Cosmol. Sacr. b. 1. c. 5. § 25. (5) *Vid. HOMER. VIRGIL. (6) In tract. de ecclesia ante legem. (7) Lib. 3. in Genes. (8) *Vid. FR. VALES. de sacra philos. c. 8. (9) *Vid. HEID.*****

*Hist. Patr. t. 1. p. 202. (10) CHRYSOST. in loc. EUTYCH. (11) *Vid. HEID. ubi supr. p. 185. (12) *Vid. eund. ibid. p. 343, &c. (13) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. PHILO de gigant. PROCOPI. in locum. (14) 1 Pet. iii. 20. *Vid. AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 24. (15) *Vid. TREB. POLLION. in Claud. (16) PHILO JUD. de Abrah. p. 354. R. SOL. YARHI in locum. (17) Chap. xiv. 14, 18.*****

a *Noah* \*, the son of *Lamech*, who not thinking it sufficient to be righteous himself, unless he did his utmost to turn others likewise to righteousness by admonition as well as example, became a preacher <sup>b</sup> to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counsel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to restore the true religion among them†. But all he could do was to no purpose, for they continued incorrigibly obstinate; so that at length (as *Josephus* <sup>c</sup> tells us) finding himself and family in imminent danger of some violence, in return for his good-will, he departed from among them with his wife and children.

Year of the World, 1287: Year before Christ, 3019.

ON his departure it is probable they fell into greater disorders than before, having now none to controul, or even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. *Moses* assures us that *the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was continually evil* <sup>d</sup>; and that *the earth was corrupt and filled with violence, all flesh & having corrupted his way upon the earth* <sup>e</sup>. Which words leave no room to enquire into the particular crimes of the antediluvian world, which seems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedness, and above all with violence and injustice towards one another. Whether idolatry was practised before the flood, is a question we shall discuss elsewhere; but the eastern authors are for the affirmative, and say the children of *Seth* were seduced to it by the *Cainites* <sup>f</sup>.

Mankind incorrigible.

THINGS being in this state, *GOD*, as the sacred historian pathetically expresses it, *repented that he had made man upon earth, and it grieved him at his heart* <sup>g</sup>. And the time of forbearance being elapsed, he passed the sentence of their utter destruction by a flood of waters; and not only of them, but of the beasts of the earth and every creeping thing, and of the fowls of the air <sup>h</sup>, which became involved in the calamity of their masters. But *Noah* found grace in the eyes of the *LORD* <sup>i</sup>, who had before, probably at the beginning of the one hundred and twenty years, acquainted him with his design of bringing a deluge on the earth; and as a means to preserve him and his from that calamity, directed him to make an ark, or vessel of a certain form and size, capable of containing not only himself and family (for he had three sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, who were all married before the flood) but such numbers of animals of all sorts, which were liable to perish in the flood, as would be sufficient to preserve the several species, and again replenish the earth, together with all necessary provisions for them <sup>k</sup>. All which *Noah* performed, and so, by *GOD*'s peculiar favour and providence, he and those that were with him escaped this tremendous and otherwise general destruction; which event, the most extraordinary that is recorded in history, and deserving our greatest attention, must be the subject of a future discourse, after we shall have taken a view of what the profane writers offer us towards the history of this period.

Year of the World, 1306. Year before Christ, 2998.

The whole world destroyed by a flood, except *Noah* and his family.

\* 2 Peter ii. 5.    <sup>c</sup> Antiq. l. i. c. 3.    <sup>d</sup> Genes. vi. 5.    <sup>e</sup> Ib. ver. 11, 12.    <sup>f</sup> EUTYCH. Annal. p. 31.    <sup>g</sup> Genes. vi. 6.    <sup>h</sup> Ib. ver. 7.    <sup>i</sup> Ib. ver. 8.    <sup>k</sup> Ib. ver. 14, &c.

\* *Lamech* gave his son this name, which signifies comfort: for this same, says he, shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the *LORD* hath cursed. Which words not expressing the means by which *Noah* was thus to comfort his friends, some writers have thence inferred that he invented the tools and instruments of husbandry (1).

† The eastern christians say, that when *GOD* ordered *Noah* to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of in the east, at this day, instead of bells to call the people to church, and named in Arabic ناقوس *Nakus*, which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportu-

nity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge (2).

The *Mohammedans* likewise agree to make *Noah* a prophet, and, as has been observed, one of the six principal ones (3), tho' he had no written revelations delivered to him (4). The *Koran* mentions his preaching to those of his time in several places (5). Some of their writers pretend he was sent to convert *Zobah*, one of the *Persian* kings of the first race, who refused to hearken to him. He then went to preach *GOD*'s unity publicly, but could make no more proselytes than eighty, who went with him into the ark (6).

‡ The oriental writers agree in making this defection so universal, that at last, they say, there was none left in the holy mountain of all *Seth*'s race, except only *Noah* and his wife, and his three sons and their wives (7).

(1) YARHI in loc. ZOHAR, parash. i. (2) EUTYCH. Annal. p. 37. (3) See before, p. 79. in the notes. (4) Vid. RELAND de rel. Moham. p. 34.

(5) Cap. xi. ver. 26. cap. 26. ver. 105, &c. (6) Vid. D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. p. 675. (7) EUTYCH. Annal. p. 35.

## SECT. V.

*The profane History before the Flood.*

*Accounts of antediluvian affairs besides that of Moses.*

BESIDES the particulars in the preceding section, taken from the writings of <sup>a</sup> *Moses*, the only records to be depended on in these early times, we have some farther accounts relating to this period transmitted to us by antient writers; particularly those of the *Phœnician*, *Babylonian*, and *Ægyptian* antiquities, which we must not omit, leaving however the reader to judge of their credibility.

*Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history.*

SANCHONIATHO, who wrote the *Phœnician* antiquities\*, began his history from the origin of the world and of mankind; but his work being apparently written with a design to apologize for idolatry<sup>†</sup>, instead of deducing the history (as *Moses* has done) from *Adam* in the line of *Seth*, the worshippers of the true God, he has, according to the most probable hypothesis<sup>‡</sup>, given us that of the idolatrous line of *Cain*; that the religion which this author, or those he transcribed, patronized, might appear to be <sup>b</sup> introduced by the elder branch, a circumstance which they might think gave it no small lustre and reputation.

IN the following extract from the remaining fragments of this author, we might justly be surprized to find not so much as the least mention of the deluge, did we not consider that destruction was a judgment on the idolatrous world, with which the professors of the true religion probably reproached the heathens, and which the latter were therefore desirous to conceal, to bury, if possible, the very memory of so extraordinary a monument of divine vengeance and their own shame.

*Generation I.*

SANCHONIATHO having delivered his cosmogony, or generation of the other parts of the world<sup>¶</sup>, begins his history of mankind with the production of the first pair of mortals<sup>¶</sup>, whom *Philo*, his translator, calls *Protogonus* and *Æon*<sup>‡</sup>, the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees.

*Generation II.*

THEIR issue were called *Genus* and *Genea*\*\*<sup>¶</sup>, and dwelt in *Phœnicia*: but when great droughts came, they stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun<sup>††</sup>, for him they thought the only God and Lord of heaven, calling him *Beelsamen*, which in

<sup>†</sup> See the Intro. p. 12, a.

<sup>¶</sup> Vid. *ibid.* p. 11, d.

<sup>¶</sup> Vid. *ibid.* p. 46, a.

\* The credit of the fragments we have remaining of this work, and the age of its author, are enquired into in the preface.

† *Viz.* That of bishop *Cumberland*, the substance of whose remarks the reader will find in the following notes.

‡ That these two were *Adam* and *Eve*, appears not only from their being the first of human kind, but also from their names, *Πρωτόγονος*, the first produced, and *Ἔων*, life (which is the signification of that word in the feminine gender, the masculine article *ὁ* prefixed to it in the original being a mistake of the transcriber) the latter of them bearing a near resemblance to *Eve*, both in sense and sound. What our author immediately mentions of the woman's first gathering food from trees, seems to allude to *Eve's* first eating the forbidden fruit (1).

\*\* *Genus*, abating the termination, makes a fair approach in sound to the name of *Cain*; and by its signification seems very proper to denote the man who was the first-begotten in the ordinary course of nature. The Greek word *γενέω*, whence the Latin *gigno* comes, being also probably derived from *קנא* *Kana* (K and G being letters of the same organ, and consequently easily changed into each other) the root from which the name of *Cain* was formed. *Genea* may signify only the wife of *Genus*, as *Cain* does the wife of *Cains* in the civil law (2).

As to what follows, that *Cain* and his wife dwelt in *Phœnicia*, this seems repugnant to the *Mosaic* history, where *Nod* is said to be on the east of *Eden*. But it may not be impertinent to add what has been

observed, that there was a city in *Canaan* called *Cain*; within the bounds assigned to the tribe of *Judah* (3). In the best maps it is situated not far from the sea, on a promontory lying within the country which the *Philistines* kept long in their possession; and it is not likely that any who owned themselves derived from *Seth*, should build a city, and then brand it with the odious name of *Cain*: but it is possible it might be either built by some of his family before the flood, and its ruins be repaired afterwards, still keeping his name; *Joppa*, another city in that neighbourhood, being also said to be more antient than the deluge (4). Or it might be built by the old *Philistines* before *Jeshua's* time; and they being descended from *Mizraim*, might, though fallily, believe, as *Sanchoniatho* reports, that he was of *Cain's* line, and thence might call this city by his name (5).

†† This seems to have been the first introduction of idolatry, which began with the worship of the sun; several of *Cain's* descendants added other methods of idolatrous worship, distinctly set down by this author. They proceeded to deify the several parts of nature, and men after their death, and even to consecrate plants shooting out of the earth, which the first men, or those in the elder ages, judged to be gods, and worshipped, as those that sustained the lives of themselves and their posterity, as well as of their ancestors: to these they made their meat and drink offerings; which *Sanchoniatho* says, were the devices of worship agreeing with the weakness and want of boldness in their minds (6).

(1) *Vid.* GROT. de veritate relig. Christ. in notis ad lib. I. § 16. CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 215, &c.  
(2) CUMBERL. *ibid.* p. 219, &c.

(3) *Josh.*

xv. 57.

(4) *PLIN. Nat. Hist.* l. 5. c. 13.

(5) CUMBERL. *ubi sup.* p. 219, &c.

(6) SAN-

CHON. apud Euseb. *ubi infra.*

<sup>a</sup> *Phœnician* is lord of heaven, and in Greek *Zeus*. For we, says our author, not vainly, have frequently distinguished those names, but with respect to the later signification of names accruing to them from later things; which the *Greeks* not knowing, have construed otherwise, being deceived with the ambiguity of their significations.

AFTERWARDS from *Genus*, the son of *Protegonus* and *Æon*, other mortal issue was *Generation III.* begotten, whose names were *Phos*, *Phur*, and *Phlox*, that is, *Light*, *Fire*, and *Flame* \*. These found out the way of generating fire by the rubbing of pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof. These begat sons of vast bulk and height, *Generation IV.* whose names were given to the mountains on which they seized: so from them were named mount *Cassius* and *Libanus*, *Antilibanus* and *Brathys* †.

<sup>b</sup> Of these last were begotten *Memnumus* and *Hypsuranius* ‡, but they were so named *Generation V.* by their mothers, the women of those times, who without shame lay with any man they could light upon \*\*. *Hypsuranius* inhabited *Tyre*, and he invented the making of huts of reeds and rushes, and the *papyrus*. He also fell into enmity with his brother *Usons* ††, who first invented a covering for his body out of the skins of the wild beasts which he could catch. And when violent tempests of winds and rains came, the boughs in *Tyre* being rubbed against each other, took fire, and burnt the wood there. And *Usons* having taken a tree and broke off its boughs, first was so bold as to venture upon it into the sea. He also consecrated two rude stones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worshipped them, and poured out to them the blood of such wild beasts as had been caught in hunting ††. But when these were dead, those that remained, consecrated to them stumps of wood and pillars, worshipping them, and kept anniversary feasts unto them \*†.

<sup>c</sup> MANY years after this generation, came *Agreus* and *Haliens* \* ‡, the inventors of *Generation VI.* the arts of hunting and fishing, from whom huntsmen and fishermen are named.

\* *Hebrew* names like these, though unusual among us, are mentioned in after times in scripture; as, *Uri*, *Uri*, *Beor*, and *Lehabim*, which signify *fire* and *flames*, and answer *Philo's* well enough. It is supposed they were so called from their inventing the method of kindling and using fire (1).

† This generation were inhabitants and lords in the great mountains which took their names from them. So *Seir*, a name of *Esau*, is supposed to have been given to the mountain which he possessed, tho' it be prophetically given to that country before his birth (2).

‡ *Bochart* makes these two but one person, reading, *Memnumus*, who is also called *Hypsuranius*, the latter name seeming to be a translation of the first, which *Bochart* thinks has lost a syllable, *Mem* being left instead of *Samem*, or שָׁמַיִם *Shamaim*, signifying *heaven*, to answer Οὐρανός in *Philo's* translation, as *Rum* does ὑψος, or *high*. *Scaliger* thinks it only put instead of מִמְּנוּן *Mimnum*, from on high. Bishop *Cumberland* derives it with less change from מִן רֹמָם *Rum*, and מִן מַיִם *Maim*, signifying *waters from on high*, or issue from above (3).

\*\* The immorality of the women prostituting their bodies, so plainly confessed by our author, agrees with the intimation which *Moses* gives concerning the debauchery of these ages, and the general corruption of the world which ensued upon it.

†† *Usons* is thought to be the same with עֵשָׂו *Ous*, i. e. *strong*, a name long after given to the son of *Aram*, whom *Josephus* calls *Ousef*, and we write *Uz*; the termination in *Josephus* only differs from *Philo's Ousous* (4).

‡‡ The wind and fire to which these two pillars were consecrated, seem to have been those violent ones that had burnt the wood. This is the oldest instance of worshipping these lower sort of naturally immortal gods; which it is probable were worshipped, because the fire and winds are of kindred to celestial or æthereal matter. The *Greek* does not expressly say that the blood of the wild beasts was poured out, but it is conceived necessary so to un-

derstand the words σπένδον ἐν θυρίων, because there is nothing else in them, besides their blood, which can be poured out as a libation. This is therefore observed to be the first offering of blood to inferior deities. And because this was that of hunted wild beasts, of whose blood no great quantity could be gotten to be poured out of vessels; we may infer that *Usons* offered some part of their flesh, with their blood dropping out of their limbs. And since there is no reason to doubt but he eat part of what he had taken in hunting, as he offered part; this is the first example of eating flesh before the flood: and the restriction under which it was afterwards granted to *Noah*, seems to intimate, that the wild antediluvian sons of *Cain* had fallen into the barbarity of eating raw and bloody flesh, forbidden therefore to *Noah* and his posterity, both in the case of sacrifice and of ordinary diet, to prevent all correspondence with their savage practices (5).

\* † Here is the connection of the worship of men after death, with that of the parts of nature. But it does not appear any sacrifice or prayer was as yet made to them as gods, as is expressly said hereafter of *Vulcan*.

\* ‡ These names are *Greek*, and therefore *Philo's* translation of some eastern names of like import. All that can be understood of this age is, that the arts or employments here mentioned, were then much improved, for *Usons* was a huntsman before.

Though the connection of this generation with the preceding, be expressed more ambiguously than any other in the whole pedigree, by the words *after much time*, which may occasion a doubt whether this generation was the immediate offspring of the last or not; yet if we consider how far some of the antediluvians were advanced in years before their children were born, we must allow that no argument can be built thereon for the negative. And an interpolation of other generations cannot be admitted without owning so many more generations in *Cain's* line before the flood, which would make his line to have more links in it than *Seth's*, a circumstance we have no reason to believe (6).

(1) CUMBERL. ubi sup. p. 237. eund. ibid. (3) Idem, ibid. p. 231.

(2) Vid. ibid. p. 238. (4) Idem, ibid. p. 239, 240. (6) Idem, ibid. p. 242, &c.



*Generation VII.* OF these were begotten two brothers, the inventors of iron and of the forging <sup>a</sup> thereof: one of these, called *Chryfor*\*, the same with *Hephestus*, or *Vulcan*, exercised himself in words, and charms, and divinations; and he found out the hook, bait, and fishing line, and boats slightly built, and he was the first of all men that sailed: wherefore he also was worshipped after his death for a god, and they called him *Zeus Michius*, or *Jupiter the engineer*†; and some say his brothers invented the way of making walls of brick.

*Generation VIII.* AFTERWARDS from this generation came two brothers, one of which was called *Technites*, or *the artist*, the other *Geinus Autockthon*‡, *the home-born man of the earth*. These found out to mingle stubble, or small twigs, with the bricky earth, and to dry them in the sun, and so made tiling. <sup>b</sup>

*Generation IX.* BY these were begotten others, of which one was called *Agrus* [field] and the other *Agrouerus*, or *Agrotes*\*\* [husbandman] who had a statue much worshipped, and a temple carried about by one or more yoke of oxen in *Phanicia*: and among those of *Byblus* he is eminently called the greatest of the gods. These found out how to make courts about mens houses, and fences, and caves or cellars. Husbandmen and such as use dogs in hunting derive from these; and they are also called *Aletæ* and *Titans*.

*Generation X.* OF these were begotten *Amynus* and *Magus*††, who shewed men to constitute villages and flocks.

IN these mens age there was one *Eliun*‡‡, which imports in *Greek* *Hypsistus* [the most high] and his wife was named *Beruth*, who dwelt about *Byblus*; and by <sup>c</sup> him was begotten one *Epigeus*, or *Autockthon*\*†, whom they afterwards called

\* *Bochart's* origination of this name from *חרש* *Chores-ar*, which he renders *Πυρραχυρις*, an artificer by fire, is not improbable. Yet bishop *Cumberland* rather derives it from a simple root *חרץ* *Charas*, to *bestir one's self vigorously, to cut*, &c. from whence *χρυσος*, beaten, or cut gold, is allowed to come, and why not *Chryfor*? Since it differs only in termination, and compositions must not be admitted in eastern words without necessity.

This *Chryfor* is the first man our author informs us of, who was worshipped as a god after his death; a plain confession that such worship was not from the beginning. It is remarkable, that as this sort of idolatry began in the eighth generation, and the flood was drawing near in the next generation but one, so it is more than probable that all, or most of those who were concerned in this first decaying of men, if they lived to be any thing near the age of their contemporaries of *Seth's* line, were drowned therein (1).

† The original is *Diamichius*. But our learned bishop chuses to divide the word, and derives *Michius* from *מכין* *Machi*, a machine (2).

‡ *Technites* seems to be a translation of the eastern name *Malachi*, from *מלאכה* *Malaca*, workmanship, art. The other, *Geinus*, signifying earthy, has some affinity with *Epher* and *Ephron*, *Canaanitish* names, and probably used by *Sanchoniatho* (3).

\*\* This generation is remarkable, because to the men thereof, the first statue, or idol to be worshipped, and the first temple we read of, was erected in *Phanicia*; a small temple, or rather tabernacle, it was, like that of *Moloch* and his star *Chiun*, or *Remphan* (4), and drawn by oxen, in the same manner as the ark, or epitome of *God's* tabernacle, was sent home by the *Philistines*, successors to the old *Phonicians* in their religion and abode, upon a new cart, drawn by milch kine (5).

The names of these men import gods of husbandry, as *Pan*, *Pales*, and *Sylvanus* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Bishop *Cumberland* guesses, that in *Sanchoniatho*, the person whom *Philo* expresses by *Agrus*, might be called *Siddim*, or *Sadid*, a name whereby

one of *Cronus's* sons is afterwards called; either of which will answer the *Greek* (6).

The *Egyptians*, whose religion and descent was the same with that of the old *Phonicians*, besides *Pan*, had an ancient deity, named *Arcueris*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, and by some taken to be *Apollo*, by others *Orus Senior*, and by *Scaliger* (7) *Amubis*. But bishop *Cumberland* thinks he was the same that is here called *Agrouerus*; and if the *g* is allowed to melt away, as it often does, or if we take *Αγρως* and *Αγρος* as *Synonyma*, the name is the same; for the termination is arbitrary (8).

†† *Amynus* seems to import in this place a defender from enchantment, and *Magus* a forcerer; though both words are capable of a more favourable interpretation. Yet in the lowest dregs of *Gain's* race we may believe the worst the words will bear (9).

This generation, being the tenth from *Adam* inclusive, was that generation which, excepting *Noah* and his family, was entirely destroyed by the flood, together with their children. But those idolaters from whom *Sanchoniatho* took his genealogies, suppressed all mention of the flood, as he does; and pretended that the line, in which their idolatry began, was continued on to succeeding ages. And this being impossible to be done, in instances of men that ever had any being in the earth, any other way than by taking men out of *Noah's* line, and annexing them as sons to the last men of that family, which in truth was wholly extinguished in the flood, they proceed to carry on the genealogy with *Misor* and *Sydyr*, two persons who in reality, as it will be attempted to shew, were descendants of *Noah* (10). Wherefore we reserve the history of them and their posterity until after the deluge.

‡‡ In *Hebrew* *עליון* *Eliun*. This person, as will appear when we consider his descendants, must be *Lamech*, the father of *Noah*, of the line of *Seth*, which is here introduced abruptly and imperfectly, as being that of the professed enemies of the false religion which our author patronizes (11).

\*† These two *Greek* names having some relation to the earth, it is likely they translate the title

(1) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 244, &c.

(2) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 232.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 246.

(4) *Amos* v. 26.

(5) *1 Sam.* vi.

(6) *CUMBERL.*

*ubi supra*, p. 247, &c.

(7) *De emend. temp.*

(8) *CUMBERL.* *ubi sup.* p. 249.

(9) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 250.

(10) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 177.

(11) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 151.

a *Uranus* \* [heaven], so that from him that element which is over us, by reason of its excellent beauty, is called heaven; and he had a sister of the same parents called *Ge* † [the earth], and by reason of her beauty the earth had her name given to it.

*Hypsistrus*, the father of these, dying in fight with wild beasts, was consecrated, and his children offered sacrifices and libations to him. But *Uranus* taking the kingdom of his father, married his sister *Ge*, and had by her four sons; *Ilus*, who is called *Cronus* [or *Saturn*], *Betylus*, *Dagon*, who is *Siton*, or the god of corn, and *Atlas* ‡: but by other wives *Uranus* had much issue.

Thus far *Sanchoiatho*; the thread of whose history we break off here, and shall resume in the next period. But before we dismiss this author, we shall in the following

b table compare the pedigree of *Cain's* line given by him, with that given by *Moses*: first observing, that though *Moses* had not recorded ten generations in this line, as *Sanchoiatho* has, yet it does not thence follow, that there were not ten generations in this line before the flood; for *Moses* does not tell us that those he has named were all the descents before the flood, nor that the last generation which he mentions was drowned, though probably it was so. However, it is very improbable that eight generations in *Cain's* line should live as long as the ten in *Seth's*, especially considering that *Cain* in all likelihood had children before *Seth* was born: wherefore it is more reasonable to believe, that *Moses* has passed over two generations of *Cain*, as not worthy of mention; and the rather because he does not say that *Enoch* begat *Irak*, but only, unto *Enoch*

c was born *Irak* \*\*; which will be true if he was not his son, but his grandson, or great-grandson, skipping over two generations, which added to the eight mentioned, will make ten, as in *Seth's* line before the flood †, thus:

*A TABLE of the Descendants of CAIN,*

According to *MOSES*.

1. *Adam, Eve,*
2. *Cain,*
3. *Enoch,*
4. - - - -
5. - - - -
6. *Irak,*
7. *Mehujael,*
8. *Methusael,*
9. *Lamech,*
10. *Jabal,*  
*Tubal-Cain.*

According to *SANCHOIATHO*.

1. *Protogonus, Æon,*
2. *Gennus, Genca,*
3. *Phos, Pur, Pblox,*
4. *Cassius, Libanus, &c.*
5. *Memrumus, Ufous,*
6. *Agreus, Halicus,*
7. *Chryfor, or Hephæstus ††,*
8. *Technites, Gennus,*
9. *Agrus, Agrouerus,*
10. *Amynus, Magus,*

\* Vid. CUMBERL. on *SANCHON*. p. 303, &c.

title which *Moses* gives *Noah*, who is here meant, viz. a man of the earth (1), which we render an husbandman; and that may also be the reason why his wife's name is said to be *Ge*, the earth (2).

\* This name, and that of *Eliun*, are supposed to have been given to *Noah* and his father by *Thoth* and other idolaters by way of sneer, because they worshipped the only supreme God in heaven, in opposition to their earthly gods, which had been men (3). But a better reason is, that it was the constant custom to give new and magnificent names to persons deified (4), as *Eliun* and *Uranus* both were; though they had no considerable part of the idolatrous worship, which was chiefly employed in serving *Cronus*, and his wives and children (5).

† The *Atlantian* theology, which seems to agree with *Sanchoiatho*, in saying that *Uranus* gave his name to the heavens, to imprint a greater idea of himself in the minds of the people, tells us however that his wife's first name was *Titea* (perhaps from *טִיט* *Tit*, mud) and that she being, after her death, consecrated into a goddess, was called *Ge* (6).

‡ The first of these four sons was *Ham*, the arguments to prove which will be produced hereafter in a more proper place: who the other three sons here named were, will also be considered elsewhere. We shall only observe here, that none of them are either *Shem* or *Japhet*, who, according to the bishop's hypothesis, are found under other names, viz. those of *Syde* and *Nereus*.

\*\* The like expression to the same sense is found in another passage (7), where it is foretold that *Josiah* should be born to the house of David, or be of the posterity of *Rehoboam* then reigning, though he was many generations after him.

†† *Sanchoiatho* here places his chief artists in the seventh and eighth generation, whereas *Moses*, according to this table, places them in the tenth. If we suppose the two last generations, and not the fourth and fifth, to be those omitted by *Moses*, they will come much nearer. Dr. Cumberland, to obtain a fuller agreement, conjectures that these two links in *Sanchoiatho* have been transposed, and that *Chryfor* should be in the eighth place, and *Technites* in the seventh; or else that the father in the seventh generation might invent those arts,

(1) *Genes.* ix. 20. (2) CUMBERL. *ubi sup.* p. 291, &c. (3) *Ibid.* p. 152. (6) DIODOR. SICUL. l. 3. p. 189, &c. (7) 1 Kings xiii. 2.

Berosus's Babylonian antiquities.

THE *Babylonian* antiquities were collected by *Berosus*\*, a *Chaldean* by birth, who <sup>a</sup> lived in the time of *Alexander the Great*<sup>†</sup>. But of that work we have now remaining only some few fragments, the substance of which, so far as comes within the present period, we here subjoin.

The manner of men acquiring the knowledge of arts and sciences.

AFTER a description of *Babylonia*, he writes, that in the first year there appeared out of the red sea, at a place near the confines of that country, a certain irrational animal ‡, whose name was *Oannes*. He had his whole body like that of a fish, but beneath his fishes head he had another head grew; he had also feet like a man, which proceeded from the fishes tail, and a human voice, the picture of him being preserved to that very day. This animal conversed with men in the day-time without eating any thing; he delivered to men the knowledge of letters and sciences, and skill in various arts; he taught them to dwell together in cities, to erect temples, to introduce laws, and instructed them in geometry; he likewise shewed them how to gather seeds and fruits; and, in short, imparted to mankind whatever was necessary and convenient for a civilized life. But after this time there was nothing excellent invented. When the sun set, this animal retired into the sea again, and stay'd there in the night-time, being of the amphibious kind. After him there appeared several other animals of the same form, mentioned in the ensuing history. This *Oannes* did not deliver his instructions by word of mouth only; but, as our author assures us, wrote of the origin of things<sup>§</sup>, and of political œconomy<sup>¶</sup>.

OTHER authors have also made mention of this *Oannes*: *Helladius* calls him *Oes* (if <sup>c</sup> it be not rather the scribes way of abbreviating *Oannes*) and agrees in general with the foregoing account; but adds, that he had the hands, as well as the head and feet of a man; that it was reported he was produced from the primigenial egg (as his name testified †) and that he was in reality no more than a man, though he seemed to be a fish, because he was compleatly dressed in a fishes skin<sup>‡</sup>. *Hyginus* likewise writes that *Euabanes*, a name not very distant from *Oannes*, came out of the sea in *Chaldea*, and explained astrology<sup>§</sup>.

The antediluvian kings of Chaldea.

BEROSUS proceeds to give us a series of ten kings who reigned in *Chaldea* before the flood; but as there are some small variations in the authors who have transcribed that historian, we shall here exhibit them to the readers view.

A TABLE of the Chaldean Kings before the Flood, from BEROSUS.

According to <i>Africanus</i> <sup>a</sup> .			According to <i>Abydenus</i> <sup>b</sup> .			According to <i>Apollodorus</i> <sup>c</sup> .		
	Sari.	Years.		Sari.			Sari.	
1. <i>Alorus</i> reigned	10	00	1. <i>Alorus</i> reigned	10		1. <i>Alorus</i> reigned	10	
2. <i>Alasparus</i> - -	03	00	2. <i>Alaparus</i> - -	03		2. <i>Alaparus</i> - -	00	
3. <i>Amelon</i> - - -	13	00	3. <i>Amillarus</i> - -	13		3. <i>Amelon</i> - - -	00	
4. <i>Amenon</i> - - -	12	00	4. <i>Ammenon</i> - -	12		4. <i>Ammenon</i> - -	00	
5. <i>Metalarus</i> - -	18	00	5. <i>Megalarus</i> - -	18		5. <i>Megalarus</i> - -	18	
6. <i>Daonus</i> - - -	00	99	6. <i>Daos</i> - - -	10		6. <i>Daonus</i> - - -	10	
7. <i>Euedorachus</i> -	18	00	7. <i>Euedoreschus</i> -	00		7. <i>Euedoreschus</i> -	18	
8. <i>Amphis</i> - - -	10	00	8. <i>Anodaphus</i> - -	00		8. <i>Amempsinus</i> - -	10	
9. <i>Otiartes</i> - - -	08	00	9. - - - - -	00		9. <i>Otiartes</i> - - -	08	
10. <i>Xisuthrus</i> - -	18	00	10. <i>Sisithrus</i> - - -	00		10. <i>Xisuthrus</i> - -	18	
	110	99						

<sup>a</sup> ALEX. POLYHIST. apud Syncell. p. 28. <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 14. c) <sup>c</sup> ALEX. POLYHIST. ex Beroso, apud Syncell. p. 28. <sup>d</sup> HELLAD. apud Photium, Bibl. Cod. CCLXXIX. col. 1594. <sup>e</sup> HYGIN. fab. 274. The printed editions of *Hyginus* have *Eubadnes*. <sup>f</sup> Apud SYNCCELL. p. 18. <sup>g</sup> Apud eund. p. 38. C. <sup>h</sup> Apud eund. p. 39. B. Vid. Chron. GRÆC. EVSÆB. p. 5.

arts, and on that account be celebrated by *Thoth*, or his scribes; and the sons might bring them to greater perfection in the eighth generation, and for that reason be rather taken notice of by *Moses* (1).

\* Of this author the reader will find a more particular account in the preface.

† The Greek is *ζῷον ἄσπερον*; but the sequel plainly shews him to have been nothing less than irrational: some corruption may therefore very justly be supposed.

As to the names of *Oannes* and *Annedotus* given to this person, and those of the same appearance who are mentioned below, it may seem a folly to offer as any explanation of them. By their coming up out of the sea, it is most probable they were strangers, and arrived in *Chaldea* by shipping (2). The Syriac word *ܐܢܢܕܐ* *Anudo*, signifies a traveller or foreigner, and might without much violence be converted into either of the said names.

‡ An egg in Greek is called *Oon*.

(1) CUMBERL. ubi supra, p. 232, &c.

(2) Vid. NEWTON's Chronol. p. 210, 211.

a THE reigns of these kings *Berosus* computes by *Sari*, or decads of years\*, which seems to be a very convenient method in those times, when the lives of men were at least ten times as long as they have been in later ages. According to which way of reckoning, the sum of all their reigns amounts to twelve hundred, or more nicely eleven hundred and ninety nine years; which offers no violence to the *Mosaic* chronology. *The length of their reigns.*

As these ten successions exactly answer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the first king *Alorus* has been supposed to be the same with *Adam*†, as *Xisuthrus* plainly appears to be *Noah*. *Alorus* gave out, that G O D himself had declared him the pastor of the people‡; and, indeed, if any man could pretend to dominion by divine right, it must have been *Adam*. *Remarkable events under them.*

b OF *Alasparus*, the second king, nothing remarkable is related. His successor *Amenon*, or *Amullanus*, was of the city of *Pantibibla*†: in his reign, according to *Abydenus*, a second *Annedotus*, or animal resembling the demigod *Oannes*, arose out of the sea, twenty six *Sari*, or two hundred and sixty years after the beginning of this monarchy\*; but *Apollodorus* writes, that he appeared under the next prince *Amenon*, after forty *Sari*, or four hundred years: which if they be computed from the creation (according to the *Samaritan* chronology) will end in that king's reign; but if from the first year of *Alorus*, will reach twenty years within that of *Metalarus*. Others, supposing this *Annedotus* was the hateful *Oannes* himself, blame *Polybistor* for anticipating the time of his coming, by placing him in the first year‡.

AFTER *Amenon* and *Metalarus*, who were both of *Pantibibla*, succeeded *Daonius*, who was of the same city, and a shepherd. In his time four animals § of a double form, half man and half fish, came out of the sea to land, whose names were *Euedocus*, *Enengamus*, *Encubulus*, and *Anementus*¶.

UNDER the next prince, *Euedereschus*, who was likewise of *Pantibibla*, there appeared another animal, like the former, named *Odacon*. All these explained more particularly what *Oannes* had summarily and concisely delivered¶.

THE eighth and ninth kings were both of another city called *Laranchi*\*. When the latter of them *Otiartes*, or, as *Polybistor* calls him, *Ardates*, was dead, he was succeeded by his son *Xisuthrus*.

IN his reign happened the great deluge, of which our author gives the following account: *Cronus* or *Saturn* appeared to *Xisuthrus* in a dream, and warned him that on the fifteenth of the month *Desius* mankind would be destroyed by a flood; and therefore commanded him to write down the original, intermediate state, and end of all things, and bury the writings under ground in *Sippara*, the city of the sun; that he

\* PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. c. 2.    † ABYDEN. ex Beroso apud Syncell. p. 38.    ‡ Idem, ib. & p. 39. C.    § Vid. SYNCCELL. p. 39. C.    ¶ ABYDEN. ib.    † APOLLONOR. ex Beros. ib.    ‡ Idem, ib.

\* *Berosus* wrote his chronology by the computation of *Sari*, *Neri*, and *Sosi*; which being ancient measures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not, it is conceived, have wanted explanation in those records. But *Berosus*, or some later writers, have, either out of ignorance, or design, magnified these measures of time beyond all imagination, and tell us, that the *Sarus* contained the interval of three thousand six hundred years, the *Nerus* of six hundred years, and the *Sosus* of sixty (1). However, other authors have taken those years for days only, and blame *Eusebius* for not perceiving them to be days (2); and, as it seems, with great reason: for, not to insist on the incredible length of the reigns of those princes, on the first hypothesis, which no writer of common sense or modesty could offer to impose on the world, it plainly appears they were no more than days, from the reign of the sixth king, which is more exactly expressed in the first table to be ninety nine years, but in the others, by the round number of ten *Sari*, or 100 years; and the word *Sarus*, throwing away the termination, is no other than the

*Chaldei*, or *Syriac* ܣܪܝܢ 'Sar, ten. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thousand six hundred days, or just ten old *Chaldean* years of three hundred and sixty days each: and that before the deluge, not only the civil year, but also the tropical solar, and lunar year consisted of just twelve months of thirty days a-piece, or three hundred and sixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a very learned gentleman (3).

† Of this city of *Pantibibla*, as *Scaliger* observes (4) the ancients have taken no notice. It seems to be the same with *Sippara*, hereafter mentioned (probably the *Sippara* of *Ptolemy*) where *Xisuthrus* deposited the records he wrote before the flood. This latter name may be derived from the *Chaldei* ܫܦܪܐ *Sephar*, or *Sphar*, a book, or record; and *Pantibibla* is the translation of that name into Greek (5). Sir *Isaac Newton* (6) takes it to be the *Sepharvaim* of the scripture (7).

‡ *Apollodorus* says only that the fourth *Annedotus* appeared at this time (8); but the reading of *Abydenus* seems the more correct.

(1) Vid. SYNCCELL. p. 17. & ABYDEN. apud eundem, p. 38. C.    (2) ANNIANUS & PANDORUS apud SYNCCELL. p. 35. Vid. eund. p. 17.    (3) Mr. ALLIS's Disc. of the antient year, in Mr. WHISTON's Theory, Book II. p. 144. Vid. etiam

SCALIGER. in Græc. Euseb. p. 406.    (4) Ubi supra, p. 407.    (5) See CUMBERLAND on Samson. p. 255.    (6) Chronol. p. 275.    (7) 2 Kings xix. 13.    (8) Apud SYNCCELL. p. 39.

should also build a ship, and go into it with his relations and dearest friends, having first <sup>a</sup> furnished it with provisions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beasts; and that when he had provided every thing, and was asked whither he was sailing, he should answer, *To the gods, to pray for happiness to mankind.* *Xisuthrus* did not disobey, but built a vessel, whose length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs. He put on board all that he was directed, and went into it with his wife, children, and friends. The flood being come and soon ceasing, *Xisuthrus* let out certain birds, which finding no food, nor place to rest upon, returned again to the ship. *Xisuthrus*, after some days, let out the birds again; but they came back again to the ship, having their feet daubed with mud: but when they were let go the third time, they came no more to the ship, whereby *Xisuthrus* understood that the earth appeared again; and thereupon he made <sup>b</sup> an opening between the planks of the ship, and seeing that it rested on a certain mountain, he came out with his wife, and his daughter, and his pilot; and having worshipped the earth, and raised an altar, and sacrificed to the gods, he and those who went out with him disappeared. They who were left behind in the ship, finding *Xisuthrus*, and the persons that accompanied him, did not return, went out themselves to seek for him, calling him aloud by his name: but *Xisuthrus* was no more seen by them; only a voice came out of the air, which enjoined them, as their duty was, to be religious; and informed them, that, on account of his own piety, he was gone to dwell with the gods; and that his wife, and daughter, and pilot, were partakers of the same honour. It also directed them to return to *Babylon*, and that, as the fates had ordained, they <sup>c</sup> should take the writings from *Sippara*, and communicate them to mankind; and told them that the place where they were was the country of *Armenia*. When they had heard this, they offered sacrifice to the gods, and unanimously went to *Babylon*; and when they came thither, they dug up the writings at *Sippara*, built many cities, raised temples, and rebuilt *Babylon* again<sup>d</sup>.

The antediluvian kings of Egypt.

THE *Egyptians*, who would give place to no nation in point of antiquity, have also a series of kings, who, as is pretended, reigned in *Egypt* before the flood; and, to be even with the *Chaldeans*, began their account the very same year that theirs does, according to *Berosus* <sup>e</sup>.

THERE was an ancient chronicle extant among the *Egyptians* not many centuries <sup>d</sup> ago<sup>h</sup>, which contained thirty dynasties of princes who ruled in that country, by a series of 113 generations, through an immense space of 36,525 years<sup>\*</sup>: during which *Egypt* was successively governed by three different races; of whom the first were the *Aurite*, the second the *Mestrai*, and the third the *Egyptians* <sup>f</sup>.

BUT this extravagant number of years *Manetho* <sup>g</sup> (to whose remains we must chiefly have recourse for the ancient *Egyptian* history) has not adopted, however in other respects he is supposed to have been led into errors in chronology by this old chronicle<sup>i</sup>, which yet seems to have been a composition since *Manetho*'s time. That writer <sup>k</sup> began his history with the following sixteen dynasties, or reigns of princes; the first of

<sup>e</sup> ALEXAND. POLYHISTOR ex BEROSO, apud SYNCCELL. p. 30, 31. & apud CYRILL. contra JULIAN. l. 1. ABYDENUS, ex eodem, apud SYNCCELL. p. 38, 39. & apud EUSEB. de PRÆP. EV. l. 9. c. 12. <sup>f</sup> SYNCCELL. p. 17. <sup>g</sup> Vid. eund. p. 51. & EUSEB. Chron. GRÆC. p. 6. <sup>h</sup> SYNCCELL. ibid. <sup>i</sup> MANETHO apud SYNCCELL. p. 18. & EUSEB. Chron. GRÆC. p. 7.

<sup>\*</sup> This number appears manifestly to have been not a real chronological, but a fictitious astronomical calculation, being produced by multiplying 1461 by 25; and is the period of the grand revolution of the zodiac, so famous in the *Egyptian* and *Greek* fables; at the end of which it will return to the point whence it began to move, viz. the first minute of the first degree of *Aries* (1).

From some such computation it is probable *Diodorus* took the numbers he mentions of 18,000 years, the space which the gods and heroes reigned, and 15,000 from *Orus* the son of *Isis*, the last of them, to the 180th olympiad, during which time *Egypt* was governed by men (2); or those, which he elsewhere tells us were the number of years from *Isis* and *Osiris* to *Alexander* the Great, viz. above 10,000, or somewhat less than 23,000 (3). Other extravagant numbers were also by the *Egyptian* priests im-

posed on *Herodotus* and *Plato*, as we may observe elsewhere.

† These three races, if there be any shadow of truth in this account, seem most probably to have been the gods, demigods, and mortal men, which are by other authors said to have reigned successively in *Egypt*: the *Aurite* (which name *Goar* (4) derives from *Abavis* or *Avaris*, though that city was built long after the flood by the *Pastors*, and *Perizonius*, more probably, from *ἤνις* *Oni*, light) being the gods or antediluvian princes; the *Mestrai*, the demigods, or postdiluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the *Egyptians*, the mortal kings, the first of whom was *Menes* (5): and this hypothesis, as will be observed by and by, accounts tolerably well for the chronology.

‡ This writer was somewhat later than *Berosus*. See the preface.

(1) Vid. SYNCCELL. p. 52. (2) DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 41. (3) Idem, ib. p. 20. (4) In notis ad

SYNCCELL. Vid. MARSHAM. Canon. Chron. p. 107. (5) Vid. PERIZON. Antiq. Egypt. p. 23, &c.

whom



a whom were called gods, and the other nine demigods. These, he says, reigned one thousand nine hundred and eighty five years\*; and the first of them, *Vulcan*, nine thousand †.

*A TABLE of the Gods and Demigods, who are supposed to have reigned in Egypt before the Flood.*

		G O D S.			Years	Months	Days
b	1.	<b>H</b> ephestus, or <i>Vulcan</i> , reigned - - - - -	-	-	724	6	4
	2.	Helios, or the <i>Sun</i> , the son of <i>Vulcan</i> , - - - - -	-	-	86	0	0
	3.	Agathodæmon, - - - - -	-	-	36	6	10
	4.	Cronus, or <i>Saturn</i> , - - - - -	-	-	40	6	0
	5.	Osiris and <i>Isis</i> , - - - - -	-	-	35	0	0
	6.	- - - - -	-	-	00	0	0
	7.	Typhon, - - - - -	-	-	29	0	0
		D E M I G O D S.					
c	8.	Orus, - - - - -	-	-	25	0	0
	9.	Ares, or <i>Mars</i> , - - - - -	-	-	23	0	0
	10.	Anubis, - - - - -	-	-	17	0	0
	11.	Hercules, - - - - -	-	-	15	0	0
	12.	Apollo, - - - - -	-	-	25	0	0
	13.	Ammon, - - - - -	-	-	30	0	0
	14.	Tithoes, - - - - -	-	-	27	0	0
	15.	Sofus, - - - - -	-	-	31	0	0
	16.	Zeus, or <i>Jupiter</i> , - - - - -	-	-	10	0	0

d As to this table, it must be observed, that the numbers were no part of the original record, but added by some moderns, who have mangled the chronology according to their own fancies<sup>1</sup>, and therefore deserve no regard; though we have transcribed them as we found them in *Syncellus*.

Though the transcribers of *Manetho*<sup>m</sup> have generally taken it for granted, that this succession of princes were supposed by *Manetho* himself to have reigned before

*The first seven of them only reigned before the flood.*

<sup>1</sup> See the note †.      <sup>m</sup> AFRICANUS, EUSEBIUS, PANDORUS, & SYNCELLUS.

\* This number of years in *Manetho* (which the modern chronologers unjustly correct to eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty five, or eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty eight, to make them agree with the larger numbers in the old chronicle, or in some other interpolators of *Manetho*) plainly shews the nine thousand years, if it be not a corrupted number, [or if those years were not lunar years] allowed here to the reign of *Vulcan* alone, did not belong to those dynasties themselves, but rather to that immense interval of time before the reigns of the antediluvian gods or kings were reckoned, or before the present settlement of the world began. Accordingly the old chronicle, as will be seen by and by, ascribes no number of years to this *Vulcan*, but thirty thousand to the *Sun*. *Diodorus* also assures us, that some reckoned *Vulcan* as the first of those gods, and others the *Sun* (1); which agrees well with the inscription on the *Egyptian* obelisk, to be produced hereafter, which calls *Vulcan* not an ordinary god himself, but the father of the gods (2).

† This exorbitant number of years has been taken by several of the later *Greek* historians not for solar, but lunar years or months; and accordingly, dividing the number of days of so many lunar revolutions by three hundred and sixty five, the number of days in a year, they reduce the nine thousand to

seven hundred twenty four years and a half and four days; which way of reckoning, though *Syncellus* ridicules (3), yet it should seem from the testimony of ancient writers, to omit those of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* (4), to be the original computation, excepting only a small mistake, which we shall mention presently. For *Diodorus* says, some of the most ancient kings of the succession of the gods reigned above twelve hundred years a-piece; and that this appearing incredible, some supposed that the motion of the sun being not known in the first times, the year was described by the revolution of the moon (5); and with this do other authors of good credit (6) agree, who assure us that the old *Egyptian* year was lunar. It must only be observed, that the antediluvian year containing but three hundred and sixty days (7), the above-mentioned calculation must be rectified in that respect; and then the nine thousand years of *Vulcan's* reign will make just seventy five sari, or seven hundred and fifty years; which seems indeed a little disproportionate to the reigns of his six successors, which together can amount to no more than four hundred and fifty years. However, this way of computation will reduce this and the other extravagant numbers we meet with in the *Egyptian* history within some bounds of credibility.

(1) DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 13. (2) WHISTON'S Appendix to his Essay to restore the true text, &c. p. cxc. (3) SYNCCELL. p. 18. (4) Apud eund. p. 17, & 40. (5) DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 22

(6) PLUTARCH. in Numa, p. 72. PLIN. Hist. nat. l. 7. c. 48. MACROB. Sat. l. 1. c. 14. LACTANT. Instit. l. 1. EUDOXUS apud Proclum, in Tim. l. 1. p. 31. (7) See before, p. 91. in the notes.

the flood; yet we very much doubt whether that historian really made the nine last, called *a* demigods, to be antediluvians. For it appears from the sum of the years, which these gods and demigods are said to have reigned, that all of them could not possibly have reigned before the flood, even according to the *Hebrew* account; and if the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom began the same year with that of the *Babylonians*, as is expressly said, the total of the reigns of their antediluvian princes could not exceed twelve hundred years. Besides, the number of sixteen kings seems too large in proportion to that of the *Babylonian* kings, and of the generations of *Moses* in the same period. It is therefore more conformable to *Manetho's* chronology, to suppose the first seven only, whom he calls *Gods*, and the old chronicle *Aurita*\*, were antediluvians; and that they reigned *b* twelve hundred years, part of the nineteen hundred and eighty five\*, the remainder of which will be accounted for hereafter. And this hypothesis seems to be confirmed from the consideration of the last of these gods *Typhon*, who probably reigned immediately before the flood, and perished therein. For several circumstances of the deluge are mentioned in the history of *Osiris* and *Typhon*; particularly the very day when it began, or when *Osiris* (who is taken for *Noah*) was shut up in the ark<sup>†</sup>; The name of *Typhon*, according to some learned men, signifies also a deluge or inundation<sup>‡</sup>; whence the *Egyptian* priests called the sea *Typhon*<sup>§</sup>: and *Typhon*, or, as the *Latin* poets call him, *Typhaus*, is represented as a monstrous giant, warring against heaven, and at last overcome by *Jupiter*, and submersed in water<sup>¶</sup>. From all which it appears probable, *c* that he was one of those mighty men which were of old, whose wickedness was so exceeding great, that it drew down that judgment upon them<sup>‡</sup>.

THE first of these gods, *Vulcan*, from his inventing the working of metals, and instructing mankind therein, which is on all hands attributed to him, has been thought to be the same with the *Tubal-cain* of *Moses*, and to have been contemporary with *Noah*<sup>¶</sup>. But it seems a little inconsistent, that a person in the eighth generation from *Adam*, and the last recorded by *Moses* in the line of *Cain*, should have no less than six successors, whose reigns, together with his own, amounted to no less than twelve hundred years; when it cannot be supposed that *Tubal-cain* could be born at the soonest before the year of the world four hundred, according to the *Samaritan*, or five hundred according to the *Hebrew* chronology. *d*

By these gods, *Manetho*, as he elsewhere explains himself, meant no more than mortal men, who for their wisdom and goodness were severally promoted to the regal dignity, and afterwards made immortal<sup>¶</sup>. Their particular inventions, and prudent institutions, which gained them this honour from the people, we may more conveniently consider when we enter on the history of the *Egyptian* nation: since, besides the interruptions which must be occasioned by attempting it in this place, there are so great disagreements throughout concerning these gods<sup>¶</sup>, that it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile the foregoing table with the accounts of the *Greek* authors, which seem rather to relate to the times after the flood. For the *Greeks* were very liberal in bestowing the names of their gods, with or without foundation; and frequently gave *e* the same name to several persons: which has introduced a confusion that might have been avoided, had they given us the true *Egyptian* names, instead of undertaking to interpret them. Nor is this the only instance in which those writers, especially the later *Greek* chronographers, have corrupted and confounded *Manetho's* history, as will be observed hereafter.

\* See the note † in p. 92.

¶ PLUTARCH de Isid. & Osir. p. 356.

¶ Idem, ibid. p. 363.

¶ APOLLON. Argon. l. 2. ver. 1215, &c. \* Vid. Mr. ALLIN's Disc. of the ancient year, in Mr. Whiston's Theory, p. 169, &c. \* TZETZES, Chiliad. 10. ver. 492, &c. \* MANETHO, apud Euseb. de Prep. Ev. l. 1. c. 1. p. 45. Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 8. \* DIOD. SIC. ibid. p. 21.

\* Mr. Whiston (1) says that this very number, nineteen hundred and eighty five, for the antediluvian gods and semigods of *Egypt*, will not be at all too large for the present chronology, if we suppose it to extend from the beginning of the world to the death of the last of these semigods, *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ham*; it only implying that he then outlived the deluge either three hundred and twenty nine, or four hundred and twenty nine years, [that is, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, or the *Samaritan* of Mr. Whiston] which exactly agrees with the length of men's lives at that time. But this cannot be allowed by us, who follow the chrono-

logy of the present *Samaritan* copy; for then *Ham* would live six hundred and seventy eight years after the flood, which would be above one hundred and fifty more than *Ssem*. Besides, it is unreasonable to suppose the first of these reigns commenced at the creation, and directly contrary to the original author, who makes the *Babylonian* and *Egyptian* kingdoms coeval, and to Mr. Whiston's own way of reckoning elsewhere (2): nor is it reasonable to continue *Ham's* reign (if he was *Jupiter*) immediately from the flood.

† The *Arabs* at this day express the general deluge by the word الطوفان *al tufan*.

(1) Appendix, ubi supra, p. cxc.

(2) In his Chronological Table.

■ HAVING mentioned the old *Egyptian* chronicle, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that according to that record, *Vulcan* has no time assigned him, as appearing both night and day: the *Sun*, who was the son of *Vulcan*, reigned thirty thousand years: after him *Saturn* and the other twelve gods reigned three thousand nine hundred and eighty four years: then the eight demigods two hundred and seventeen years; after whom began the thirty dynasties \*.

Thus have we put together the most material pieces of history to be found in profane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which, though there be some which bear apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deserve little credit: however, as every thing which has the least pretence to so great antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our labour in collecting them will not be condemned as useless.

## SECT. VI. Of the DELUGE.

THIRTEEN hundred and odd years after the earth was made and inhabited, it was overflowed and destroyed in a deluge of water. Not a deluge that was national only, or over-run some particular region, but over-spread the face of the whole earth, from pole to pole, and from east to west, and that in such excess, that the floods over-reached the tops of the highest mountains; the rains descending after an unusual manner, and the fountains of the great deep being broke open, so as a general destruction and devastation was brought upon the earth and all things in it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting only *Noah* and his family, who, by a special providence of God, was preserved in a certain ark, or vessel, with such kinds of living creatures as he took in to him. After these waters had raged for some time on the earth, they began to lessen and shrink, and the great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyss, being quieted by degrees, the waters retired into their channels and caverns within the earth; and the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole habitable earth in that form and shape wherein we now see it. Then the world began again, and from that little remnant preserved in the ark, the present race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus perished the old world, and the present arose from the ruins and remains of it \*.

Year of the World, 1307.  
Year before Christ, 2999.  
A short history of the flood.

This is a short story of the greatest event that ever yet happened in the world; the greatest revolution, and the greatest change in nature: which therefore justly deserves to be more particularly considered in all its circumstances.

THAT there was such an universal destruction by water, as is related by *Moses*, is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of several of the most antient writers and nations in the world. What account the *Chaldean* records give of it, we have already seen \*. The *Indian* and *Persian* traditions we may mention hereafter. That the *Egyptians* were no strangers to this event, appears not only from those circumstances in the story of *Osiris* and *Typhon* mentioned above †, but from the testimony of *Plato*; who says that a certain *Egyptian* priest recounted to *Solon*, out of their sacred books, the history of the universal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the *Græcians* ‡. The inhabitants of *Heliopolis* in *Syria* shewed a chasm or cleft in the earth in the temple of *Juno*, which, as they say, swallowed up the waters of the flood §. Nay, the very *Americans* are said to acknowledge and speak of

Profane testimonies of this catastrophe.

\* Chron. Verus apud STINCELL. p. 51. & EUSEB. Chron. Gr. p. 6.    † Vid. BURNER'S Theory, Book 1. c. 2.    ‡ Pag. 91, 92.    § Pag. 94.    ¶ PLATO, in Timæo.    \* LUCIAN. de Dea Syria, l. 2. p. 882.

\* The author, who mentions this, says the *Greeks* gave an account of the universal deluge, [which they and others (1) have confounded with that of *Dencalion*] too curious to be omitted. The tradition goes, proceeds he, that the present race of men was not the first, for they totally perished; but is of a second generation, which being descended from *Dencalion*, encreased to a great multitude. Now of these former men they relate this story: They were very insolent, and addicted to unjust actions; for they neither kept their oaths, nor were hospitable to strangers, nor gave ear to suppliants; for which reason this great calamity befel them. On a sudden the earth poured forth

a vast quantity of water, great showers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the sea arose to a prodigious height; so that all things became water, and all men were destroyed: only *Dencalion* was left unto a second generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was saved in this manner: he went into a large ark, or chest (*Αρπη*) which he had, together with his sons and their wives; and when he was in, there entered swine, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and all other creatures which live on the earth, by pairs. He received them all, and they did him no hurt, but the gods created a great friendship among them; so they sailed all in one chest while the water prevailed.

(1) Vid. OVID. *Metam.* l. 1. ver. 260, &c.

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it in their continent<sup>f</sup>: and we are told that there is a tradition among the *Chinese*, a that *Puoncu*, with his family, escaped out of the general deluge<sup>g</sup>; though another expressly asserts the *Chinese* annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a mistake in those who imagine they do<sup>h</sup>: however, it seems their historians do speak of a flood, which some suppose to be that of *Noah*<sup>i</sup>, but they do not make it universal<sup>k</sup>. Most nations have some tradition of a deluge, which happened in their respective countries: but it must be owned at the same time, that several of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be distinguished from that of *Noah*; though antient and modern writers frequently confound them together<sup>l</sup>, and relate circumstances of the one, which belong only to the other.

Whether topical.

SOME difficulties which seem to attend the *Mosaic* account of the deluge, such as b the finding out waters sufficient to drown the world, and the improbability of all sorts of animals being preserved in the ark, have induced some, even men of learning, to suppose that *Noah's* flood was not universal, but national only, and confined to *Judea* and the regions thereabouts<sup>m</sup>, or perhaps to that track of land which lies between the four seas, the *Persian*, *Caspian*, *Euxine*, and *Mediterranean*<sup>n</sup>, or at most reached no farther than the continent of *Asia*<sup>o</sup>. And to support this presumption, they alledge, that since the primary design of the flood was to destroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in so short a time to have overspread the face of the whole earth, there was no necessity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited: and though in this case all the animals in the world (which were probably farther propagated than man, being created in greater numbers, and perhaps in divers parts) might not have been destroyed; yet it is conceived that it was necessary to save some in the ark for future propagation, and that men might have them ready for their use presently after the flood, which could not otherwise have been<sup>p</sup>. One author indeed has gone so far, as to suppose that all mankind did not perish in the deluge, and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar exposition of the curses of *Cain* and *Lamech*, that the *Africans* and *Indians* are of their posterity<sup>q</sup>. But as he has elsewhere himself confuted this opinion by the strongest arguments<sup>r</sup>, we shall say no more of it. And it is easy to shew, against those who hold the former opinion, that they deny a matter of fact to get over a difficulty, and that the deluge was universal in its extent as d well as effect.

<sup>f</sup> J. DE LAET, de Orig. Gent. Americ. p. 215. Vid. etiam ACOSTAM, HERRERAM, &c. <sup>g</sup> VOSSIUS, Ep. ad Andr. Colvium, p. 409. <sup>h</sup> COUPLET, Pref. ad Tab. Chronol. p. 3, 8. <sup>i</sup> Vid. MARTINII Hist. Sinic. l. 1. p. 12, & 39. <sup>k</sup> See LE CLERC's Dissertations. <sup>l</sup> STILLINGFLEET, Orig. Sacre. book 3. c. 4. p. 540. Vid. VOSSIUM de at. mundi, p. 283. <sup>m</sup> STILLINGFLEET, ibid. <sup>n</sup> See BEDFORD's Scripture Chronol. p. 39. <sup>o</sup> See WHISTON's Theory, &c. p. 158, 388, &c.

prevailed. These things the *Greeks* relate of *Deucalion*. But as to what happened after this, there is an antient tradition among those of *Hierapolis*, which deserves admiration: viz. that in their country a great chasm opened, and received all the water; whereupon *Deucalion* erected altars, and built the temple of *Juno* over the chasm. This same chasm, says our author, I have seen, and it is a very small one, under the temple; whether it was formerly bigger, and since lessened, I cannot tell, but that which I have seen is little. In commemoration of this history, they do thus: twice in every year water is brought from the sea to the temple, and not by the priests only, but all *Syria* and *Arabia*, many come from beyond *Euphrates* to the sea, and all carry water, which they first pour out in the temple, and afterwards it sinks into the chasm, which, though it be small, receives abundance of water. And when they do this, they say *Deucalion* instituted the ceremony in that temple as a memorial of the calamity, and of his deliverance from it (1).

\* An *Arab*, who travelled into *China* about the beginning of the ninth century, giving an account of a conversation he had with the emperor, among other things, says, that mentioning the flood to that prince, on occasion of a picture of *Noah* which he shewed him, and telling him that that prophet, and

those who were saved with him in the ark, peopled the whole earth; the emperor laughed, and said, "Thou art not deceived as to the name of *Noah*;" but as to the universal deluge we know nothing of it. It is true that the deluge did drown a part of the earth, but it did not reach so far as "our country, nor yet to the *Indies* (2)." *Ebn Shoknab* ranks the *Chinese* among those who deny the flood.

† Not only *Deucalion's* flood in *Thessaly*, but those of *Ogyges* in *Attica*, and *Prometheus* in *Egypt*, have been thought the same with that of *Noah* (3). Those spoken of by the *Americans* seem to have been national; as was that of *Asia minor*, mentioned by *Diodorus* (4), from the *Samothracian* tradition, which yet they pretended was the most antient of all: to omit several others enumerated by Sir W. Raleigh (5), some of which he has taken from the spurious *Xenophon* of *Annius*.

‡ *Melo*, who wrote a book against the *Jews*, speaking of the deluge, seems to make it topical, and not to have reached *Armenia*. His words are these: "At the time of the deluge, a man who had escaped with his sons, went from *Armenia*, being driven out of his possessions by those of the country; and passing over the intermediate region, came into the mountainous part of *Syria*, which was then desolate (6)."

(1) LUCIAN, de Dea Syria, tom. 2. p. 882. Ed. Benedicti. (2) Anciennes relations des Indes & de la Chine, p. 67. (3) Vid. HEIDEGGER, Hist. Patr. tom. 1. Exerc. 18. § 52. (4) Lib. 5.

p. 322. (5) Hist. of the world, part 1. book 1. c. 7. § 6. (6) MELO apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 19. (7) Genes. iv. 15. (8) Ibid. & ver. 24.

- a** FOR, 1. The scriptures put this matter out of doubt, expressly telling us, that all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered by the waters, and that all flesh died that moved upon the earth, except only *Noah* and those that were with him in the ark \*. Nor will the terms of *Moses* allow the word *earth* in this place to be restrained, as it may in some others, to *Judea* †, or any other particular track of land: for, unless the laws of nature were miraculously suspended, before the waters in one region, much less a whole continent, could exceed the tops of the highest mountains, they would certainly diffuse themselves and overflow the rest of the earth. 2. If the deluge was topical, there was no need of the ark; *Noah* and his family needed only to have retired to another country, which he might do with more ease, and in less time, than build so vast a vessel; the beasts might have saved themselves by flight, or their loss, especially those of the unclean kinds, have been replenished from other places; and the birds might, without much difficulty, have flown to another continent. 3. The number of mankind before the flood was vastly superior to what the present earth is, perhaps, capable of sustaining, as will appear hereafter; and the waters must therefore have overspread, in all probability, a larger part of the earth than is now known to be inhabited: and consequently the whole globe, that none might escape the divine vengeance, must have been overflowed. 4. The earth itself seems to offer us a demonstrative argument of the universality of the deluge, from the vast numbers of the shells and teeth of fish, bones of animals, entire or partial vegetables, and other strange things, which are to be found on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the bowels of the earth, at a great distance from the sea, and were probably left by the flood ‡.

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It is now time to consider by what means this terrible devastation was brought on the earth, and in what manner those that escaped it were preserved.

If the deluge was universal, the quantity of water required to effect it is so immense, that it has been generally thought extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water sufficient to cause such an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans †; but a person well able to make the calculation, says, that there must have been, at the lowest computation, twenty

Conjectures as to the manner wherein the deluge was effected.

\* LE CLERC's Dissert. BURNET's Theory, Book I. c. 3. & WHISTON's Theory, ubi supra, & p. 275, &c.

† BURNET's Theory, Book I. c. 2.

\* The words of *Moses* one would think are too plain to admit any subterfuge. GOD looked upon the earth, and beheld it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And GOD said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me—and I will destroy them with the earth (1). Behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die (2).—Every living substance that I have made, will I destroy from off the face of the earth (3).—And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of soul, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark (4).

† *Peyrerius*, one part of whose præ-adamite system is, that the flood extended no farther than *Judea*, which he supposes to be all that *Moses* meant by the earth, would also persuade us, that that writer, by mankind which were to be destroyed, intended the posterity of *Adam*; by the living creatures, the *Gentiles* or præ-adamites, mixed with the race of *Adam*; and by the great deep, the sea of *Palestine* (5).

‡ This argument is offered with some diffidence:

for though the most experienced philosophers now agree, that these shells, &c. are not mock-productions of nature, or originally formed in the places where they are found by some plastic power of salts, or other minerals, (which was the conjecture of Dr. Plot (6), and other naturalists) inasmuch as they are not to be distinguished from real shells, teeth, &c. by the nicest examination of the eye, and even the microscope, and burn not immediately into a calx or lime, as all stony or stony substances do, but first into a coal, and then into a calx, which is the known quality of things of a bony or fleshy nature; yet they do not agree that these things were brought in by the universal deluge, for this reason, among several others, that living animals, or fish, have been found in some of those fossil shells (7), and that such marine substances are sometimes formed and generated in human bodies (8); and therefore it is supposed they were formed by a spermatric principle, as fish spawn received into the chinks and other meat's of the earth, and falling down in rains, &c. (9) which may be allowed, indeed, of the several kinds of shell-fish, whose shells might preserve them in the earth, but can hardly be admitted as to others of those fossils, such as the *glossopetra*, or teeth of the shark, and the other bones of larger creatures. As to the subterraneous woods and fossil trees, there seems to be no great reason to believe they were thrown down by the deluge, and have lain buried in the earth ever since; it being much more probable, that they either were occasioned by inundations of the sea, or were filled by men in the places where they now lie; as is undeniable of many of them, which still shew the marks of the ax (10).

(1) *Genes.* vi. 12, 13. (2) *Ibid.* ver. 17. (3) *Genes.* vii. 4.

(4) *Ibid.* ver. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. (5) *PEYRER. Præ-adamit.* (6) *Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire.*

(7) See *Mrs. LLWYD's* letter in

*Mrs. RAY's Physiol. Disc.* p. 181. (8) *Ibid.* p. 184.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 190, &c. (10) *Ibid.* *RAY's Physiol. Disc.* p. 228.



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two oceans<sup>r</sup>. And where to find this is the question. There are the clouds above, and a the deeps below and in the bowels of the earth; and these are all the stores we have for water<sup>s</sup>: and *Moses* directs us to no other for the causes of the deluge; *The fountains of the great deep*, says he, *were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights*<sup>t</sup>. By the great deep some understand the ocean<sup>u</sup>, but others, with more reason, the subterraneous abyfs or vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth<sup>v</sup>. But it is thought the waters which either the abyfs or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiously short of the proportion required. According to the observations made of the quantity of water that falls in rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very inconsiderable part of what was necessary for a deluge<sup>w</sup>. If it rained forty days and forty b nights throughout the whole earth at once, it might be sufficient to lay all the lower grounds under water, but it would signify very little as to the overflowing of the mountains; so that it has been said, that if the deluge had been made by rains only, there would have needed not forty days, but forty years to have brought it to pass<sup>x</sup>. And if we suppose the whole atmosphere condensed into water, it would not at all have been sufficient for this effect; for it is certain that it could not have risen above thirty two foot, which is well known to be the usual height to which water can be raised by the pressure of the atmosphere<sup>y</sup>; for the weight of the whole air, when condensed into water, can be no more than equal to its weight in its natural state, and must become no less than eight hundred times denser, for that is the difference between the weight of c the heaviest air, and that of water<sup>z</sup>. And as to the abyfs, if by it we intend the sea, that is no higher than the land, as some have formerly imagined, and therefore could contribute nothing to the deluge; it would keep its bed as it does now, and take up the same place: and if we understand the subterraneous waters, they would be quiet in their cells, and not ascend otherwise than by force; and if force were used to draw them out on the surface of the earth, their places must be filled again with other waters, so as this turns to no account upon the whole<sup>a</sup>.

THIS being the case, some cut the knot which they cannot loose, and shew us the naked arm of omnipotence; saying, that G O D created waters on purpose to make the deluge, and then annihilated them again when the deluge was to cease. But our business is not here to enquire what G O D could work by his almighty power, but to account for this event in the best manner we can from natural causes; nor are we rashly to fly to the divine omnipotence, especially for the creation of new matter. *Moses* plainly assigns natural causes of the deluge, forty days rain, and the disruption of the abyfs; and *St. Peter* has assigned a cause also, the natural constitution of the world<sup>b</sup>; and neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Others therefore, instead of a creation, suppose a transmutation, and say the air was changed into water, and that was the great instrumental cause of the deluge<sup>c</sup>. But this opinion agrees as little with the philosophy of *Moses* or *St. Peter* as the last, and renders the opening of the abyfs perfectly needless<sup>d</sup>: besides, such a transmutation would in effect e be no more than a condensation, the insufficiency of which has been already shown. According to a third expedient, the rain and sea-waters were rarefied so as to reach the determined height: but if the waters were fifteen times rarer than they naturally are (as in that case they must have been) it is hard to say how they could either drown man or beast, keep alive the fish, or support the ark<sup>f</sup>. A fourth opinion is, that

<sup>r</sup> Dr. KEILL, in his Remarks on WHISTON'S Theory. Vid. RAY'S Disc. p. 118. <sup>s</sup> Genes. vii. 11; 12.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. CLERIC. Comment. in loc.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. MERSENN. Cogit. Physico-mech. p. 221.

<sup>w</sup> Auct. Catene in Genes. vii. 4.

<sup>x</sup> VOÏSIUS in Epist. ad And. Colvum, p. 385.

<sup>y</sup> See Dr.

HALLEY'S Dissert. in the Philos. Transf. Vol. XVI. p. 104.

<sup>z</sup> BURNET ubi sup.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 6.

<sup>b</sup> KIRCHER. de arca Noe, l. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. BURNET ubi sup. & c. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. VOSS. ubi sup.

\* *Moses*, in his account of the creation, speaking of waters above the firmament (1), though it be generally understood of the clouds and aqueous vapours sustained in the middle region of the air (2), yet some have fancied them to be waters placed above the heavens, and have been willing to make use of them for a supply, when they could not find enough under the heavens to make up the mass of the deluge; though if these imaginary waters were there, how to get them down, or to lift them up again, is not easy to tell. But since the system of the world has been better known, and the nature of the heavens, it is presumed there are none that would as-

sert these super-celestial waters, much less make that extravagant use of them, as to bring them down hither for a cause of the deluge (3).

† Notwithstanding the word אֲבוּיָם *Abuiym*, depth; in some passages (4) is supposed to signify the sea, yet it may be there much better interpreted of subterraneous waters, as it manifestly must in other places (5). And being here joined with the epithet רַבָּה *rabbah*, great, it seems *Moses* intended that vast collection of waters, which the most sagacious naturalists place in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greatest part of that deep which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation (6).

(1) Genes. i. 6, 7. (2) See the Introd. p. 42. b.

(3) BURNET'S Theory, Book 1. c. 2. (4) Psal.

xxxiii. 7. Prov. viii. 27, 28. (5) Deut. viii. 7. Ezek.

xxxi. 4. (6) Genes. i. 2. Vid. BURNET, B. 1. c. 7.

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- a the antediluvian earth, with all its stones, metals, mineral concretions, and all fossils whatsoever that had obtained any solidity, was totally dissolved in the deluge, the cohesion of its parts perfectly ceasing: that the corpuscles of these solid fossils, together with the corpuscles of those which were not before solid, such as earth, sand, and the like; as also animal bodies and parts of animals, bones, teeth, shells; vegetables and parts of vegetables, trees, shrubs, herbs; in short, all bodies whatsoever which were either in the earth, or that constituted the mass of it, if not quite down to the abyss, yet at least to the greatest depth we ever dig, all these were promiscuously taken up into the waters, and made one common mass: that at length they subsided downwards together, generally, and as near as might be expected in such a confusion, according to the laws of gravity; and thus formed the *strata* of stone, marble, coal, and the rest, of which the earth manifestly consists; and there being bodies of different kinds and constitutions, which are nearly of the same specific gravity, it thence happened that bodies of quite different kinds subsided at the same instant, and fell together with the same *stratum*; for which reason the shells of cockles, escallops, and the rest, which have a greater degree of gravity, were enclosed and lodged in the *strata* of stone and marble, and the heavier kinds of terrestrial matter, the lighter shells not sinking down till afterwards, and so falling among the lighter matter, as chalk and the like<sup>d</sup>. But this strange and bold hypothesis, to which the author was driven to solve these phenomena of the interior parts of the earth (which yet might possibly be otherwise accounted for<sup>e</sup>) is so little consistent with the *Mosaic* history of the deluge, takes so little notice of the *opening the windows of heaven*, and is so contrary to the universal law of mutual attraction, and the specific gravities of bodies, accounts for so few of the phenomena of the deluge, implies such a new sort of formation or creation of the earth at the deluge, without warrant for the same, and is so much more than his observations require, or will support, that it cannot engage the assent of any considering person<sup>f</sup>. A fifth opinion is, that though the rains might afford a vast quantity of water towards a deluge, yet the chief cause was the changing the centre of the earth, and setting it nearer to the centre or middle of our continent; whereupon the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* oceans must needs press upon the subterraneous abyss, and so by mediation thereof force the water upwards, and compel it to run out at these wide mouths and apertures made by the divine power breaking up the fountains of the great deep. These waters thus poured out from the orifices of the fountains upon the earth, the declivity being changed by the removal of the centre, could not flow down to the sea again, but must needs stagnate upon the earth, and overflow it, and afterwards, the earth returning to its old centre, return also to their former receptacles. This hypothesis gives a fair and easy solution of all the phenomena of the deluge, save only the generality of it, making it topical, and confining it to our continent: for which reason a very sagacious naturalist, who otherwise approves it, proposes a sixth way of solving them; and that is, by supposing that the divine power might at that time, by the instrumentality of some natural agent, to us at present unknown, so depress the surface of the ocean, as to force the waters of the abyss through the beforementioned channels and apertures, and so make them a partial and concurrent cause of the deluge. And it appears from instances, that there are, at some times, in the course of nature, extraordinary pressures on the surface of the sea<sup>g</sup>, which force the waters outwards upon the shores to a great height<sup>h</sup>. But this we fear is too occult a cause to give much satisfaction to a philosophic enquirer.

We have still to consider the hypotheses of two persons well known in the republic of letters, whose theories we have consulted on other occasions; Dr. Burnet and Mr. Whiston.

- f To have a complete idea of that of the former, we must remember that he conceives the first earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a smooth and even surface, without mountains, and without a sea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly enclosed within or under its upper

Dr. Burnet's  
Theory.

<sup>d</sup> Woodward's Nat. Hist. of the Earth.

Whiston's Theory, p. 276, &c. and Ray's Disc. p. 165, &c.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 97. and after, § 7.

<sup>g</sup> Ray, *ibid.* p. 117, &c.

<sup>f</sup> See

<sup>h</sup> We had upon our coasts, not many years ago, an extraordinary tide, wherein the water rose so high as to overflow all the sea-banks, drown multitudes of cattle, and fill the lower rooms of the houses of many villages that stood near the sea, so that the inhabi-

tants, to save themselves, were forced to get into their upper rooms and garrets. And how this could be effected, but by an unusual pressure on the superficies of the ocean, our author cannot well conceive (1).

(1) Ray, *Disc.* c. 2. p. 119.

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crust, which formed a stupendous vault around them <sup>a</sup>. This vast collection of waters <sup>a</sup> he takes to have been the great deep, or abyfs of *Moses*<sup>1</sup>, and that the disruption of it was the chief cause of the deluge. For he supposes that the earth being for some hundreds of years exposed to the continual heat of the sun, which, by reason of the perpendicular position he imagines the earth's axis then had to the plane of the elliptic, was very intense, and not allayed by that diversity of seasons which now keeps our earth in an equality of temper <sup>2</sup>, its exterior crust was at length very much dried; and when the heat had pierced the shell, and reached the waters beneath it, they began to be rarefied and raised into vapours, which rarefaction made them require more space than they needed before, and finding themselves pent in by the exterior earth, they pressed with violence against that arch to make it yield to their dilatation. And as the repeated action of the sun gave force to those enclosed vapours more and more, and made them more strong and violent, so on the other hand it weakened more and more the arch of the earth that was to resist them, sucking out the moisture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in sundry places; and there being no winter to close up its parts, it grew more and more disposed to a dissolution, and at length, when GOD's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke, and the frame of the earth was torn in pieces as by an earthquake; and those great portions, or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyfs, some in one posture, and some in another <sup>1</sup>.

THIS hypothesis the author thinks not only agrees with the narration of *Moses*, <sup>c</sup> and answers the assertion of *St. Peter*, that the first earth was obnoxious to a deluge from its constitution <sup>m</sup>, but supplies all the defects of other explications. The fall of those prodigious fragments would raise a vast commotion in the abyfs, and throw its waves to a great height, which would overwhelm the mountains, now first formed, for some time: for after the first violent shock, he imagines there were ever and anon some secondary ruins which broke and made new commotions, till at length, when all the ruins were settled and fixed, the waters began to settle too, and the dry land to appear. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into sea and land; the greatest part of the abyfs constituting our present ocean, and the rest filling up the lower cavities of the earth, mountains and hills appeared on the land, islands in the sea, and <sup>d</sup> rocks upon the shore: and so providence at one stroke dissolved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit <sup>n</sup>.

BUT though it be reasonable to believe the first earth had its axis inclined to the plane of the ecliptic as well as the present, and had the same vicissitudes of seasons; yet allowing the theorist's supposition of its parallel position to be true, it is not conceivable the heat of the sun would even then have had the power he imagines, or affect the earth in such a degree as to cause great cracks or fissures in it, or to raise the water under it into vapours, since we find no such effects in the hottest country or season; nor is it probable such rarefaction, were it possible, should be so extreme as to break through an arch of some hundred miles thick. Besides, it is to be feared, that if the action of the sun was so strong, the abyfs, the only storehouse of waters in the first earth, would have been near exhausted <sup>2</sup> before the time of the deluge. This account also seems not very consonant to the *Mosaic* history, which describes a gradual rise and abatement, and long continuance of the flood, not a violent transient shock, which would not have lasted many days, if hours <sup>o</sup>: not to mention the little use our author makes of the rains, which he supposes indeed to have fallen throughout the earth (though he does not know how that could proceed from natural causes) and to have contributed to the disruption of the abyfs, by weakening the arch of the earth, and stopping its pores, which would make the vapours struggle the more violently; and that nothing but a miracle could save the ark in so prodigious a storm and convulsion <sup>f</sup> of nature <sup>p</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See the Introduction, p. 37. b.

<sup>1</sup> BURNET's Theory, Book. 1. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 66. d.

<sup>1</sup> BURNET, ubi sup. c. 6. p. 95, &c.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7.

<sup>n</sup> BURNET, ubi sup. p. 101, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. KEILL's Examination of BURNET's Theory.

<sup>p</sup> BURNET, ubi sup. p. 133, 136, &c.

\* Dr. Keill has made a plain calculation of this matter, and concludes, that since none of the antediluvian rivers, according to the theorist, returned into the abyfs again, it must needs follow, that in eight hundred and twelve years it would be quite empty, upon supposition that there were as many rivers in the

primitive earth as are in ours: but as there was then twice the land, if there were no seas, so there must be allowed twice as many rivers to water it; and by such a double quantity, the abyfs would be emptied in half that time (1).

(1) KEILL's Examination of Dr. BURNET's Theory, p. 164.

a THE expedient of the other learned theorist is the trajection of a comet \*, which he supposes passed so close by the body of the earth, at the time of the deluge, as to involve it in its atmosphere and tail. On which hypothesis, he proceeds to account for the deluge in this manner:

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He says, that when the earth had passed through the tail and atmosphere of the comet, which he supposes to consist of vapours rarefied and expanded in different degrees, and in which it would remain, on calculation, for about two hours, it must have acquired a large cylindrical column of vapours, whose basis were somewhat larger than one of the earth's greatest circles, and whose altitude were equal to the diameter of the comet's atmosphere: that these vapours would be impeded from descending towards the sun by the earth's interposition and attractive power, and so would fall down with great violence on its surface; a great part of which being in a very rare and expanded condition, after their primary fall, would immediately be mounted into the air, and afterwards, on their condensation, descend in violent and outrageous rains on the face of the earth, and very naturally occasion the forty days and forty nights rains mentioned by *Moses*.

Mr. Whiston's  
Theory.

THAT the presence of this comet, as it approached and came below the moon, would cause a double tide, as well in the seas above, as in the abyss below; that in the seas would be less considerable, but the other would be vastly great, and produce mighty effects. For on the nearest approach of the comet, the surface of the abyss would put on an elliptic or oval, instead of its former spherical figure, and the orb of earth which rested on it would be obliged to accommodate itself to that larger oval surface; which being impossible for it to do while it remained solid, it must of necessity enlarge itself, and by the violent force of the increasing surface of the abyss, be stretched, cracked, and have innumerable fissures made quite through it; or rather the tide must open and enlarge those fissures which were produced at the commencement of the diurnal rotation. Thus would the fountains of the deep be broken up, and sufficient gaps made for a communication between the abyss below and the surface of the earth above; which was no sooner done, than the fall of the cometic waters began, and quickly covered the earth, and crowded the air with vast quantities thereof; which waters being adventitious, and of a prodigious weight, must press downwards with a mighty force, and endeavour to sink the orb of earth deeper into the abyss, according as the entire weight of each column of earth and its incumbent water together did now require, agreeably to the laws of hydrostatics; which laws he supposes not to have been exactly complied with at the earth's first subsiding into the abyss, otherwise he could scarce have expected any elevation of the subterraneous waters. But since the lower strata of the earth were, according to him, in a good measure settled and consolidated together before the upper were all formed, the whole compages would archwise sustain itself much higher than the law of specific gravity would otherwise require; and so upon the disruption of the upper earth, its several columns, as there was room, would settle themselves lower than they were at first, and their weight, augmented by the additional waters of the comet, would squeeze and press on the surface of the abyss; which being a fluid mass, and incapable of sustaining a pressure on one part, without equally communicating it to all the rest, must burst out wherever such pressure was wanting, and throw itself up the fissures, through which it would ascend with a mighty force, and carry up with it whatever was in its way, whether earth or water, and thereby add to the quantity of water already on the face of the earth, and become a fresh augmentation of that deluge which began already to overwhelm and destroy the inhabitants thereof.

THE abatement and decrease of the waters of the deluge, our author supposes was first by a wind, which dried up some; and secondly, by their descent through those breaches and fissures (at which part of them had ascended) into the bowels of the earth, which received the rest. To which latter also the wind, by hurrying the waters up and down, and so promoting their lighting into the before-mentioned fissures, was very subservient. The air he grants could sustain a very inconsiderable quantity in comparison of the entire mass; but as he supposes the antediluvian earth, though it was not

\* WHISTON'S Theory, p. 376, &c. 380, &c.

\* That a comet actually appeared at the deluge, is attested by several authors (1). *Pliny* (2) mentions one which appeared in the reign of *Typhon*, that is, at the flood, or immediately before it; and speaks of the direful effects of it. And our author has endeavoured to prove, that the last most remarkable

comet, which was seen in these parts in the year 1680, (whose revolution he computes to be in about 575 years, and whose trajectory *Sir Isaac Newton* has delineated) was that very comet which came by the earth at the beginning of *Noah's* deluge, and which was the cause of the same (3).

(1) *Vid. HAVELII cometograph. l. 12. p. 794.*  
(2) *Hist. nat. l. 2. 25.*

(3) WHISTON'S Theory, p. 187.

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deficite of lesser seas and lakes, yet to have had no great ocean, separating one continent a from another, and covering so large a portion of it, as the present earth has<sup>c</sup>; he conceives the upper region of the earth, being generally dry and porous, and of a great thickness, was capable of receiving a much greater quantity of water than was on the earth at the time of the deluge<sup>a</sup>.

To this theory objections have been made, as well as to the former: for, though there are some surprizing coincidents, which make it indeed probable that a comet did really come very near, and passed by the earth when the deluge began, and might cause a prodigious tide in the sea, and in the abyfs; yet it has been thought somewhat strange, that the swelling of the abyfs should have such an effect as to make convenient fissures in the solid crust of earth which enclosed it, without shattering its whole frame. Nor b has the theorist's account of draining off the waters from the surface of the earth, been judged satisfactory; it being difficult to conceive, that those subterraneous cavities, which he supposes could contain but a small proportion of the waters requisite to make the deluge, should yet be capable of receiving the greatest part of them when it was over. These difficulties however might possibly receive a solution: but the greatest objection of all is, that it is far from being clear, whether the atmosphere of a comet be a watery substance or no; or if it were, that it should afford such a vast quantity of water as the theory has occasion for, on the earth's bare passing through it. For it is said, the observations of the most curious enquirers make it not improbable, that the circle about the body of the comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of c the smoke, rising at first to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is opposite to the sun. And if this opinion be true, the earth, by passing through the atmosphere of the comet, ran a greater risque of a conflagration than a deluge<sup>c</sup>.

The most rational account of the deluge.

It seems therefore, after all, that the divine assistance must be called in on this occasion. For though the waters which covered the earth at the creation, might be sufficient to cover it again; yet how this should be effected by mere natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were suspended in the clouds, might indeed descend upon the earth, and that in cataracts or spouts of water (as the *Septuagint* interpret the *windows of heaven*) like those in the *Judies*, where the clouds frequently, instead of dropping, fall with a terrible violence in a kind of torrent<sup>d</sup>; and this alone might cause a great inundation in the lower grounds: but as the clouds could pour down no more water than they had, which would soon be exhausted at this rate, it seems from the length of the rains continuance, that the showers were rather moderate and gradual. The subterraneous stores would afford a much more plentiful supply to compleat the deluge, and probably contain more water than enough to drown the world to a greater height than *Moses* relates<sup>e</sup>: the only difficulty is to draw it out of the abyfs on the surface of the earth. And here, since we can assign no natural cause, we apprehend we may, not unphilosophically, resolve it into the divine power, which might on this occasion so far controul (no greater a miracle than that of continuing) e the usual course of nature, as to effect its purpose. And indeed the event was so extraordinary, and the consequences thereof so considerable, that it is very reasonable to believe God did in an especial manner interpose therein. The *Stoics*, who supposed alternate destructions of the earth by fire and water, made no doubt of the possibility of a general deluge. "There are vast lakes, says *Seneca*, which we do not see; great part of the sea lies hidden and concealed, and many rivers glide in secret; so that there may be causes of a deluge on all sides, when some waters flow in under the earth, others flow round about it, and being long pent up, overwhelm it: and as our bodies sometimes dissolve into sweat, so the earth shall melt, and, without the help

<sup>a</sup> WHISTON'S Theory, p. 374. See also p. 61. marks on Whiston's Theory, and NICHOLL'S Conference, Vol. I. and RAY, ubi sup. p. 116.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 401, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. KEILL'S Re-

<sup>d</sup> Vid. PATRICK'S Comments

\* Though Sir W. Raleigh (1) allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the highest in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. *Olympus*, whose height is so extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and a half perpendicular, and about seventy paces. Mount *Atlas*, which is said to cast its shade into the Isle of *Lemnos* (according to *Pliny* eighty seven miles) is not above two miles in height; nor

*Caucasus* much more (2): nay, the pike of *Teneriff*, reputed the highest mountain in the world, may be ascended in three days, (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey) which makes it about the height of a German mile perpendicular (3). And the *Spaniards* affirm, that the *Andes*, those lofty mountains of *Peru*, in comparison of which, they say, the *Alps* are but cottages, may be ascended in four days compass (4).

(1) *Hist. of the world*, Book 1. c. 7. §. 6. (2) *Vid. Voss, in Melam.* l. 2. c. 2.

(3) *Vid. VAREN.*

*Geogr. l. 1. c. 10. prop. 3. FLEET'S Orig. Sac. p. 544, &c.*

(4) STILLING-



- a " of other causes, shall find in itself what shall drown it, there being in all places, both  
 " openly and secretly, both from above and from beneath, an eruption of waters, ready  
 " to overflow and destroy it ".

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HAVING thus considered the efficient causes of the deluge, we must next take a view of the ark, whereby *Noah* and his family were delivered from this destruction.

Of the ark.

- WE might presume, if *Moses* had not told us so, that a vessel proportionable and adapted to the use designed, must have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of *God* himself. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30; but what was the exact measure of the cubit here mentioned is disputed. Some, fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwise too small for the intended purpose, have enlarged the dimensions even to extravagance\*: but the general opinion of learned Men is, that they were but common cubits<sup>2</sup>, one of which, though formerly supposed equal to eighteen of our inches<sup>3</sup>, is now allowed to contain almost 22, or more exactly 21.888<sup>4</sup>. According to which measure, the ark must have been 547.2 *English* feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high, and the solid contents 2,730,781.9008 feet, almost double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong square, or parallelopiped, with a flat bottom, and a sloped roof raised a cubit in the middle<sup>5</sup>; it had neither sails nor rudder, nor was it made sharp so as to cut the water: which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying steadily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within it, so it was very unfit for swimming to a great distance, or for riding in a boisterous sea. It consisted of three stories, each of which, abating the thickness of the floors, might be about eighteen foot high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms or apartments<sup>6</sup>. This vessel was without doubt so contrived as to have the benefit of the air and light on all sides<sup>7</sup>, though the particular construction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole seems to have had another covering besides the roof, probably made of skins, like that of the tabernacle<sup>8</sup>.

THAT the space in the ark was abundantly sufficient to contain both *Noah* and his family, and the animals, and all necessary provisions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men<sup>9</sup>, who have yet generally supposed

\* SENEC. Nat. quest. l. 3. c. 27.      \* Vid. BUTRON. de arca Noe. POOL's Synopsis, in loc.  
 † Vid. BERNARD. de mensuris & ponder. antiq. l. 3.      \* See the preface.      \* Genes. vi. 14, 15, 16.  
 Ibid. ver. 14, 16.

\* When *Celsus* objected that the ark was a monster with all things in its belly (1), *Origen* answered, that the ark was like a great city, whose base was 90,000 cubits long, and 15,000 broad (2); but in another place he is more moderate, and without encreasing the number of the *Mosaic* cubits, supposes they were geometrical cubits, each containing six ordinary cubits (3); which last opinion is approved by *St. Austin* (4). Some, who cannot digest these geometrical cubits, suppose the ark was measured by a larger cubit of three foot (5), or by the sacred cubit, which was larger by a hand's breadth than the common cubit (6), all without the least ground or intimation to that purpose in the sacred historian. *Sir Walter Raleigh* (7) supposes the antediluvian cubit was larger than that which was afterwards in use; because, as he imagines, mankind were then of a larger stature: but this gains no room in the ark, because the bulk of its cargo must have been encreased in proportion.

† There are various translations of the word *Sohar* (8), which is found but once in the whole bible in this sense. Our version renders it window, as it seems very properly; for the root in the *Chaldee* signifies to shine, or to give light; wherefore one of the paraphrasts (9) imagines *Sohar* to have been a precious stone or carbuncle, which *Noah* was to fetch from the river *Phison*, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above, some have supposed the window was to have been a cubit square, or but a

cubit high, which would have been much too small; but the relative *it* being in the *Hebrew* of the feminine gender, and *Sohar* of the masculine, those two words cannot agree; and therefore the proper antecedent seems to be the ark, which was to be covered with a roof raised a cubit high in the middle.

‡ *Noah* is said, after the flood, to have removed the covering of the ark (10), which cannot well be supposed to have been the roof, but something flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expressed by the same *Hebrew* word; and the use of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

\*\* *Bishop Wilkins* has reduced the number of species of animals, which at first view may seem almost infinite, within very moderate bounds; he reckons they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of these must be excepted such as live in the water, such as proceed from a mixture of different species, and such as change their colour, size, and shape, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, seem to be of different species, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food necessary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was room enough, and to spare: whereupon he observes, that had the most skilful mathematicians and philosophers been set to consult what proportions a vessel designed for such an use should have in the several parts of it, they could not have pitched

(1) ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀνατολῆς ἡδὺν ἡδὺν. (2) ORIGEN. com. Cels. l. 4. Vid. KIRCHER, de arca Noe, c. 8. (3) Idem, Homil. 2. in Genes. (4) De Civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 27. (5) CAPPEL. Hist. Sacra.

p. 30. (6) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Esen. 17. §. 10. (7) Ubi sup. §. 9. (8) Genes. vi. 16. (9) JONATHAN. (10) Genes. viii. 13.

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the length of the cubit to have been but eighteen inches<sup>c</sup>; whereas, if we take the dimensions according to the larger measure abovementioned, the whole capacity will be nearly doubled<sup>d</sup>, as may be easily proved.

BUT another objection has been raised against the preservation of animals in the ark, which may not be so easily answered; and that is, how the unknown kinds of serpents in *Brasil*, the slow bellied creature of the *Indies*, and all those strange species of animals seen in the *West-Indies*, should either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it into those countries which are divided from that continent where *Noah* was, by so vast an ocean on one side, and at least so large a track of land on the other (supposing a passage out of one continent to the other, which has not been yet discovered) and some animals cannot live out of the particular clime wherein they are<sup>e</sup>. But to this it may be answered, that it is probable, that the temperature of the air, before the deluge, was so equal and serene, that all kinds, even of the *American* animals, might live and be found in those parts of *Asia* when *Noah* went into the ark, though none of them could bear the climate since, by reason of the change in nature. The great difficulty is how to get them into *America* after the flood was over: and here we confess we cannot tell how that was done, any more than we can by what means *America* was peopled; and yet even those who contend for a partial deluge, allow the inhabitants of that country to be descendants of *Noah*<sup>f</sup>.

Its materials.

THE timber of which the ark was framed, *Moses* calls *Gopher* wood<sup>g</sup>; but what tree the *Gopher* was<sup>h</sup>, is controverted. Some will have it the cedar<sup>i</sup>, others the pine<sup>j</sup>, some the box<sup>k</sup>, and others, particularly the *Mohammedans*, the *Indian* plane tree<sup>l</sup>: but they seem to be in the right who suppose it to be the cypress<sup>m</sup>; which, besides the resemblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper sort of timber for the building of ships<sup>n</sup>, and not subject to rot<sup>o</sup>. To preserve it from leaking, *Noah* was directed to pitch it with pitch both within and without; which requiring a very large quantity, some have supposed it to be not pitch but bitumen, such as was used in the building the tower of *Babel*: which is probable enough, though *Moses* uses a different word in that place.

Where built.

NOR is there less disagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time spent therein. One supposes it was built in *Palestine*, and that *Noah* planted the cedars of which he made it, in the plains of *Sodom*<sup>p</sup>; another takes it to have been built near mount *Caucasus*, on the confines of *India*<sup>q</sup>; and a third, in *China*, where he imagines *Noah* dwelt before the flood<sup>r</sup>: but the place seems rather to have been somewhere near *Eden*; from whence it is to be presumed *Noah* would not remove far, though not for the reason alledged by some<sup>s</sup>, viz. because he was the eldest son in a lineal descent from *Seth*, which is no way certain from scripture; nor can we think it was far from *Ararat*, where the ark rested, that being a vessel which could not be driven to a great distance. It was therefore probably built in *Chaldea*, in the territories of *Babylon*<sup>t</sup>; where there was so great a quantity of cypress in the groves and gardens in *Alexander's* time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it for want of other timber<sup>u</sup>. And this

<sup>c</sup> BUTEO, de arca Noe. Bishop WILKIN'S Essay towards a real character. Dissert. sur l'arche de Noe.

<sup>d</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. p. 542.

<sup>e</sup> Targum of ONKELOS, and most of the old Rabbins.

<sup>f</sup> MUNSTER.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. PELETIER

<sup>h</sup> Genes. vi. 14.

<sup>i</sup> Scholiast. Grec.

<sup>j</sup> EUTYCH. p. 34. D'HERBEEL. p. 675.

<sup>k</sup> FULLER Miscell. l. 4. c. 5. BOCHART. Phaleg.

lib. 1. c. 4. <sup>l</sup> Vid. PLUTARCH. Sympos. lib. 1. quest. 2. VEGET. l. 4. c. 34. PLATO, de legib.

l. 4. <sup>m</sup> VITRUV. l. 2. c. 9. PLIN. l. 16. c. 40. THEOPHRAST. Hist. plant. l. 5. c. 5. <sup>n</sup> JA-

COB. EDESSEN, apud Barcepham, de parad. part. 1. c. 14. p. 38. <sup>o</sup> TEMPORARIUS Chronol.

Demonst. l. 1. <sup>p</sup> WHISTON'S Theory, p. 387, &c. <sup>q</sup> Dr. WELLS'S Geogr. of the old Test. vol. I.

p. 65. <sup>r</sup> Vid. BOCHART. ubi supra. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. Exerc. 17. §. 20. <sup>s</sup> STRABO,

l. 16. p. 1072, & 1076. ARRIAN. de Exped. Alex. l. 7.

pitched on any more suitable to the purpose than those mentioned by *Moses* (1). It is not to be expected we should here examine the several plans given of the ark, which may serve indeed to shew us the possible, but not the real disposition of it; however, for the readers satisfaction, we have inserted a view of the ark, according to that plan which seems to us most likely to be the true one.

\* Mr. *Whiston* thinks it most probable, that some were preserved from the deluge in the *American* continent as well as in this, though we have no records left among them to give us notice of it. The silence of the Sacred historian as to that world, he takes to be no objection, because he supposes the

whole earth of *Moses* comprehends no more than the then known parts of the world (2).

† *Aben Ezra* and *Kimhi* only say it is a sort of wood so called, which is light, and swims on the water. The *Vulgate* and *Septuagint* take the word *Gopher* not to denote the species of timber, but for an adjective; the first translating *ligna levigata*, smoothed or planed timber, and the other ξύλα τετραγωνα, square timber (3). *Vossius* endeavours to prove, that the expression of this last version signifies not timber squared by the workman, but such sort of trees whose branches shoot quadrangularly, or by four and four, at equal distances from the earth. Of which kind are the pine, fir, cedar, and some others; but not the cypress (4).

(1) WILKIN'S Essay, &c. See also TEMPORARIUS, Chronol. Demonstr. lib. 1. p. 32. (2) WHIS-

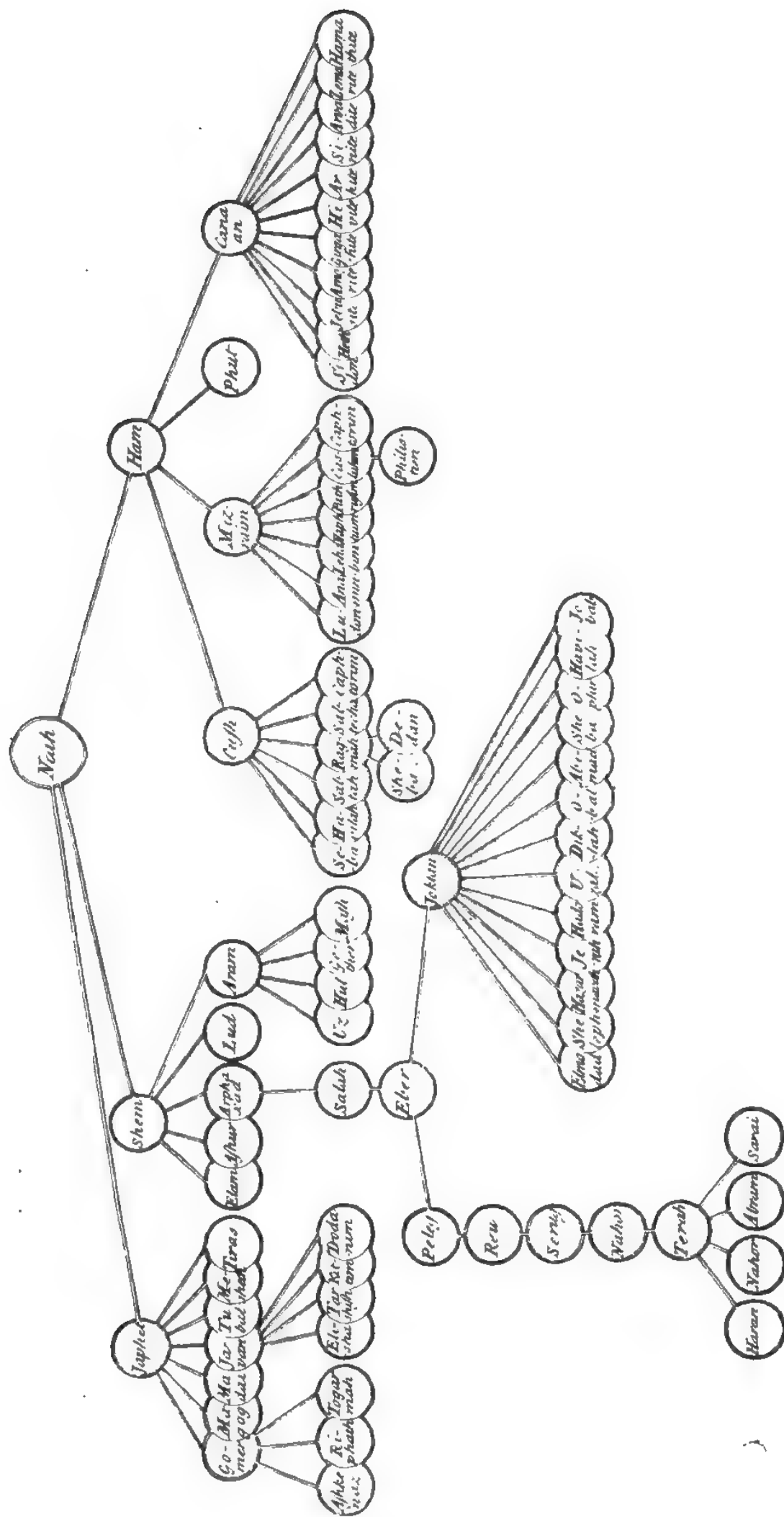
TON'S Theory, p. 409, &c.

(3) Vid. EUTYCH.

p. 34. (4) VOSS. de Sept. Interp. c. 11.

conjecture





a conjecture is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition, which makes *Xisuthrus* sail from that country \*. Year of the World, 1307. Year before Christ, 2999. And in what time.

As to the time, a *Rabbin* says, the ark was fifty two years in building \*: the fathers and oriental authors, a hundred \*, because *Noah* is said to be an hundred years old before any mention is made of the ark †. Some from the words of St. *Peter*, that the long-suffering of God waited while the ark was preparing ‡, suppose *Noah* was employed therein the whole time of forbearance †, which was one hundred and twenty years †: and others think the time much shorter, because *Noah's* three sons, the eldest of whom was born in his five hundredth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the ark in those very directions †, which seems to imply they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unless they perished in the deluge. But there is no such connection or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to establish any of these conjectures. All we can affirm, is, that such a vessel as the ark, and the necessary preparations of timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

THE appointed time of the deluge being come, and all things in readiness, *Noah*, at God's command, went into the ark with his wife, his sons, and his daughters-in-law †; and he took in to him, pursuant to the divine directions, of all kinds of beasts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by sevens, the male and his female † †. *Noah* went into the ark in the fix Year of the World, 1308. Year before Christ, 2998. Noah, &c. enter into the ark, and the flood begins.

\* See before, p. 61, &c. † R. ELIEZER Pirke, c. 23. ‡ ORIGEN. GREGOR. AUGUSTIN. &c. ELMACIN. p. 11. † Genes. v. 32. † 2 Pet. iii. 20. † BEDFORD'S scripture chronol. p. 21. Vid. R. SOLOMON. † Genes. vi. 3. † Ibid. ver. 18. † Genes. vii. 7. and 2, &c.

\* It is certain, both from the testimony of *Moses* and St. *Peter* (1), that eight persons, and no more, were saved in the ark; and though there be a tradition among the *Mohammedans* to the same effect, which is said to have been received from their prophet himself, yet others of them report this number variously: some say they were but six; others ten; others twelve; others seventy eight; others four-score, half men and half women (2); and that one of them was the elder *Jorham* (3), the preserver, as some pretend, of the *Arabian* language. But it is more extraordinary, that a christian writer should encrease the number of *Noah's* family, by supposing he had daughters of his own, and their husbands, his sons-in-law, with him in the ark (4). The *Mohammedans*, on the other hand, also tell us, that the family of *Noah* were not all saved; but that one of his sons named *Yam* (5), or *Canaan* (6), whom some make his grandson, and the son of *Ham* (7), and others his wife's son by another husband (8), perished in the flood. The *Korans* says *Noah* called to his son from the ark, saying, *Embark with us, my son, and stay not with the unbelievers*: he answered, *I will get on a mountain, which will secure me from the waters*; to which *Noah* replied, *There is no security this day against the decree of God, unless for them on whom he shall have mercy*. And immediately a wave separating them, he was drowned (9). Some commentators (10) add, that *Noah's* wife likewise perished with her son.

The *Eastern* authors differ as to the name of *Noah's* wife. Some of the *Jews* call her *Tishah*, or *Arisfab* (11); others say she was *Naamah*, the daughter of *Lamech* (12), of the race of *Cain*. The *Gnostics* called her *Noria*; for which *Epipha-*

*nus* (13) reprehends them, and says her name was *Barthemos*. *Eutychius* tells us *Noah's* wife was *Hai-cal*, the daughter of *Namusa*, the son of *Enoch*; and that *Shem's* wife was named *Salit*; *Ham's*, *Nablat*; and *Japhet's*, *Arisfab*; and that they were all three the daughters of *Methuselah* (14). But these deserve the same credit as the *Sibyl*, who pretends she was in the ark with *Noah*, being one of his daughters-in-law (15).

The *Eastern* authors add, that *Noah*, in pursuance of the directions of *Adam*, handed to him for that purpose (16), took the body of that patriarch with him into the ark, and placed it in the midst of the vessel, as a barrier between the men and the women, who had no commerce during the deluge (17).

† It is a doubt whether there went into the ark but seven of every clean, and two of every unclean species, or fourteen of the first, and four of the last. Some adhere to the former exposition (18), and others to the latter (19), which seems to be the natural sense of the *Hebrew* words, *seven* and *seven*; and *two* and *two*; the male and his female (20). Besides, if there were but seven of the clean beasts, one must have been without a mate; and if we answer, that the odd one was for sacrifice (21), it is more than *Moses* tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs (22). If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what bishop *Wilkins* computes it, will be no more than necessary for double the number of animals; especially if we consider the birds all went in by sevens: unless the distinguishing word *clean*, which is inserted in the *Samaritan* text, and in the *Septuagint* and *Syriac* versions, should be supplied in the *Hebrew* (23).

(1) 1 Pet. iii. 20. (2) AL ZAMAKHSHARI & JALLALO'DDIN in *Alcor.* c. 11. ver. 40. EBN SHOHNAH. (3) Idem. (4) CONST. MANASSER apud HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc.* 17. §. 23. (5) EBN SHOHNAH. (6) JALLALO'DDIN. (7) D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 676. (8) AL ZAMAKHSHARI. (9) AL *Koran.* c. 11. ver. 43. (10) JALLALO'DDIN. & AL ZAMAKHSH. (11) *Shalsel. Hakkab.* p. 92. (12) *Berebit Rabbah*, & *Shalsel. Hakkab.* p. 7. (13) *Harsif.* 26. (14) EU-

TYCH. p. 34. (15) SIBYLLA ERYTHR. l. 3. (16) See before, p. 80. (17) EUTYCH. p. 38. Vid. ELIEZER. Pirke, c. 23. YAHYA, in *Al Koran.* apud *Maracc.* p. 340. (18) JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 3. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 27. HIERONYM. cont. *Jovin.* l. 2, &c. (19) JUSTIN. MARTYR. ORIGEN. ABEN EZRA, &c. (20) Genes. vii. 2. (21) THEODORET quass. 50. in Genes. R. SOLOMON. (22) Genes. vii. 9, 15, 16. (23) Vid. CLERIC. in *loc.* HEIDEGG. ubi sup. §. 25.



Year of the  
World, 1308.  
Year before  
Christ, 2998.



The waters  
assuage.

Year of the  
World, 1305.  
Year before  
Christ, 2998.  
Noah, &c.  
leave the ark.

hundredth year of his age, on the seventeenth day of the second month\*, which answers to our second of *December*\*, while the rest of mankind were in the height of security, and contemning the repeated admonitions of *Noah*, did eat and drink, did marry wives, and were given in marriage, until the flood came and destroyed them all<sup>c</sup>. For on the self-same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to encrease for five months, till they reached their utmost height, which was fifteen cubits, or upwards, or twenty seven foot above the tops of the highest mountains; but they seem to have been free from storms or violent commotions, and to have raised and carried the ark gently along; that vessel, as has been observed, being unable to abide a stormy sea.

At the end of the five months, *God* caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters began to assuage, the two sources which fed them being stopped and restrained. On the very first day of their decrease, viz. the seventeenth of the seventh month, or the second of *May*, they fell so much, that the ark rested on the mountains of *Ararat*: and by the first of the tenth month, or fifteenth of *July*, the tops of the neighbouring mountains began to appear. Forty days after, or about the twenty third of *August*, *Noah*, the better to judge of the height of the waters, opened the window or lattice of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven †, which flew to and fro till the earth was dry, but gave *Noah* no satisfactory information; whereupon he sent out a dove ‡ three several times, staying seven days between each. The first time the dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her to rest on; the second time she came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive leaf plucked off, which shewed a considerable abatement of the waters; and the third time she returned no more.

On the first day of the first month, answering to our seventh of *October*, in the six hundredth and first year of *Noah's* life, that patriarch removed the covering of the ark, to have a more extended view, and saw the surface of the earth was cleared of the waters; however, he stayed sometime longer in the ark, till the twenty seventh of the

\* Genes. vii. 6, 11, 13.

† Matt. xxiv. 38. Luke xvii. 27.

If it be asked by what means *Noah* got all these animals together into the ark, the best answer that has been given is, that they came voluntarily, by a supernatural impulse from *God* (1); which seems to be intimated by the words of scripture (2): though others suppose it was done by the assistance of angels (3).

\* Several writers have fallen into mistakes as to the day when the flood began, by computing from the vernal equinox. But since the antediluvian year indisputably commenced from the autumnal equinox, the seventeenth day of the second month will fall about the time we have fixed it, according to the Samaritan chronology; and according to the Hebrew, on the seventh of *December*, as archbishop *Usher* computes (4); on the sixth of *November*, as others reckon (5); or, more exactly, on the twenty-eighth day of *November*, which is the calculation of Mr. *Wiston* (6).

It is remarkable, that the day assigned by *Moses* for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein *Plutarch* tells us *Osiris* went into the ark, viz. the seventeenth of *Athyr*, which month is the second after the autumnal equinox, the sun then passing through *Scorpius* (7). Nor does it differ above a day or two from that set down by *Berosus*, if we allow what probably may have been the case, that that writer, or his transcribers, fell into the mistake abovementioned, and supposed the flood began the second month from the vernal equinox, which was *Desius* (8); whereas the true month was *Apellans*, the second from the autumnal equinox.

The *Mahomedans* say the flood began the tenth of *Rajeb* (9).

† The raven is supposed to have been sent out, because *Noah* thought the smell of the carcases would tempt him to fly to some distance (10); instead of which he kept hovering about the ark, having some jealousy, as the *Jews* pretend, of his mate (11). Though the *Hebrew* says the raven returned again, yet according to the *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and *Vulgate* versions, he did not return; wherefore it is thought he perished in the waters (12). The *Rabbins* have framed a dialogue on this occasion between *Noah* and the raven, who asking why he was picked out to be sent on that errand, *Noah* told him, because the world might well be without ravens, which were neither fit for food, nor for sacrifice (13).

‡ The dove was probably sent because of her tameness, her flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to her nest from the greatest distance (14). Some of the *Jews* pretend she took the olive leaf from paradise, others from mount *Olivet*; for they imagine *Judas* was not drowned in the deluge (15). From the olive leaf *Noah* might infer, that the lower hills, where those trees chiefly grow, were left by the waters, and that the vegetables were not totally destroyed (16). The *Chaldean* tradition agrees with the *Mosaic* history in the circumstance of the birds being sent out by *Xisuthrus* (17). And *Plutarch* says, that according to the mythologists, a dove was let out of the ark, and that her going out was to *Deucalion* a sign of fair weather, and her return of foul (18).

(1) Vid. PHILON. *Jud. de vita Moysi*, l. 2. p. 663. JALLALO'DDIN in *al Koran* apud *Maracc. ubi sup.*  
(2) Genes. vii. 20. vii. 9. (3) ELIEZ. *Pirke*, c. 23. (4) *Annal. ad A. M.* 1656. (5) Vid. CLERIC. in loc. (6) *Theory*, p. 218. (7) PLUT. *de Iside & Osiride*, p. 356. D. (8) Vid. GALEN. *Comment. in l. 1. Epid.* (9) EBN SHOKHAN.

(10) Vid. BOCHART. *Hieroz. part. 2. l. 2. c. 12.* (11) In *Aggudtah.* (12) Vid. BOCHART. *ubi sup.* (13) *Beresbit rabbah*, §. 33. (14) BOCHART. *ubi sup.* l. 1. c. 6. (15) *Beresbit rabbah. ubi sup.* (16) BOCHART. *ubi sup.* (17) See before, p. 92. (18) PLUTARCH. *de solert. animal.* p. 968.

a second month, or the second of *December*, when by *God's* direction he came forth out of the ark, with his family and all that were with him, having remained therein a year and ten days, according to the antediluvian computation; and according to the present, a full year, or three hundred sixty five days \*.

Year of the World, 1309: Year before Christ, 2997.

We shall conclude this section with adding a word or two concerning the *Persian* and *Indian* traditions relating to the deluge.

The Persian and Indian traditions of the flood.

An eastern writer tells us, that some of those who embrace the *Magian* religion, are said to deny the flood, or at least the universality of it, pretending it reached no further than a cliff near *Hulwan* †, a city of *Irak*, bordering on *Curdestan*. Yet the orthodox among them acknowledge this general destruction by water, wherein all mankind b perished, except some few that were preserved by providence; and that it was sent by *God* to punish the crimes of mankind, one of whom, named *Malcus*, was a monster of wickedness and impiety. One odd circumstance mentioned by them is, that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven \* of a certain old woman named *Zala Cusfa* †.

We are told, by the same author, that the *Indians* acknowledge no deluge: but this must not be understood of all; for the *Bramins* say, that the four tribes, or casts, of which the first race of men consisted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the priest neglecting his piety, the soldier becoming insolent and tyrannical, the merchant practising deceit in trade, and using false balances, and the artizan spending the profits of his inventions in riot and excess; their impiety and wickedness grew at length c to so insufferable an height, that *God's* indignation was justly provoked, and he sent a flood which destroyed all nations without exception: after which, *God*, to repair mankind, created three persons of greater excellency than those of the former generation; to one of whom, named *Bremaw*, he gave the power of creating men and animals, which he executed accordingly; the first human pair proceeding one from his right side, the other from his left. The man was called *Manow*, and the woman *Ceteroupa*, and by them was the earth replenished †. It must be observed, however, that these people believe several alternate destructions and reparations of mankind; and some of them say, there have been already no less than three destructions by water, d and that another is yet to be expected by the same element †.

## SECT. VII.

*Of the state of the antediluvian world, and the changes made in the earth by the deluge.*

WE cannot dismiss the history of the old world, without taking a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, and of the alterations which have been e wrought in nature by the flood.

Of the state of the old world.

THE religion, policy, arts and sciences of these first men would be a very entertaining subject, if the greatest part of what can be said on these heads was not reducible to a few conjectures.

THE only thing we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered sacrifices, and that very early, both of the fruits of the earth, and of animals; but whether the blood and flesh of the animals, or only their milk and wool were offered, is a dispute which we shall consider elsewhere. Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the patriarchs from *Adam* had stated places, and annual and weekly times set apart for divine worship, and also a separate maintenance for the priests; all which particulars f may be true, though they cannot be made out from scripture. But what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antedi-

The religion of the antediluvians.

\* Genes. vii. and viii.

† EDW. SHORHAN.

‡ Vid. HYDE, de rel. vet. Persar. c. 10. and

LOEB's account of the religion of the Perses, p. 9.

\* LOEB's Discourse of the Banian religion,

c. 6, and 7. † Propag. of the gospel in the east, part 1. lett. 3. See also the Introd. p. 33.

\* Mohammed has borrowed this circumstance, and inserted it in his *Koran* (1). The commentators say, it was the sign by which *Noah* knew the flood was coming (2). And some pretend it was the same

oven which *Eve* made use of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from those we use, having the mouth in the upper part; and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to *Noah* (3).

(1) *Al Koran*. c. 11. ver. 40. and c. 23. ver. 28.

(2) Vid. MARACC. in *Alc.* p. 340.

(3) Vid. D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Noab.*

luvian sabbath was kept, and that it was the same with the Christian sabbath, or sunday \*; ■ which notion we shall, in a proper place, shew to be very groundless and precarious.

*Their arts and sciences.*

OF the arts and sciences of these people we have not much more to say. They seem rather to have spent their time in luxury and wantonness, to which the abundant fertility of the first earth invited them, than in discoveries or improvements which probably they stood much less in need of than their successors. The art of working metals was found out by the last generation of *Cain's* line; and music, which they might be supposed to practise for their pleasure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the same generation. Some authors have supposed astronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this is probably owing to a mistake of *Josephus* b: but it is to be presumed the progress they made therein, or in any other science, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful whether letters were so much as known before the flood (as will be shewn in another place) whatever is pretended by some men who have conceived so high an opinion of *Adam's* knowledge, that they suppose it to have been almost universal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to *Seth* and *Enoch* c, which are forgeries too gross to deserve any consideration.

*Their polity.*

As to their politics and civil constitutions, we have not so much as any circumstances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the first, was set aside when tyranny and oppression began to take place, and much sooner among the race of *Cain* than that of *Seth*. It seems also that their communities were but few, and consisted of vastly larger numbers of people than any formed since the flood; or rather it is a question whether, after the union of the two great families of *Seth* and *Cain*, there were any distinction of civil societies, or diversity of regular governments at all; it is more likely that all mankind then made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into several disorderly associations: which, as it was almost the natural consequence of their having, in all probability, but one common language, so it was a circumstance which greatly contributed to that general corruption, which otherwise perhaps could not have so universally overspread the antediluvian world. And for this reason chiefly, as it seems, so soon as the posterity of *Noah* were sufficiently increased, a plurality of tongues was miraculously introduced, d in order to divide them into distinct societies, and thereby prevent any such total depravation for the future.

THE state of the natural world before the flood seems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at present.

*The old world more populous and fertile than the present.*

THE antediluvian world was in all probability stocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the present earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing or supplying. This seems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the present standard of life in the proportion, at least, of ten to one, the antediluvians must accordingly in any long space of time double themselves, at least, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themselves; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late in proportion as men do now, and the several children of the same father seem to have succeeded as quickly one after another as they usually do at this day; and as many generations which are but successive with us, were contemporary before the flood, the number of people living on the earth at once would be by that means sufficiently increased to answer any defect which might arise from other circumstances not considered. So that, if we make a computation on those principles \*, we shall find that there were a considerable number of people in the world at the death of *Abel*, though their father *Adam* was

\* SMITH'S Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the LORD's day. Vid. BEDFORD'S Scripture Chronol. p. 6. b See before, p. 81. c See before, p. 78, 79.

\* It is now generally owned, and that from good observations, that mankind do double themselves in about three hundred and sixty, or three hundred and seventy years; or allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare cases of general wars, famines, plagues, and such like desolations, in about four hundred years. So that allowing the period for the doubling of mankind, from the creation to the deluge, to be ten times shorter, by reason of their so much longer lives; if we have a series of forty numbers beginning at two (for so many God

created himself at first) and doubling themselves in forty, or for convenience in forty-one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we shall, in some degree, obtain the sum total of mankind at the deluge, and also in the several ages before that time; though this period of doubling must still have been much shorter in the earliest, and longer in the latest times of the interval: which computation Mr. *Wiston* (2), to whom we are obliged for these observations, has given us in the following table.

(1) See Sir W. PETTY'S Essay on the multiplication of mankind; and the Philosophical Transactions,

Nº 196. p. 597, &c. p. 249.

(2) Theory of the earth,

a not then 130 years old, and that the number of mankind before the deluge would easily amount to above one hundred thousand millions (even according to the *Samaritan* chronology) that is to twenty times as many as our present earth has in all probability now upon it, or can well be supposed capable of maintaining in its present constitution <sup>a</sup>. From whence it follows, that to sustain so much larger a number of inhabitants (besides the brute animals, which were very probably as numerous in proportion) the earth must have been much more fruitful before that desolation than it has been since <sup>b</sup>, though it was then barren in comparison of its primitive fertility before the fall.

ONE of the most extraordinary circumstances which occurs in the antediluvian history, is the vast length of mens lives in those first ages in comparison of our own. <sup>Of the longevity of the antediluvians.</sup>  
b Few now arrive to eighty or a hundred years, whereas before the flood they frequently lived to near a thousand; a disproportion almost incredible, were it not incontestably certain from the joint testimonies of sacred and profane writers <sup>c</sup>, whose authority in this point being not to be eluded, some, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined that the ages of those first men might possibly be computed not by solar years, but months <sup>d</sup>, which reduces the length of their lives rather to a shorter period than our own. But for this there is not the least foundation; besides the many absurdities that would thence follow, such as their begetting children at about six years of age, as some of them in that case must have done, and the contraction of the whole interval between the creation and the deluge to considerably less than two hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the *Septuagint*.

c THE causes of this longevity are variously assigned: some have imputed it to the sobriety of the antediluvians, and the simplicity of their diet; that they eat no flesh <sup>e</sup>, and had none of those provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since invented. This, were it true, might have some effect, but not possibly to such a degree as we are speaking of, since we have had many temperate and abstemious persons in latter ages, who yet seldom have exceeded the usual period. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and some peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of those days; but as the earth was cursed immediately after the fall, its fruits we may sup-

<sup>a</sup> WHISTON'S Theory, p. 246, &c.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 256.    <sup>c</sup> VARRO, apud Lactant. Inst. divin. l. 1. c. 12. Vid. AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 12.

Series.	Years of doubling.	Years of the world.	Number of mankind.	Series.	Years of doubling.	Years of the world.	Number of mankind.
1	2	2	4	20	40	420	2,097,152
2	4	6	8	21	42	462	4,194,304
3	6	12	16	22	44	506	8,388,608
4	8	20	32	23	46	552	16,777,216
5	10	30	64	24	48	600	33,554,432
6	12	42	128	25	50	650	67,108,864
7	14	56	256	26	52	702	134,217,728
8	16	72	512	27	54	756	268,435,456
9	18	90	1,024	28	56	812	536,870,912
10	20	110	2,048	29	58	870	1,073,741,824
11	22	132	4,096	30	60	930	2,147,483,648
12	24	156	8,192	31	62	992	4,294,967,296
13	26	182	16,384	32	64	1056	8,589,924,592
14	28	210	32,768	33	66	1122	17,179,869,184
15	30	240	65,536	34	68	1190	34,359,738,368
16	32	272	131,072	35	70	1260	68,719,476,736
17	34	306	262,144	36	72	1332	137,438,953,472
18	36	342	524,288	37	74	1406	274,877,906,944
19	38	380	1,048,576	38	76	1482	549,755,813,888

\* Josephus reckons up the testimonies of Menetho, Berosus, Moabius, Hesiodus, Jerom the Egyptian, and the writers of the Phœnician antiquities. He says also, that Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Euborus, and Nicolaus, wrote that the antients lived a thousand years (1). Of all which testimonies we have none now extant, except only

that of Hesiod (2).

† A learned physician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among several causes of the longevity of the first men enumerated by him, one is their eating of raw flesh; the most nourishing and best parts whereof he supposes are carried off in dressing by the action of the fire (3).

(1) JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. & dieb. rer. 130, &c.

(2) In oper.

(3) BEVEROVICIUS Thef. Sanitat. l. 3.

pose gradually decreased in their virtue and goodness till the flood; and yet we do not see the length of mens lives decreased considerably, if at all, during that interval. Others have thought that the long lives of those inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the strength of their *stamina*, or first principles of their bodily constitutions; which might indeed be a concurrent, but not the sole and adequate cause of their longevity: for *Shem*, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian constitution, fell three hundred years short of the age of his fore-fathers, because the greatest part of his life was passed after the flood \*.

It has therefore been more rationally supposed, that the chief cause of this longevity was the salubrious constitution of the antediluvian air, which after the deluge became corrupted and unwholesome, breaking by degrees the pristine crasis of the body, and shortening mens lives, in a very few ages, to near the present standard. But how the flood should induce or occasion such a change in the air, is not easy to comprehend \*.

The changes made in the world at the deluge, according to Dr. Burnet,

Dr. BURNET, as he attributes the fertility and paradisiacal state of the first earth to a perpetual equinox, the consequence of the direct or parallel position which he supposes the earth then had to the sun; so he thinks the barrenness of the present earth, and the malignity of our air, are owing to the inequality of seasons introduced at the deluge, when the earth, being broken and shattered, lost its poise, and fell into that oblique situation which it now has †. Thence proceeded an unequal temperature of the air, violent exhalations, meteors, thunder, lightening, rain, snow, hail, ice, tempestuous winds, and the like, to which the earth was before an utter stranger, causing a sensible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction of human life \*.

—and Mr. Whiston,

Mr. WHISTON is of the same opinion as to the different states of the air before and since the deluge, and the effects thereof on human bodies, as well as on the productions of the earth; but assigns very different causes for both. He thinks the purity and equality of the antediluvian air were the natural and regular properties of an original earth, such as one would rationally expect in a world newly come out of the hands of its creator, and such as the generality of our fellow planets (especially our next neighbour the moon) as far as we can observe, are supposed to have had at first, and hitherto retained. So that all that can in reason be desired, is to give a plain account of those opposite phenomena of the earth which we are now so sensible of, and by what means the deluge could occasion the same †. And this he endeavours to do, by supposing, 1. That the comet, which, according to his hypothesis, was the cause of the deluge, in passing by the earth, by its attraction accelerated the earth's annual motion, and changed its then circular orbit into an ellipsis<sup>m</sup>; and, 2. That the earth at the deluge carried off vast quantities of the gross heterogeneous and indigested masses with which the chaotic atmosphere of the comet was crowded; part of which were received into our air, and the other part, being mixed with the waters derived from the comet, settled and formed a new crust over the surface of the earth, which was somewhat increased by the dirt and soil thrown up by the subterraneous waters, and washed from the mountains \*.

THESE two great changes in the natural world would have very considerable consequences. That made in the earth's orbit, besides altering the form of the year \*, would, by placing us at a greater distance from the sun, occasion a very sensible decrease in the heat of that luminary, which must (on calculation) have been a twenty fifth part greater before the flood than since †. The primigenial soil would lie buried under the sediment or factitious crust, which he computes to be about one hundred and five foot thick ‡, wherein the fertile mold would be much thinner spread than before the deluge; considering which circumstances, together with the great damp put to the influence of the central heat, as well by the waters of the deluge, as the consolidation of the adventitious sediment, it naturally follows that the present earth could

\* BURNET's Theory, Book 2. c. 2, 4. See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 307, &c.

† RAY on the deluge, p. 122.

‡ See before, p. 66, 67.

\* BURNET's Theory, Book 2.

c. 2, 3.

† WHISTON's Theory, p. 363.

‡ Ibid. p. 207, &c.

\* Ibid. p. 275, 417.

• Ibid. p. 363.

• Ibid. p. 418.

\* The antediluvian year was, according to this gentleman, in absolute space of time nearly equal to our present and ancient lunar one, and above ten days, or, more nicely, ten days, one hour, twenty eight minutes and an half shorter than our present solar year; yet it contained three hundred and sixty antediluvian days, which were equal to

only three hundred and fifty five days, four hours, and about twenty minutes of our present days; the earth's diurnal motion having been retarded, and our days consequently lengthened in that proportion, partly by the quantity of foreign matter derived from the comet at the deluge, and partly from another cause (1).

(1) WHISTON's Theory, p. 208, 209, 210.



- a be nothing near so fruitful and luxuriant in her productions as the antediluvian was<sup>1</sup>. This supposition of a new crust acquired by the earth at the flood, by the way, also accounts for the phenomena we formerly mentioned of the bones, teeth, and shells of fish, and other marine and vegetable productions so frequently dug up, even on mountains, and at great distances from the sea<sup>2</sup>. The heterogeneous composition of our present gross atmosphere, acquired likewise from the comet, must necessarily occasion great irregularities and depravations in the temperature and constitution of the air. For the difference of climates being not wholly owing to the sun's heat, or the nature of the air, but partly to those calorific and frigorific mixtures which are uncertainly contained therein; and our air being now in the torrid zone full of sulphureous and sultry, and in b the frigid ones of nitrous and freezing effluvia or exhalations, which may be removed, on the veering of the wind, from one region to another; those extremities of heat and cold, and sudden changes in the temper of the air, which we are now so sensible of, are thence easily accounted for; and the same nitro-sulphureous and other heterogeneous mixtures and exhalations might likewise occasion those coruscations, meteors, thunder, lightening, clouds, rain, winds, and storms, so common with us; from which, and their pernicious effects, the pure homogeneous antediluvian air was perfectly free<sup>3</sup>.

As both the theorists deny there was any rain, at least in the habitable parts of the primitive earth, it may be asked what expedients they have found out to supply it with water. Mr. *Whiston*, who allows there were rivers, lakes, and seas (though no great c ocean) in the first earth, effects this with little difficulty; supposing the vapours elevated by the sun in the day, which the purity and thinness of the air hindered from condensing and falling down in rain, descended however in regular and gentle mists in the night<sup>4</sup>. But Dr. *Burnet*, in whose antediluvian earth there were neither mountains nor seas\*, and the whole element of water was locked up in the abyss, is obliged to have recourse to a more extraordinary explication. He says, that the action of the sun being very strong and constant in raising vapours, and the earth at first moist and soft, as it grew more dry, the rays of the sun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great abyss which lay underneath, and was an inexhausted storehouse of new vapours †. Those vapours would be hindered by the heat from condensing into clouds d or rains in the warmer parts of the earth, and there being no mountains nor contrary winds to stop or compress them, would bend their course where they found the least resistance, and that would be towards the poles or colder regions, where, when they were arrived, they would be condensed and fall down in a continual rain or dew upon those parts of the earth, so that there would be a constant source of waters, which would neither fail nor overflow, but find the earth with an equal supply throughout all the parts of the year. And to account for the flowing of these waters on the even surface of the earth, and of their forming themselves into rivers, which seems a difficulty not easily to be got over, he supposes the earth was not exactly spherical, but oval, the polar parts being higher than the equinoctial, that is, more remote from the center; by which means the waters which fell about the extreme parts would have a continual descent towards the middle parts of it, forming by the way lakes, and dividing e into lesser and lesser streams, till at length they were either exhaled again by the sun, or drank up by the thirsty sands of the torrid zone<sup>5</sup>.

If either of these hypotheses be admitted, the dispute whether there was any rain—Whether any bow or not before the deluge must be at an end. For in an air, wherein there fell no rainbows before the flood.

\* Ibid. p. 363, &c. † Ibid. p. 423, &c. ‡ Ibid. p. 365, &c. § Ibid. p. 369. ¶ BURNET'S Theory, p. 310, &c.

\* To this form of the primæval world, and the change made therein by the deluge, Dr. *Burnet* (1) has met with a surprizing testimony from an *Ethiopian* tradition delivered to the count *Balthasar Castiglione* by a philosopher of that nation then in *Spain*, which is to the following effect, viz. That the first earth was much more spacious than the present, and nearer to heaven: that it was perfectly round, without mountains or vallies, but all hollow, or full of cavities within, like a sponge: that the inhabitants breathed a most pure air, and passed their lives happily; the earth spontaneously bringing forth most excellent fruits without plowing or sowing: but after some ages, when mankind, elated with pride, had degenerated from their primitive inno-

cence, the angry gods shook the earth with so vehement a concussion, that the greatest part of it fell down into the caverns below; and the water, before inclosed in those hidden recesses, was thereby violently forced out; and to this the fountains, rivers, lakes, and sea owe their original: that that part of the earth which had not fallen in, but stood above the rest, appeared as mountains; and the islands and rocks in the midst of the sea, are nothing else but fragments of the hollow earth which remained after that sudden disruption and fall of the whole terrestrial frame (2).

† Yet if a calculation made be true, this storehouse would be quite exhausted long before the deluge (3).

(1) See his Theory, p. 386. (2) FR. PATRICIO, *fontium Alutinenſium ſcaturigine*, p. 41. (3) See della Rhetorica degli Antichi, apud RAMAZZIN. de the note, p. 100.

rain in sensible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rainbow entirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phenomenon could not be expected; and indeed it is somewhat hard to conceive how it could be a sign or confirmation of the covenant which God made with *Noah*, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promise. For if we suppose it even an arbitrary sign, and to have no connection with the effect, it seems that to make it significant and satisfactory, it must be something new, otherwise it could not signify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promise. And accordingly, it has been observed, that the signs by institution only, mentioned in scripture, have all something new and strange, as a mark of the hand of God: at least it must be acknowledged, that if *Noah* had never seen a rainbow before, that sign must have made a much more lively impression on him, and given him much greater comfort and assurance in God's promise, than if it had been no more than what he must have often observed before the late terrible devastation<sup>a</sup>.

Whether flesh  
might be eaten  
before the flood.

Whether flesh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is also a question which has been much debated<sup>v</sup>. By the permission expressly given to *Noah* for that purpose after the flood<sup>w</sup>, and God's assigning vegetables only for food to man as well as beast at the creation<sup>x</sup>, one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have supposed that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to *Adam* by God over the animal creation<sup>y</sup>; and the distinction of beasts into clean and unclean, which was well known before the flood<sup>z</sup>, is insisted on as a strong argument on this side, and which it is not easy to answer. To say that distinction was used proleptically, is a mere subterfuge; and to suppose it made solely to distinguish what was lawful or unlawful to be sacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the custom to offer to God such fruits and animals as were fit for food and sustenance, and not such as were of no use or benefit to mankind in that respect.

## SECT. VIII.

An Enquiry concerning the Situation of Mount Ararat, and the various Opinions about it.

IT may be proper, before we close this chapter, to give some account of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark rested, the situation of which is rendered in some measure uncertain by the different traditions concerning it.

THE *Sibylline* verses place mount *Ararat* in the borders of *Black Phrygia*, near *Celæne*, at the springs of the river *Marfyas*<sup>a</sup>, which rises out of the same lake with the *Meander*, and falls at length into it<sup>b</sup>. But it appears from good authorities that there is really no mountain at all in that place, at least none near so high as *Ararat* must needs have been, but only a small hill, or eminence<sup>c</sup>. This fancy therefore seems to have taken its rise from *Apamea*, another city near *Celæne*, being surnamed *Cibotos*, or the ark; not, as *Bockart* observes<sup>d</sup>, from any tradition of *Noah's* ark, but from its situation, being shut up like an ark, or chest, by three rivers which encompassed it; as the port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was called *Cibotos* from the bay surrounding it: besides, *Cibotos* was a new name which does not seem to have been known in those parts till given to *Apamea*, built by *Seleucus*, or *Antiochus Soter*; and *Celæne*<sup>e</sup> had a prior right to it, if there had been any such tradition: so that what is farther alledged of the *Apameans* coining medals having on the reverse the impression of an ark, as may be seen on three severally struck in honour of *Adrian*<sup>f</sup>, *Septimius Severus*, and *Philip the Arabian*<sup>g</sup>, is of no weight.

*BEN GORION* seems to extend the name of *Ararat* to *Caucasus*<sup>h</sup>: but by the mountains of *Ararat* have been generally understood, both by ancient and modern authors, those of *Armenia*. *Ararat* is by the *Septuagint*<sup>i</sup> and in the *Vulgate*<sup>k</sup> rendred *Armenia*<sup>l</sup>; and there is actually a province of that country named *Ararat*<sup>m</sup>, or *Ararat*, from a plain therein so called in memory of *Arai* the eighth king of that nation, who was slain in

<sup>a</sup> BURNET'S Theory, p. 324, &c. Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 15. <sup>v</sup> Vid. Ibid. Exerc. 19. §. 26, &c. <sup>w</sup> Genes. ix. 3, 4. <sup>x</sup> Genes. i. 29, 30. <sup>y</sup> Genes. ver. 26, 28. <sup>z</sup> Genes. vii. 2.

<sup>a</sup> XENOPHON, LIVIUS, l. 38. <sup>b</sup> STRABO, l. 12. MAX. TYRIUS, ferm. 38. <sup>c</sup> STRABO

ubi supra. PTOLEM. lib. 5. cap. 3. STEPHAN. in Hierosol. <sup>d</sup> Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. <sup>e</sup> STRABO

ubi supra. LIVIUS ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> CALMET Dict. de la Bible, Art. Apamee. <sup>g</sup> Vid. FALCONERII

differt. de num. Apam. apud Kircher. Arca Noe, l. 2. c. 6. <sup>h</sup> Lib. 6. cap. 96. <sup>i</sup> Isa. xxxvii. 38.

<sup>k</sup> Gen. viii. 4. <sup>l</sup> Kings xix. 37. <sup>m</sup> Vid. la Notice des Eglises qui dependent du Patr. d'Armenie,

publiee par le P. SIMON a la fin de son Histoire Critique de la Creance, & des Coutumes des Nations du Levant; & SCHROEDER. differt. de rebus Armenicis.

\* The Samaritan version translates it *Serendib*, which is the name the eastern writers give to the island Ceylon. See before, p. 58.

a battle there<sup>m</sup>; *Araji arat* <sup>n</sup> signifying *the slain of Arai*. But though authors have generally agreed in placing *Ararat* in *Armenia*, yet they differ as to the particular situation of the mountain where the ark rested, there being two opinions concerning it, each of which is supported by a tradition.

THE first opinion is, that it was one of the mountains which divide *Armenia* on the south from *Mesopotamia* and that part of *Affyria* inhabited by the *Curds*, from whom those mountains took the name of *Curdue*, or *Cardu*, by the *Greeks* turned into *Gordyæi*, and other names\*. It is called by the *Arabs* *Al Judi*<sup>o</sup>, (if it be not a mistake for *Gordi*<sup>o</sup>, or a corruption of *Cordi*, or *Jordi*†, as it ought to be written by the *Arabs*<sup>o</sup>;) and also *Thamanin*<sup>o</sup>, probably from the town hereafter named, at the foot of it.

First tradition about mount Ararat.

b THE tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the *Chaldeans* themselves<sup>o</sup>: the *Chaldee* paraphrasts consent to this opinion<sup>o</sup>, which obtained very much formerly; but when we come to enquire into the particular part of these mountains whereon the ark rested, authors seem to place it out of *Armenia*: *Epiphanius* in the country of the *Cordyæans*<sup>o</sup>, or between the *Armenians* and *Cordyæans*, on the mountain *Lubar*<sup>o</sup>; the eastern authors, as well *Christians* as *Mohammedans*, on mount *Thamanin* or *Al Judi*<sup>o</sup>, which overlooks the country of *Diyar Rabiab*<sup>o</sup> in *Mesopotamia*, near the cities of *Mausol*, *Forda*†, and *Jazirat ebn Omar*<sup>o</sup>\*\*, which last one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark<sup>o</sup>.

c To confirm this tradition, we are told that the remainders of the ark were to be seen upon these mountains: *Berosus* and *Abydenus* both declare there was such a report in their time<sup>o</sup>. The first observes farther, that several of the inhabitants thereabouts scraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet: *Cardu* mountains. and the latter says, they used the wood of the vessel against many diseases with wonderful success. The relics of the ark were to be seen also in the time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him<sup>o</sup>; and we are told the emperor *Heraclius* went from the town of *Themanin* up the mountain *Al Judi*, and saw the place of the ark<sup>o</sup>. This town of *Themanin*, is, or was, situate at the foot of the mountain *Al Judi*<sup>o</sup>; the name signifies eighty (and not eight, as *Bochart*, *Calmet*, and others would have it) in memory of the eighty persons who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were saved in the ark<sup>o</sup>; though the Christian writers among the *Arabs*, who say this city was built by *Noah* and his sons near *Forda*, not approving that tradition, suppose it called so because they were eight<sup>o</sup>.

Remainder of the ark to be seen for a long time on the Cardu mountains.

THERE was formerly a famous monastery, called *the monastery of the ark*, upon the *Cardu* mountains, where the *Nestorians* used to celebrate a feast day on the spot where they supposed the ark rested; but in the year of *CHRIST* 776. that monastery was destroyed by lightning, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it<sup>o</sup>. Since

Monastery of the ark formerly there.

\* MOSES CHORENENSIS, Compend: Geogr. univers. p. 46, 52. <sup>o</sup> Upruzh upruun.  
<sup>o</sup> EUTYCH. Annal. p. 41. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi. <sup>o</sup> BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3.  
<sup>o</sup> GOLIUS in Not. ad Afragan. p. 187. <sup>o</sup> Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. <sup>o</sup> BEROSUS apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. <sup>o</sup> ONKELOS & JONATHAN in Genes. viii. 4. <sup>o</sup> EPIPHAN.  
Hæres. 18. <sup>o</sup> Idem, ibid. lib. 1. § 4. <sup>o</sup> Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. EBN SHOHNAH, MS.  
<sup>o</sup> EBN AMID, l. 1. c. 1. <sup>o</sup> EUTYCH. Annal. p. 41. Vid. etiam D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 404.  
Art. Gioudi, & p. 676. <sup>o</sup> BENJAMIN. TUDELENS. Itiner. p. 61. <sup>o</sup> BEROSUS apud Josephum  
Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. <sup>o</sup> ABYDENUS apud Euseb. Chron. Græc. & Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. <sup>o</sup> Hæres. 18.  
<sup>o</sup> EBN AMID Hist. Arabum, l. 1. c. 1. <sup>o</sup> D'HERBELOT, ubi supra. Vid. AGATHIUS, l. 4. p. 135.  
<sup>o</sup> D'HERBELOT, p. 677. <sup>o</sup> Vid. EUTYCH. & EBN AMID, ubi supra. <sup>o</sup> Vid. Chronic. DIONYSII  
Patriarch. Jacobitar. apud Asseman, Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 113.

\* The Greek and Latin writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardiei*, *Cordyæi*, *Cordueni*, *Gordi*, *Cordai*, *Cardi*, &c. the orientals call them also *Cardon*, *Cordin*, *Curud*, &c. *Bochart* (1) supposes they are the same which are called by mistake in *Josephus* *Carm* (2).

† *Jordi* may be changed into *Judi* by an easy mistake of the *Ra* for the *Waw*; but it is odd such an error should be so universal.

‡ If this name were not usually written *Forda* by the Arabian authors, we should judge it ought to be *Korda*, from the name of the mountain. *D'Herbelot* mentions a town called *Corda*, at the foot of *Al Judi* (3).

\*\* *Jazirat ebn, or bani Omar*, is a city in an island of the *Tigris*, so named from the *Khalifah Omar ebn Abd alaziz*, of the family of *Ommiyah*, who, if you will believe *Benjamin the Jew* (4), (tho' he by mistake calls him *Omar ebn al Khettab*) removed the remains of the ark into that city, and built a *Mohammedan* temple therewith. The *Syrians* call it *Gozarta*, or *the island*; but we must not confound it, as *Assemani* does (6), with the *Gzerta* of *Mafius*, called by some the *isle of Eden*, which is no more than twelve miles above *Mausol*; whereas *Jezirat ebn Omar* is ninety miles above that city (6), in one of the roads from *Aleppo* to *Tauris* (7).

(1) Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. (2) Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 2. (3) Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi. (4) Itiner. p. 61. (5) Bibl. Orient. tom. II. dissert. de Monophys.

(6) Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. (7) TAVERNIER, Voyage de Perse, liv. 3. chap. 4.

which time probably the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another which at present obtains.

Second tradition  
about mount  
Ararat.

THE second opinion therefore places mount *Ararat* towards the middle of *Armenia*, near the river *Araxes*, or *Aras*, above 280 miles distant from *Al Judi* to the north east.

JEROM seems to be the first who hath given an account of this tradition: *Ararat*, says that father, is a champaign country, incredibly fertile, through which the *Araxes* flows, at the foot of mount *Taurus*, which extends so far. Wherefore by the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark rested, are not to be understood the mountains of *Armenia* in general, but the highest mountains of *Taurus*, which overlook the plains of *Ararat*<sup>1</sup>. These probably are the plains mentioned before, which gave name to the country. An author of the middle age observes, that near the city of *Naxuan* [*Nakb-chuwan*] are the mountains on which the ark rested, having the *Araxes* running at the foot of them<sup>2</sup>; and since that time all the travellers into those parts speak of no other mountain of *Ararat*.

THIS tradition would appear of equal antiquity with the former, could we be certain this was the high mountain *Baris*<sup>3</sup>, in the province of *Minyas* † in *Armenia*, to which, according to a tradition reported by *Nicholas of Damascus*<sup>4</sup>, many people in the time of a deluge fled for sanctuary; and upon the top of which a certain man struck with his vessel. As it is no new thing to find the same relicks in two different places at once, the same author also assures us, that several pieces of the timber of that vessel were to be seen on the mountain *Baris* a long time after it had landed there<sup>5</sup>; but this circumstance may be urged as an objection against *Baris* being the same with the last mentioned mountain, which is said to be inaccessible. However, at the foot of it they also shew a town called *Cemain*, which comes pretty near to *Sbenonab*<sup>6</sup>, signifying eight, the number of persons who came out of the ark, and, as the *Armenians* say, built it<sup>7</sup>.

Objections to it.

AN objection indeed has been started by a late traveller, which tends to overthrow both traditions: he says, he does not see where the dove could find an olive-branch, if the ark be supposed to have rested on any of the mountains of *Armenia*, for the olive is not found thereabouts<sup>8</sup>; nor (we are told) in any part of *Asia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one single place near *Casbin*<sup>9</sup> in *Persia*. However, it seems to have been otherwise antiently, for the scripture mentions *Affyria* as a land of oil-olive<sup>10</sup>; and we are told, that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia*<sup>11</sup>. Another has observed, that this mountain is so pointed at the top, that he could not easily conceive how the waters of the deluge could withdraw quick enough, just when the ark was over it, so as to leave it on so narrow a space<sup>12</sup>.

Called Masis by  
the Armenians.

BUT the *Armenians* are not to be convinced by any arguments that this is not the very mountain on which the ark rested; they call it *Masis*<sup>13</sup>, and derive the name from *Amasia*<sup>14</sup>, the third successor of *Haskb*<sup>15</sup>, the founder of their nation. The *Turks*

<sup>1</sup> HIERONYM. in Esai. 37. <sup>2</sup> RUBRUQUIS de Tartaris, c. 48. <sup>3</sup> Apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. <sup>5</sup> נַחֲשׁוֹן. <sup>6</sup> Vid. RUBRUQUIS, ubi supra. <sup>7</sup> P. TOURNEFORT's Voyages, lett. 76. <sup>8</sup> TAVERNIER Voyage de Tunquin, p. 181. <sup>9</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 32. <sup>10</sup> STRABO, l. 11. p. 800. <sup>11</sup> POULLET, Nouv. relat. du Levant, part 1. c. 10. p. 132. <sup>12</sup> RUBRUQ. TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. GOL. Not. ad Alfrag. p. 237. <sup>13</sup> MOSES CHOREN. p. 47.

\* *Bochart* (8) supposes *Baris*, in the *Armenian* tongue, to be the same with ἀροῤῥίσιον, the descent or going forth, as we are told that nation called the place where *Noah* came down from the ark (9); and has found an *Arabic* word of that signification something like it; but we doubt much whether he could find an *Armenian* one: *բարձր* *bardsr*, signifies high in that tongue, and might be given to this mountain on account of its height; but this is only conjecture. Others tell us *Baris*, in the *Egyptian* language, signifies a sort of a ship (10), and therefore think the name has some reference to the ark; and that the same may be alluded to in the names of the temple of *Baris*, and the mountains *Imbar* and *Nibar* in that neighbourhood (11) (though their situation be very uncertain) as well as the *Lubar* of *Epiphanius* (12).

† Some will have *Minyas* to be written *Mihyas* (13); but the first seems to be the true reading, since we find *Minni* joined with *Ararat* in scripture (14). Sir *Isaac Newton* makes one name of *Ararat* *Minni* (15): and perhaps *Armenia* is only a contraction or compound of *Har* and *Minni*, which signifies the mountain, or mountainous country of *Minni*; though the *Armenians* themselves derive the name from *Aram*, one of their kings (16).

‡ This etymology overthrows *Chardin's* *Armenian* derivation from *Mis*, or *Misbeck*, the son of *Japhet*, whom he says that nation consider as their founder; and his *Persian* derivation from *Aziz*, an *Arabic* word signifying dear or beloved (17); which last, however, might have been an epithet of this mountain, since a traveller calls it *Ajfe* *Mjis*.

(8) *Phaleg*. l. 1. c. 3. (9) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. EUSEB. de locis Hebr. ex interpr. Hieron. (10) HERODOT. Enterp. HESYCH. (11) STRABO, l. 11. p. 799, 803. (12) Vid. FULLER. Miscell. Sacr. l. 1. c. 4. (13) VOESIUS apud

*Berkel*. in Steph. voce Μισίας. (14) Jerem. li. 27. (15) Chronol. p. 323. (16) MOSES CHOREN. Hist. Arm. p. 49. (17) CHARDIN, Voyage en Perse, tom. I. p. 157. LUCAS, voyage 1. tom. II. chap. 2.

a name it *Agri dagh*, that is, *the heavy or great mountain*\*, and *Parmak daghi*, or the *mountain of the finger*, in allusion to its appearance\*†: it stands about twelve leagues to the east [or rather south-east] of *Errvan*\* and of *Ejmiadzin*, or the *three churches*, (from which last it is two short days journey) four leagues from the *Aras*‡, and ten to the north-west of *Nackebuvan*†. Here we must observe a mistake of the modern as well as ancient geographers, who have placed this mountain several degrees more to the west than it ought to be. This error of theirs hath misled many historians, and made them look for *Ararat* somewhere else, since they could not reconcile the situation which the maps give it, with scripture. Sir *Walter Raleigh* set the example to our *English* historians, and rests the ark not upon the mountains of *Armenia*, but some of those between *Persia*, *Tartary*, and *India*: he takes the mountains of *Ararat* in a more extended sense than either the ancient traditions or scripture will allow; and to serve his turn, supposes the mountains of *Caucasus*, towards *Brittania* and *Scythia*, to be part of a branch of *Taurus*, which in its way through *Asia* crossed *Armenia*‡; but for this there does not appear the least authority from the observations of travellers in those countries. However, his opinion hath been followed by some of our latest writers‡; not considering, perhaps, that Sir *Walter* took his notion from *Goropius Becanus*, one of the most fanciful authors that ever wrote; and that this last was led into it by the beforementioned mistake of the geographers†.

MOUNT *Mafis* is encompassed by several petty hills, on the tops of which are found many ruins, thought to have been the buildings of the first men, who feared for a time to descend into the plains‡. It stands by itself in form of a sugar-loaf, in the midst of one of the greatest plains that is to be seen‡, detached as it were from the other mountains of *Armenia*, which make a long chain‡. It consists of two hills‡; the lesser is the more sharp and pointed‡; the higher, which is that of the ark, lies north-west of it‡, and raises its head far above the neighbouring mountains‡. It seems so high and big, that when the air is clear it does not appear to be above two leagues from *Errvan*‡, (whence one writer, deceived by the sight, computes the distance but at one league‡) and may be seen four or five days journey off‡. Yet travellers agree that the height of it is not extraordinary‡: one thinks he hath passed a part of *Caucasus* which was higher‡; and another says it is not above twice as high as mount *Valerian*, near *Paris*‡: they therefore impute its being visible so far off to its lonely situation in a vast plain‡, and upon the most elevated part of the country, without any mountains before it to obstruct the view‡. As for the snow with which, according to all accounts, it is per-

*Description of mount Mafis.*

\* CARTWRIGHT'S Travels, p. 33. CHARDIN, Voy. en Perse, tom. I. p. 157. TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. † D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. p. 404. ‡ CHARDIN, ubi supra. † TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. ‡ Idem, ibid. ‡ RALEIGH'S Hist. of the world, book I. ch. 7. § 10. ‡ SHUCKFORD'S Connect. vol. I. p. 98, 103. ‡ CARTWRIGHT, or the Preacher's Travels, p. 30, 31. ‡ TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. ‡ TAVERNIER, ubi supra. ‡ POULLET, p. 131. RUBRUQUIS, ubi supra. ‡ TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. ‡ NEWBERRY in Purchas, part 2. p. 1417. ‡ TAVERNIER, ubi supra. ‡ Idem, p. 130. TAVERNIER, ubi supra. ‡ CHARDIN, ubi supra. ‡ POULLET, ubi supra. ‡ RUBRUQUIS, NEWBERRY, & POULLET, ubi supra. ‡ CHARDIN, ubi supra. ‡ POULLET, ubi supra. ‡ TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. ‡ POULLET, ubi supra.

*Mafis* (18), which perhaps he mistook for *Aziz Mafis*. Other travellers write it *Messis Saur* (19), and *Mafisufar* (20), and say it signifies the *mountain of the ark*; but this is also a mistake: for though the *Armenians* call a mountain *Sar*, yet *Mafis* does not signify an ark. They should have written *Mafis Sar*, which signifies no more than mount *Mafis*: but faults of this kind in travellers are numberless, they being seldom acquainted with the language of the countries they visit.

From *Mafis* doubtless the ancients made their *Mons Mafius*, the situation of which they have delivered with as much uncertainty as the moderns (21).

\* Perhaps our author mistook this for another mountain so called by the *Turks*, which stands near the *Caspian* sea, between *Niasabad* and *Sbamakbi*, and seems to deserve the name better (22).

† It is said the memorial of the ark's resting here is preserved in the name of this city, *Nak* signifying

in *Armenian* a *ship*, and *Shivan*, *rested* (23). But this seems to be an etymology no better grounded than those above-mentioned; the *Persians* saying it was named *Nakka/b jeban*, from the great numbers of painters settled there: for the *Persians* call one of that profession (by an *Arabic* word) نقاش *Nakka/b*; and in *Armenian* also նակսբ բնաս *Nak/benar*, is a painter, and նակսբել *nak/bel*, to paint.

‡ This author, among other out-of-the-way conceits, holds the mountain *Parapanisus* or *Paropamisus* (a branch of *Taurus*, not of *Caucasus*) to be *Ararat*. He imagines that the place first inhabited after the flood was *Margiana*, a province of *Persia*, from whence those colonies came with *Nimrod*, which built *Babel*: his reason for this opinion is, because they went from the east (24) to the plain of *Shinuar*; whereas *Armenia* (says he) bears somewhat westward from thence (25).

(18) NEWBERRY in Purchas, part 2. p. 1417.  
(19) CARTWRIGHT, ubi supra. TAVERNIER'S Voyage, liv. 1. chap. 4.  
(20) GEMELL. Voyages, tom. II. book 1. chap. 2.  
(21) Vid. CELLARIUS Geogr.

Antiq. vol. II. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 232. (22) Vid. OLEARIVS'S Travels, l. 1. c. 5. (23) TAVERNIER, ubi supra. (24) Gen. xi. 2. (25) GOROPHIUS BECANUS Indo-Scythian, p. 473.

petually



petually covered from the middle upwards \* (as it is often with clouds during two or a three months of the year \*) we are told that is no rule to judge of the height by, since the lowest mountains in those countries, passed with the same ease as the plains, are covered with snow †, which even in the hottest summer lies on the least hills in *Armenia* ‡, as it does on those small ones surrounding *Ararat* §.

Fables of the Armenians concerning it.

THE *Armenian* monks tell a thousand idle stories concerning the ark, the whole ¶, or a part of which, they pretend is still to be seen on the top of the mountains †; something always appearing there black, which they imagine to be the ark ‡, though at the same time they affirm none ever was, nor can get there §; those who have attempted to ascend the hill out of zeal, or otherwise, having been punished, or at least brought back again by angels at night to the place they set out from in the day, to prevent their approaching that vessel †, as happened, they say, to a monk of *Ejmiadzin*, afterwards bishop of *Nisibin*, called *James*; though G O D at length so far complied with his desires, as to send an angel to him with a piece of the ark, who bid him, at the same time, not fatigue himself in vainly endeavouring to ascend the mountain, for that G O D had prohibited the access to the top of it ‡, and would not suffer men to pull in pieces a vessel which had saved so many creatures ¶. But if they are asked whether they have any relicks of the ark, they gravely answer, that it still lies buried in the vast heaps of snow †; which indeed is the charm that hinders the ascent ‡, as one *Armenian* author confesses †, and is sufficient to defend the ark without the help of an angel. Yet a certain missionary conceits, that the earthly paradise still remains in some agreeable ¶ plain of this mountain, which G O D preserves from heat and cold, and where the prophets *Enoch* and *Elias* enjoy a thousand sorts of delights, and are to eat of the tree of life till the end of the world ‡. Indeed the plain under the mount might be allowed its claim to the terrestrial paradise, was it to be decided by the beauty and delightfulness of the situation.

WITHOUT doubt the *Armenian* priests would be glad to produce better credentials in behalf of their tradition; accordingly, they sometimes tell travellers the said monk had been at the top of *Ararat* ‡. The *Armenian* patriarch informed *Tournefort*, that G O D had favoured one saint with the sight of the ark itself †. And *Rubruquis* was assured by a bishop, that the beforementioned piece of the ark [brought to *James*] d was in their church †; and the *Copts* shew part of a beam of that vessel in theirs at old *Cairo* in *Egypt* †. What credit ought to be given to these venerable testimonies, will best appear from the account *Tournefort* has left us of his attempt to climb this mountain ‡, in which having spent a whole day with infinite fatigue, he was obliged, by the

\* TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, &c. ubi supra.    † TAVERNIER, ubi supra.  
 ‡ POULLET, ubi supra.    § TOURNEFORT, ubi supra.    ¶ CARTWRIGHT, ubi supra.  
 b POULLET, CHARDIN, ubi supra.    c CARTWRIGHT, ubi supra.    d HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. 1. cap. 9.  
 e RUBRUQUIS, CARTWRIGHT, CHARDIN, &c. ubi supra.    f CARTWRIGHT, p. 34. POULLET & CHARDIN, ubi supra.    g RUBRUQUIS, CHARDIN & TOURNEFORT, ubi supra. P. PHILIPPE Voy. 1. Tom. II. c. 2.    h TOURNEFORT, ubi supra.    i Ibid.    k Vid. CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, POULLET, LUCAS, &c. ubi supra.    l HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. 1. cap. 9.  
 m P. PHILIPPE, ubi supra.    n NEWBERRY, ubi supra.    o TOURNEFORT, ubi supra.    p RUBRUQUIS, ubi supra.    q DE BRUYN Voyage au Levant, Vol. I. c. 35. p. 190.

\* "We began, says that author (1), to ascend "mount *Ararat* about two o'clock in the afternoon, but not without difficulty. We were forced to climb up in loose sand, where we saw nothing but some *Juniper* and *Goats-thorn*. This mountain is one of the most sad and disagreeable sights upon earth; there are neither trees nor shrubs upon it, nor any convents of religious. *Struys* would have done us a favour, if he had told us where the *Anchorites* he mentions resided; for the people of the country do not remember to have heard there ever were in this mountain either *Armenian* monks or *Carmelites*: all the monasteries are in the plain. I do not believe the place is inhabitable in any other part, because the whole soil of *Ararat* is loose, or covered with snow; it seems too as if this mountain waited continually. From the top of a great abyss, opposite to the village [of *Akurlu* in the road from *Erivan*] from whence we came, there continually fall down rocks of a blackish hard stone, which make a terrible noise. There are no li-

ving animals but at the bottom, and towards the middle of the mountain. They who occupy the first region, are poor shepherds and scabby flocks, among which one finds some partridges: the second region is possessed by crows and tygers, which passed by us not without giving fear. All the rest of the mountain, that is, the half of it, has been covered with snow ever since the ark rested there, and these snows are covered half the year with very thick clouds. That which is yet more inconvenient and troublesome in this mountain is, that the snow which is melted, runs into the abyss by a vast number of sources, which one cannot come at, and which are as foul as the waters of a land-flood in the greatest storm. All these sources form the stream which runs by *Akurlu*, and which never becomes clear. They drink mud there all the year; but we found it more delicious than the best wine: it is always cold as ice, and has no muddy taste. Notwithstanding the amazement this frightful solitude cast us into, we endeavoured to find the

(1) *In loco super. citat.*

a snow and intense cold, to return without accomplishing his design, though it was then in the middle of summer †.

" pretended monastery, and enquired whether there  
" were any religious shut up in caverns. The no-  
" tion they have in the country, that the ark rested  
" here, and the veneration all the *Armenians* have  
" for this mountain (for they kiss the earth so soon  
" as they see it, and repeat certain prayers, after  
" having made the sign of the cross) have made  
" many imagine it must be filled with religious; and  
" *Struys* is not the only person who has told the  
" publick so. However, they assured us there was  
" only one forsaken convent at the foot of the gulph;  
" that there was no fountain throughout the whole  
" mount, only the stream of the abyss, which we  
" could not come at to drink, but near that con-  
" vent; and that we could not go in a whole day  
" to the snow, and down again to the bottom of  
" the abyss; that the shepherds often lost their way,  
" and we might judge what a miserable place it  
" was, from the necessity they were under to dig  
" the earth from time to time to find a spring of  
" water for themselves and their flocks; and that it  
" would be to no purpose to ascend higher in search  
" of plants, because we should only find rocks  
" hinging over our heads, and heaped one upon  
" another.

" After this we began to travel towards the first  
" range of rocks, with one bottle of water: but  
" notwithstanding we had made pitchers of our  
" bellies, in two hours time they were quite dried  
" up; and water shook in a bottle is a very disagree-  
" able sort of drink: our only hope therefore was to  
" come at the snow, and eat some of it to quench  
" our thirst. It must be acknowledged, that the  
" sight is very much deceived, when we stand at  
" the bottom, and guess at the height of a mountain,  
" and especially when it must be ascended through  
" sand as troublesome as the *Syrtes of Africa*. It is  
" impossible to take one firm step upon the sand of  
" mount *Ararat*; in many places, instead of ascend-  
" ing, we were obliged to go back again down to  
" the middle of the mountain; and in order to con-  
" tinue our course, to wind sometimes to the right,  
" and sometimes to the left. When we met with  
" any *Moose-ear* which was too short to brouze, it  
" made our boots as smooth as glass, and so slippery,  
" we were forced to stand still.

" To avoid the sand, which fatigued us intol-  
" erably, we took our way to the great rocks  
" heaped one on another. We pass under them  
" as through caverns, wherein we are sheltered  
" from all the injuries of the weather, except the  
" cold, which we felt there very sensibly, and  
" served a little to allay our thirst. We were  
" obliged to leave this place quickly, lest we should  
" get a pleurisy; and came into a very troublesome  
" way, full of stones, and were forced to leap from  
" one stone to another. We came about noon to a  
" place more pleasing, for it seemed as if we were  
" ready to take hold of the snow with our teeth.  
" But our joy lasted not long; for what we had  
" taken for snow was only a chalk rock, which  
" hid from our sight a track of land about two  
" hours journey distant from the snow, and which  
" seemed to us to have a new kind of pavement,  
" not of little flints, but small pieces of stone  
" broken off by the frost, and whose edges cut like  
" flints. We kept in very good order: we assured  
" our guides that we would go no farther than  
" a heap of snow, which appeared scarce bigger  
" than a cake; but when we came to it, we found  
" the heap was above thirty paces in diameter.  
" We every one of us eat more or less, as we  
" had a mind; and by agreement resolved to ad-

" vance no farther. This snow was above four  
" foot thick; and being frozen hard, we took a  
" great piece to fill our bottle. It cannot be ima-  
" gined how much the eating of snow revives and  
" fortifies: we descended therefore from the snow  
" with a wonderful vigour, which was not of long  
" duration; for we came to sands which lay behind  
" the abyss, and were full as troublesome as the  
" former. When we endeavoured to slide along,  
" half our bodies were buried; besides, we could  
" not keep the direct way, but were obliged to go  
" to the left to come to the edge of the abyss, of  
" which we had a mind to take a nearer view.  
" And indeed it is a most frightful sight; to look  
" on the horrible precipices ever so little, will make  
" the head turn round. The noise made by a vast  
" number of crows, who are continually flying  
" from one side to the other, has something in it  
" very frightful. To form an idea of this place,  
" you must imagine one of the highest mountains in  
" the world opening its bosom, only to shew the  
" most horrid spectacle that can be thought of. All  
" the precipices are perpendicular, and the extremi-  
" ties are rough and blackish, as if a smoke came  
" out of the sides and smuted them. About six  
" o'clock in the afternoon we found ourselves quite  
" tired out and spent. However, at length ob-  
" serving a place covered with *Moose-ear*, whose  
" declivity seemed to favour our descent, that is  
" to say, the way *Noah* took to the bottom of the  
" mountain, we ran thither in haste, and then far  
" down to rest ourselves, and found there more  
" plants than we had all the journey besides:  
" and what pleased us mighty well, was, that  
" our guides shewed from thence, but at a great  
" distance, the monastery whither we were to go  
" to quench our thirst. We laid ourselves on our  
" backs, and slid down for an hour together upon  
" this green plat, and so passed on very agreeably,  
" and much faster than we could have gone on  
" our legs. The night and our thirst were a  
" kind of spurs to us, and caused us to make  
" the greater speed. We continued therefore to  
" slide in this manner as long as the way would  
" suffer us, and when we met with small flint  
" stones which hurt our shoulders, we turned and  
" slid on our bellies, or went backwards on all  
" four. Thus by degrees we gained the monastery;  
" but so disordered and fatigued by our manner of  
" travelling, that we were not able to move hand  
" or foot. To our great misfortune also we found  
" there neither wine nor water, so were forced to  
" send to the river, the descent to which was near  
" a quarter of a league downright, and the way very  
" rugged."

† Yet, if you will believe a certain *Dutch* tra-  
veller (1), these difficulties may be surmounted; for  
he assures us, he went five days journey up mount  
*Ararat*, to see a *Romish* hermit: that he passed  
through three regions of clouds; the first dark and  
thick, the next cold and full of snow, and the third  
colder still: that he advanced five miles every day;  
and when he came to the place where the hermit  
had his cell, he breathed a very serene and temperate  
air: that the hermit told him, he had perceived nei-  
ther wind nor rain all the twenty-five years he had  
dwelt there; and that on the top of the mountain  
there still reigned a greater tranquility, whereby the  
ark was preserved uncorrupted. He farther pre-  
tends, that the hermit gave him a cross made out of  
the wood of the ark, together with a certificate, a  
formal copy of which the author has given in his  
sham relation.

(1) *STRUYS's Voyages, chap. 17.*

THE situation of *Ararat*, whether it be mount *Mafis*, or the mountain of *Cardu*, is a very convenient for the journey of the sons of *Noah* from thence to *Shinaar*, the distance not being very great, and the descent easy, especially from the latter, into the plains of *Mesopotamia*, of which *Shinaar* is a part. We discover plainly through the *Mosaic* history, a neighbourhood between the land of *Eden*, where man was created; that of *Ararat*, where the remains of mankind were saved; and that of *Shinaar*, where they fixed the centre of their plantations. And certainly it was more natural it should be so, than to separate those scenes at such a distance from each other, as some have done.

C H A P. II.

The general History from the DELUGE to the Birth of ABRAHAM.

SECT. I.

The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of Abraham from Haran stated.

PURSUANT to our intended method, before we proceed to the postdiluvian history, we shall settle the chronology of this first period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjusted only from the records of *Moses*.

THIS is one of the most difficult periods to settle in all chronology; not only because we have no assistance therein from profane history, but also on account of the great diversity between the several copies of the *Mosaic* writings. It is a great misfortune that there should be any uncertainty with regard to the times next after the flood. For the planting of the world, the forming of societies and governments, the rise of arts and sciences, and the beginning of states and monarchies, falling within these limits, nothing could have been more serviceable to history than a fixed and uniform chronology of these early ages: whereas authors being divided in their judgments about the authenticity of the several copies, have every one chosen to follow that which agreed best with his own notions or hypothesis; whereby they have so perplexed and confounded all transactions, both sacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the history thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

HOWEVER, it is no small satisfaction, that the great differences between the several copies end here; and that being once got below the birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain series of time, about which chronologers are more generally agreed; the variety of the several copies making a difference of but a few years, not several ages, as we find the difference arises to in this period: for the better exhibiting of which, we have inserted the following tables, adjusted in the same form with those we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

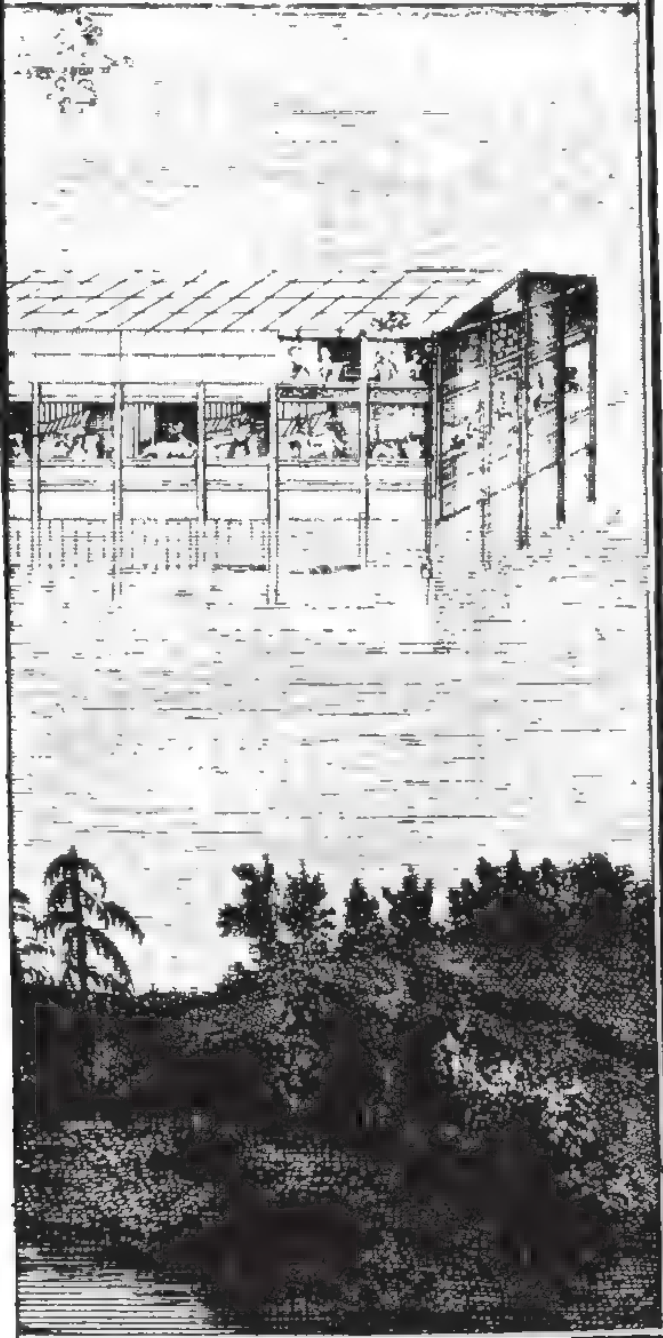
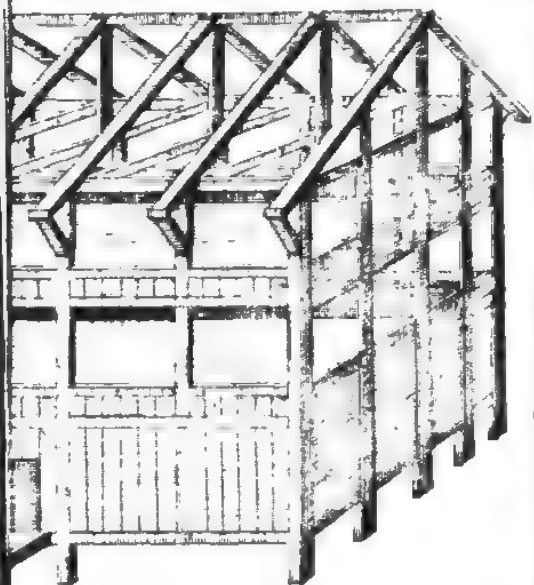
A TABLE of the Years of the postdiluvian Patriarchs, to the Birth of Abraham.

	Their Ages at their Son's Birth.				Years they lived after their Son's Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Jos.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
<i>Shem</i> after the flood	2	2	2	2	500	500	500	600	600	600
<i>Arphaxad</i> - - -	35	35	135	135	403	303	430	438	438	565
<i>Cainan</i> - - - - -	0	0	0	130	0	0	330	0	0	460
<i>Salah</i> - - - - -	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
<i>Eber</i> - - - - -	34	134	134	134	430	270	370	464	404	504
<i>Phaleg</i> - - - - -	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	339
<i>Ren</i> - - - - -	32	132	132	132	207	107	207	239	239	339
<i>Serug</i> - - - - -	30	130	130	130	200	100	200	230	230	330
<i>Nabor</i> - - - - -	29	29	79	79	119	69	129	148	148	208
<i>Terah</i> - - - - -	130	70	130	130	75	75	75	205	205	205
Sum to <i>Abraham's</i> birth - - - - }	352	792	1002	1132						

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Years of Abraham, 5



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*A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the postdiluvian Patriarchs to the Call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Hebrew.*

	Years of the Flood,	Yrs of Noah,	Yrs of Shem,	Yrs of Arphaxad,	Years of Salah,	Years of Eber,	Years of Peleg,	Years of Reu,	Years of Serug,	Years of Nabor,	Years of Terab,	Years of Abraham,
The flood,	0	600	98	35	0	34	30	32	30	29	70	18
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100	65	0	64	64	62	62	61	118	45
Salah born,	37	637	135	100	35	99	99	97	97	96	147	75
Eber born,	67	667	165	135	65	134	134	132	132	131	197	120
Peleg born. Confusion of tongues, and dispersion of mankind,	101	701	199	165	99	164	164	162	162	161	227	145
Reu born,	131	731	229	199	129	194	194	192	192	191	257	175
Serug born,	163	763	261	229	161	226	226	224	224	223	287	200
Nabor born,	193	793	291	259	191	256	256	254	254	253	317	230
Terab born,	222	822	320	288	220	285	285	283	283	282	347	260
Haran born,	292	892	390	358	288	353	353	351	351	350	417	330
Peleg dies,	340	940	438	338	303	368	368	366	366	365	437	350
Nabor dies,	341	941	439	339	304	369	369	367	367	366	438	351
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	313	378	378	376	376	375	447	360
Abraham born,	352		450	350	315	380	380	378	378	377	449	362
Reu dies,	370		468	368	333	398	398	396	396	395	467	380
Serug dies,	393		491	391	356	421	421	419	419	418	487	400
Terab dies, and Abraham is called from Haran,	427		525	425	390	455	455	453	453	452	521	430

*A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the postdiluvian Patriarchs to the Call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Septuagint.*

	Years of the Flood,	Yrs of Noah,	Yrs of Shem,	Yrs of Arphaxad,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Salah,	Years of Eber,	Years of Peleg,	Years of Reu,	Years of Serug,	Years of Nabor,	Years of Terab,	Years of Abraham,
The flood,	0	600	98	35	0	0	105	134	130	130	130	130	55
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100	65	0	0	107	136	132	132	132	132	57
Cainan born,	137	737	235	135	130	0	130	136	132	132	132	132	59
Salah born,	267	867	365	265	213	0	130	136	132	132	132	132	61
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	213	0	130	136	132	132	132	132	63
Eber born,	397		495	395	260	0	130	136	132	132	132	132	65
Shem dies,	502		600	500	365	0	130	136	132	132	132	132	67
Peleg born. Confusion of tongues, and dispersion of mankind,	531			529	394	264	134	136	132	132	132	132	69
Arphaxad dies,	567			565	430	330	170	136	132	132	132	132	71
Cainan dies,	597				460	360	200	136	132	132	132	132	73
Reu born,	661					394	264	130	130	130	130	130	75
Salah dies,	727					460	330	196	130	130	130	130	77
Serug born,	793						396	262	132	132	132	132	79
Peleg dies,	870						473	339	209	132	132	132	81
Eber dies,	901						504		240	108	130	130	83
Nabor born,	923								262	130	130	130	85
Reu dies,	1000								339	207	130	130	87
Terab born,	1002									209	130	130	89
Serug dies,	1123									330	200	130	91
Abraham born,	1132										209	130	93
Terab dies, and Abraham is called from Haran,	1207										284	205	75



■ THE call of *Abraham*, where the period ends, is by some reckoned five years sooner, when he left *Ur*; but this will not agree with scripture, as shall be shewn when we come to settle the next period.

THERE are some variations between the present copies of the *Septuagint*; but as most of them relate to the length of some of the patriarchs lives, a circumstance not very material, and which makes no difference in the computation, we shall pass them by, and only observe, that some copies place the birth of *Arphaxad* twelve years after the flood, which will encrease the total of this period ten years; and that some make the age of *Nahor*, at the birth of *Terah*, 179\*.

b WE have chosen to follow the readings of the *Alexandrian* manuscript; according to which, the only difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan* in this period, is 130 years given to *Cainan*, who is added between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, but is to be found neither in the *Hebrew* nor the *Samaritan*, nor in the chronology of those times, given us, from the *Septuagint* itself, by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*†: which circumstances we look upon as sufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithstanding his name is inserted in *St. Luke*‡; which may easily have happened, by its being added from some erroneous copies of the *Septuagint*, and first, as is most probable, put in the margin, though it has since crept into the text.

c THE difference between the *Hebrew* reckoning and the *Samaritan* in this period is very considerable, being no less than 650 years, in which the *Hebrew* is defective, and in all probability has been corrupted. We reserve for another place the examination of the authenticity of the various copies of the *Pentateuch*; at present we shall make use of some arguments, drawn from reason, to shew that the *Samaritan* is to be preferred to the *Hebrew*.

d IN the first place, this period seems much too short, according to the *Hebrew*, for the historical facts belonging thereto. We shall shew, when we come to speak of the dispersion, how inconsistent it is in all respects with that transaction, and to what extremes it hath driven those who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, to place the birth of *Peleg*, when that dispersion happened, at no greater distance from the flood than 101 years; and how improbable it is, that in the space of 427 years, the world should be in such an improved state, as it appears to have been in the time of *Abraham*, when cities were built, kingdoms erected, and monarchs extended their dominion even from *Persia* to *Canaan*: but we shall confine ourselves at present to some other observations, arising from the consequences of the *Hebrew* numbers, which we shall give in the words of a learned writer§.

1. IT is not probable, that the seven first Patriarchs after the flood, who lived 300 and 400 years, should beget at thirty, or thereabouts, as the present *Hebrew* is; and yet the following Patriarchs, who did not live half so long, should not beget their first-born till double the age: *Terah* at seventy, *Abraham* at eighty seven, *Isaac* at sixty, *Jacob* at eighty four, *Levi Kohath* and *Anram* at about sixty each of them; for from the birth of *Levi* to the birth of *Moses* the son of *Anram*, were about 180 years.

2. † IT is not probable, that *Noah*, who lived 600 years before the flood,

\* Vid. EUSEB. Chron. Grec. p. 9.

† Luke iii. 36.

‡ Dr. WILLS, in his Appendix to his learned Discourse of the chronology of Josephus.

§ Father *Petron*, following the present copies of *Josephus*, places the birth of *Terah* in the 129th year of *Nahor*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*, and the amended number of *Josephus*, with the addition only of 100 years; and thus the total of this period will be 1257 (1). But afterwards taking in the 10 years, added as above, between the flood and the birth of *Arphaxad*, he in his second computation makes the whole 1267.

† In this paragraph we have accommodated Dr. *Wills's* reasoning to our own table of the *Hebrew* chronology, differing somewhat from his, which follows the shorter calculation, making *Abraham* born in the seventieth year of *Terah*, and consequently placing his birth sixty years earlier, that is, in the year of the flood 192, whereby there happens some variation between our calculations, in comparing the

years of the deaths of the patriarchs together; and as we have not brought in *Joktan* with his sons, any more than *Peleg*, into the first dispersion, we have omitted the third reason urged by the Doctor against the *Hebrew* numbers. However, for the reader's satisfaction, we shall subjoin them both, by way of note, in his own words.

Secondly, says that author, It is not probable, that *Noah*, who lived 600 years before the flood, should see ten generations succeed each other after the flood, and live till the fifty eighth Year of *Abraham*; that *Shem* should see nine generations after him successively die; and live many years after the death of *Abraham*, the ninth person lineally descended from him, who yet died in a good old age, an old man (2); that *Sala* should outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragan*, *Lamech* (3), *Nahor*,

(1) See his *Antiq. des temps retablee*, p. 61. the printer, for *Seneg*.

(2) Gen. xxv. 8.

(3) A mistake of

should see nine generations succeed each other after the flood, and live till the 128<sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup> year of *Terah*, within two years of *Abraham's* birth; that *Arphaxad* should outlive *Peleg*, *Reu*, *Serug*, *Nabor* and *Terah*, for five generations lineally descended from him. And what is more strange, that *Shem* should survive *Arphaxad*, and see eight generations after him successively die; and live till the fiftieth year of *Isaac*, within fifteen years of *Abraham's* death; that *Eber* should outlive *Abraham* himself, the seventh in descent from him, though *Abraham* dies in a good old age, an old man<sup>d</sup>. Thus the great ancestors, which in course of nature ought to die first, die last; by reducing the standard of the length of human life too fast, for the shortness of the space allowed from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*. And hence, among other absurd consequences which follow from this chronology, occasion was given to that notion of the *Jews*, followed still by many modern writers, that *Melchizedeck* was *Shem*. <sup>b</sup>

## SECT. II.

### The History of Noah after the Flood, and of his descendants to Abraham.

Year of the  
Flood, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 2997.  
Noah comes  
out of the ark.  
The precepts  
given him by  
God.

**T**HE time of *Noah's* going forth of the ark, is fixed in scripture <sup>a</sup> to have been on the first day of the six hundred and first year of his age<sup>\*</sup>. The first thing he did upon his landing, was to build an altar, and offer a burnt sacrifice, of every clean beast, and every clean fowl<sup>†</sup>. <sup>†</sup> GOD having accepted the sacrifice, blessed *Noah*, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permission to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground; however, he forbade him to eat the blood of animals, or to shed that of Man; ordering him to punish manslaughter with death, and to people the world as fast as he could<sup>‡</sup>.

It is not to be thought that these three injunctions contained all that was obligatory on *Noah* and his posterity, till the promulgation of the law at *Sinai*; there being nothing here required of his duty towards GOD, the whole consisting in moral precepts: but we are to consider them either as explanatory of, or additional to the Laws which *Noah* had received in common with the rest of the Antediluvians, and which were derived from *Adam*. The permission to eat flesh, now first explicitly given, seems to intimate, that it was not allowed before the flood; but to avoid repetitions, we refer the reader to what we have already said on that subject<sup>h</sup>.

THE Rabbins pretend that GOD gave to *Noah*, and his sons, certain general precepts, which, according to them, contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently; and for the non-observance of which, the *Gentiles* themselves have been punished by GOD<sup>i</sup>. These precepts enjoined, 1. To abstain from idolatry. 2. From

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxv. 8.

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. viii. 13.

<sup>†</sup> Gen. viii. 20.

<sup>‡</sup> Chap. ix. 1—7.

<sup>h</sup> Chap. 1. §. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. SELDEN de jure nat. & gent. lib. I. cap. ult. CALMET, dict. art. Noachides.

*Nabor*, *Terah*, and *Abraham*, for six generations lineally descended from him; and even the last of them lived to be an old man: that *Heber* should outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragan*, *Lamech* (4), *Nabor*, *Terah*, *Abraham* and *Isaac*, seven successive generations that descended from him, and yet *Abraham* and *Isaac* should both live to be old men (5).

Thirdly, It is not possible that *Joktan* should have thirteen sons when *Phaleg* was born, at the division of tongues, if *Phaleg* was born in the thirty-fourth Year of *Heber*, as it is in the *Hebrew*; and to fancy *Phaleg* first called so at the time of his death, is ridiculous, and expressly contrary to *Josephus*. At the division of tongues, we are told, that *Mizraim*, *Canaan*, *Sidon*, *Elam*, *Abyss*, *Aram*, &c. gave names to countries, and

yet they died before *Phaleg*. *Shem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, &c. according to the *Hebrew*, were alive when GOD instituted circumcision; and yet none of them ordered to be circumcised, which was then the sign of being in covenant with GOD.

<sup>\*</sup> The *Mohammedans* will have it, that *Noah* quitted the ark the tenth day of *Moharram*, which is the first month of their year; and that he instituted the fast, observed by them on that Day, which they call *Ashura*, in commemoration of his deliverance (6).

<sup>†</sup> Some Rabbins pretend *Shem* offered the sacrifice, *Noah* being rendered unqualified for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lion (7).

(4) *Serug*.

(5) Gen. xxxv. 29.

(7) SHALSEL. Hakkab. p. 7.

(6) D'HERB. Bibl. orient. p. 676.

a blasphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From Theft. 6. To institute judges to maintain those laws. And, 7. To abstain from eating the flesh of any animal, cut off while the animal was living; which last precept was supposed to be intended by the words, *the flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat*<sup>a</sup>. This barbarity some pagans are said to have practised<sup>1</sup>. From the time of *Moses*, the *Jews* would not suffer a stranger to live among them, unless he observed the Precepts of the *Noachide*, and never gave quarter in battle to any who were ignorant of them.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997.

b MAIMONIDES<sup>a</sup> says, the six first precepts were given to *Adam*, and the seventh to *Noah*. To these some Rabbins add others: as the prohibition to draw out the blood of any living creature to drink<sup>a</sup>; to maim animals<sup>a</sup>; to use magick and sorcery<sup>a</sup>; to couple animals, and graft trees with different kinds<sup>a</sup>. But what calls the antiquity of these precepts in question, is, that there is no mention made of them, neither in scripture, nor in *Onkelos*, nor in *Josephus*, nor in *Philo*; and that neither *Jerom*, nor *Origen*, nor any of the antient fathers, appear to have known any thing of them.

c BISHOP Cumberland, who likewise justly suspects the veracity of the Rabbins, thinks the patriarchal laws are to be searched for in the scripture; and accordingly in a particular treatise on that subject<sup>a</sup>, he has shewn from thence, that the patriarchs, long before the law was delivered to *Moses*, carefully observed the principal precepts, as well towards GOD as towards man, so as to fulfil the decalogue; moved thereto either by the same promises, or fear of the same judgments and punishments which were afterwards pronounced by the *Mosaical* law<sup>a</sup>.

GOD farther made a covenant with *Noah*<sup>a</sup>, never to drown the world again; God assures promising, as a token thereof, for the future, to set his bow in the clouds, when it rained. This seems to have been done to take away *Noah's* apprehensions, who, according to *Josephus*, sacrificed to appease GOD's wrath, fearing an anniversary deluge; for which supposition that historian has been censured somewhat too severely<sup>a</sup>.

Noah the world should not perish by a second deluge.

d NOAH being come down from the mountain, applied himself to husbandry, and planted a vineyard<sup>a</sup>; but the eastern authors<sup>a</sup> make this the work of his Sons. However, *Noah* having drank of the wine to excess, lay carelessly uncovered in his tent; which his son *Ham* perceiving, called in his brothers *Shem* and *Japhet*, to behold the posture their father was in: but they, out of a sense of duty and modesty, took a garment, and going backwards, covered *Noah* with it; for which, when he came to know of what had passed, he blessed them, and cursed *Ham* in his posterity, who were to be servants to their brethren<sup>a</sup>.

Noah becomes an husband-man.

c THE *Armenians* have a tradition, that *Noah*, after quitting the ark, went and settled at *Erivan*, about twelve leagues from *Ararat*, and that it was there he planted the vineyard, in a place where they still make excellent wine<sup>a</sup>. According to *Tavernier*, *Nakshivan*, which is three leagues distant from *Ararat*, was the place where *Noah* went to dwell; and he adds, that it is reported to be the oldest city in the world. Another tradition of the country will have the village of *Cemain*, abovementioned, to be the place where *Noah* and his Sons fixed their first habitation<sup>a</sup>. But this is to be understood of the places where these towns were afterwards built; for it is not likely they began to build towns so early, much less that the deluge left them standing, if there had been any there before; and the scripture says *Noah* was in his tent when *Ham* surprized him in wine.

Where first he settled.

f HOWEVER, this tradition, so far as it relates to *Noah's* settling in the country near the mountain where the ark rested, seems more probable than a notion lately advanced by some men of learning<sup>a</sup>, that *Noah* left his three sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, in some little time, and with his younger issue travelled to *China*, where he lived before the deluge, and that he was the first king of that country, whom the *Chinese* call

Noah not Fo hi.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. ix. 4. <sup>1</sup> ARNOS. cont. Gent. lib. 5. See before, p. 87. in the notes. <sup>a</sup> YAD HAZZAKAH, Sepher melakim. c. 9. <sup>a</sup> Rab. CHEVINA. <sup>a</sup> R. CHIDEA. <sup>a</sup> R. SIMON. <sup>a</sup> R. ELIEZER. <sup>a</sup> De legibus patriarcharum, printed in his Origines gentium antiquiss. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. chap. 5. <sup>a</sup> Gen. ix. 11, 17. <sup>a</sup> JOSEPH. ANT. l. 1. c. 3. <sup>a</sup> HIEDEG. Hist. patriar. Exercit. 19. 3. <sup>a</sup> Gen. ix. 20. <sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. p. 43. <sup>a</sup> Gen. ix. 21—27. <sup>a</sup> CALMET Dict. suppl. p. 63. <sup>a</sup> See before, chap. i. §. 8. <sup>a</sup> Dr. ALLIX, in his Reflections upon the books of the holy scripture, p. 112. Mr. WHISTON, in his Chronol. of the old Test. &c. in his new theory of the earth, and his essay for restoring the true text, &c. Mr. SHUCKFORD, in his connection; and Mr. BADFORD, in his Scripture chronology.



Year of the  
Flood, 1.  
Year before  
Christ, 2997.

Year of the  
Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.

Noah dies.

*Fo hi*\*; it seeming more agreeable to reason, as well as scripture, to conclude that *Noah* continued with his posterity till his death, and that, after quitting the ark, they dwelt somewhere near the mountain where it rested, which was in *Armenia*; and that they did not remove till such time as they are mentioned in scripture to have begun their journey towards *Shinaar*<sup>c</sup>.

*Noah* died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the orientals, was buried in *Mesopotamia*, where they shew his sepulchre in a castle near a monastery called *Dair abunah*, that is, *the monastery of*

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xi. 2.

\* This opinion (much more reasonable than that of *Hornius*, who will have *Fo hi* to be *Adam* (1), though the *Chinese* (2) expressly make a different person the first man, whom they call *Puon kn*) depends on the following observations:

1. The *Chinese* histories say, *Fo hi* had no father (3); which agrees well enough with *Noah*, because the memory of his father might be lost in the deluge, and so give occasion to this fable, that he had no father at all.

2. The same histories affirm, that *Fo hi's* mother conceived him as she was encompassed with a rainbow (4); which seems an imperfect tradition concerning the first appearance of the rainbow to *Noah* after the flood.

3. The character and appellation of *Fo hi*, among the *Chinese*, agrees with what the scriptures affirm of *Noah*.—*Fo hi*, says *Le Compté*, the first emperor of *China*, carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme spirit of heaven and earth. For this reason some called him *Pao hi*, that is, oblation (5). *Noah*, says *Moses*, took into the ark of every clean beast by sevens, of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and his female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth (6). And after the flood, *Noah* builded an ark unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar (7).

4. The *Chinese* histories affirm, that *Fo hi* settled in the province of *Stensi*, which is the most north-west province of *China* (8), and very near to mount *Caucasus*, upon which (according to an opinion we have taken notice of) the ark rested, and from which *Noah* must descend to go thence into *China*. In favour of this opinion, it is also further observed,

5. That the *Mosaic* history, as it is perfectly silent in relation to the peopling of *China* at the dispersion, confining itself within the bounds of the then known world; so it says little or nothing of *Noah* after the flood: which seems to be an intimation, that *Noah* had no share in the subsequent actions related in the sacred history; and so, by a fair consequence, might be in *China*, a region out of the compass of the known world.

6. That this is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition of the sudden disappearing of *Xisuthrus* or *Noah*, his wife and daughter, and the *Pilot*, on their coming out of the ark.

7. That the *Chinese* language and writing are so entirely different from those among us, introduced by the confusion of *Babel*, that they cannot well be derived from thence.

8. That the dispersion beginning from *Babylon*, so remote a country as *China*, could not be so soon

reached and peopled, as the prodigious number of its inhabitants at present shew it to have been; and therefore they could not be of so late an original.

9. That the learned sciences seem to have been antiently much better known in *China* than in these parts of the world; their government and constitution much firmer and more lasting than ours; their most antient histories more authentic and certain than ours, (excepting those of more than human original:) all which things would make one ready to imagine, that as it is probable *Noah* might be much more wise and learned than any of his sons; so all those settlements, laws and traditions, which are derived from him, are remarkable effects and testimonies of the same (9).

10. And principally that the reign of *Fo hi*, according to the most rational and exact account hitherto given of the *Chinese* chronology, coincides with the time of *Noah* (10); and that the length of the reigns and lives of *Fo hi* and his first successors greatly corresponds with the duration of the lives of men in the same ages recorded in scripture (11).

But as this opinion is conjectural only, so several objections might be made to it. As,

1. That it is improbable, if *Noah* was *Fo hi*, that the *Chinese* annals should make no mention of so extraordinary an event as the deluge; which they are so far from having recorded, that *Couplet* (12) expressly makes it an error in those who imagine they have.

2. The uncertainty of the *Chinese* writers themselves, as to the history of *Fo hi* and his next successors; some doubting whether there was ever such a man as *Fo hi*, and others rejecting both him and his successor *Shin nungh*, and beginning with *Hwangh ti* the third king: wherefore *Couplet* leaves them out of the succession of *Chinese* monarchs; and that not without reason, since *Fo hi* is said to have had the body of a serpent, and *Shin nungh* the head of an ox (13.)

3. *Moses's* account of the dispersion seems most evidently to relate to all mankind without exception, who he supposes were collected together in the plain of *Shinaar*; as will hereafter be more particularly evinced. And if this be admitted, *Noah* having no other issue than his three sons named by *Moses*, consequently could not reign in *China*.

This matter, however, we may be probably able to decide, when we come to treat professedly of the *Chinese* affairs; wherein we expect some assistance from the new history of *China*, lately published in *Italy*, written by a *Mandarin*, who, as we are told, has made it appear, that there are no genuine records to be found in that empire, earlier than two or three centuries before *CHRIST*.

(1) *Arca Noe*, p. 14.  
*Hist. Sinicam*, lib. I. p. 13.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 21.  
(4) *Ibid.* p. 313.

(5) *LE COMPTÉ*

*Memoirs of China*, p. 313.

*Couplet's* pream. p. 38, 76.

(6) *Genes.* vii. 2, 3, 9.

(7) *Chap.* viii. 20.

(8) *Vid.* MARTINII

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *LE COMPTÉ*

*Couplet's* Con-

fucius pream. p. 38, 76.

(11) *Genes.* vii.

(12) *MAR-*

*TINIUS ubi supra.*

*Couplet Chronol. in Fo hi.*

(9) *Vid.* WHISTON'S *Theory*, Book II. p. 137.

*Etc.* (10) *Vid.* his *short View of the Chronol.*

*Etc.* p. 61. (11) *Ibid.* p. 64, 65.

(12) *Præf.*

*ad Tab. Chronol.* p. 3, 8.

(13) *Vid.* *Ibid.*

*TINIUS ubi supra.*

*Couplet Chronol. in Fo hi.*

(9) *Vid.* WHISTON'S *Theory*, Book II. p. 137.

*Etc.* (10) *Vid.* his *short View of the Chronol.*

*Etc.* p. 61. (11) *Ibid.* p. 64, 65.

(12) *Præf.*

*ad Tab. Chronol.* p. 3, 8.

(13) *Vid.* *Ibid.*

*p. 3, 10, 11.*

a *our Father* <sup>d</sup>. According to a common opinion, before his death, he divided the world among his three sons, giving to *Shem Asia*, to *Ham Africa*, and to *Japhet Europe*: but this has not the least foundation in scripture. Year of the Flood, 350.  
Year before Christ, 2648.

ALL mankind, at least that we have any account of in scripture, being the issue of these three sons of *Noah*, who were saved with him in the ark <sup>e</sup>; before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to give a genealogical table of their descendants, in the same manner as we have already given one of the antediluvian patriarchs. (See the plate.) *The genealogy of the descendants of Noah.*

THE chief design of *Moses* being to record what particularly concerned the *Israelites*, he has given us the genealogy of the line of *Shem* only entire. As to the descendants of the other two sons of *Noah*, his design seems to have been to bring them down as low as the dispersion, in order to leave to posterity the names of the first founders of nations, and there to dismiss them; for it is observable, that though several particulars are mentioned in the course of the *Mosaic* history relating to the *Canaanites*, as the people with whom the *Israelites* were more particularly to be concerned, yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of *Ham* no farther; on the contrary, it is shorter than those of *Mizraim* and *Cush* by one generation.

NOR indeed is there much to be collected from scripture relating to the descendants of *Shem*, more than their names and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of *Peleg*, till we come to *Terah* the father of *Abraham*, with whom this period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the sacred history, the *Jews* have taken care, according to their usual custom, plentifully to supply with the figments and conceits of their *Rabbins*, a set of men who have surpassed all others in the art of trifling, and inventing absurdities. On the other hand, the christian chronologers and historians of all ages who have endeavoured to connect the profane history with the sacred, within this period, would furnish us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their several opinions and conjectures; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is confident he has settled: we shall therefore take notice of but a very few of them; such contradictory sentiments serving only to shew the uncertainty of the whole, and consequently to confound, rather than to instruct the reader.

d WE shall not in this place touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the posterity of *Noah*, which we have reserved for the subject of a distinct section, that we might not mix the history of that remarkable transaction with other matters. We have also thought proper to change the order of the table, and give an account of the line of *Ham* before that of *Shem*, which will more naturally close this section.

THOUGH *Japhet* is generally placed last in scripture <sup>e</sup>, yet he is expressly said to be the eldest <sup>f</sup>; and that he was so is farther evident, for that *Noah* was five hundred years old when he begat his three sons <sup>g</sup>, according to which manner of expression in scripture, one of them was born in his five hundredth year: but it could not be *Shem*; for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of *Arphaxad*, two years after the flood <sup>h</sup>, when *Noah* was six hundred and three years old, it follows that he himself was born in the five hundred and third year of *Noah*: nor could it be *Ham*, for he is expressly said to have been the younger <sup>i</sup>; so that *Japhet* was the eldest of the three sons. *Of Japhet and his posterity.*

JAPHET being affected, as well as *Shem*, with filial concern at *Ham*'s exposing their father's nakedness, assisted to cover him, and had a blessing given him by *Noah* on that occasion. GOD, says that patriarch, *shall enlarge Japhet*, and he shall dwell in the tents of *Shem*; and *Canaan shall be his servant* <sup>k</sup>. The first part of this prophecy has been verified in the great possessions which fell to the descendants of *Japhet*; as all *Europe*, and all the northern part of *Asia*, the lesser *Asia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, the coun-

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. p. 677. <sup>e</sup> Genes. v. 32. vi. 10. vii. 13. ix. 18. x. 1. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. x. 21.  
<sup>g</sup> Ibid. v. 32. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xi. 10. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. ix. 24. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. ix. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Besides these three sons, some of the *Jewish* writers give *Noah* a fourth, named *Tam*, who, as they pretend, taught astronomy, and instructed *Nimrod* in the art of war (1). The *Mohammedan* traditions, generally speaking, allow *Noah* but three sons, yet an *Arab* writer mentions another, named *Majestun* (2), who was probably born after the flood.

<sup>†</sup> This is the sense of the passage according to the *English* version and the *Septuagint*; but the

*Vulgate* translates it, *Shem the elder brother of Japhet*. The former interpretation must be the true one, for the reason immediately given; though the original and the oriental versions are capable of either sense.

<sup>‡</sup> *Noah* here alludes to the name of *Japhet*, the root of which signifies *to enlarge*; though others translate the passage, *GOD shall persuade Japhet*, that is, bring him over in time to the true worship, figured by the tents of *Shem*.

(1) JUCHASIN. p. 135.  
*Art. Nouv.*

(2) ABDALRAHMAN EBN ABDALLAH apud d'Herbel. *Biblioth. Orient.*

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Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.

tries between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, as well as those lying to the north of them, <sup>a</sup> *Grand Tartary*, with *India* and *China*. Add to these the *European* colonies in *America* of late ages; for, as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are descended. The next part of the prophecy, that *he should dwell in the tents of Shem*, seems to refer to the overthrow of the *Assyrian* empire by the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, as well as to the conquests of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Asia*; alluded to afterwards by *Balaam* in his prophecy<sup>1</sup>, that *ships should come from the coasts of Chittim*, and *should afflict Ashur*, and *should afflict Eber*: that is, they should afflict the *Assyrians*, and those who dwelt beyond the river *Euphrates* \*. And at the same time that they dwelt in the tents of *Shem*, they made the posterity of *Ham* their servants, by subduing the *Babylonians*, the *Canaanites*, <sup>b</sup> the *Egyptians*, and other nations descended from that branch, wherein was the completion of the last part of *Noah's* prophecy.

THIS prophecy seems also to have regard to the state of the true religion, confining it to the race of *Shem* for a certain period of time, ending perhaps at the coming of the MESSIAH <sup>c</sup>; for since CHRIST the knowledge of the true GOD hath spread considerably more among the descendants of *Japhet*, than it did before amongst those of *Shem*, having till then been confined almost wholly to the nation of the *Jews*, however the *Mohammedans* rank *Japhet* himself among the prophets \*.

THE septuagint version, followed by *Eusebius* and others <sup>c</sup>, mention an eighth son of *Japhet*, named *Elixa*, who is neither in the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee* †.

No particulars being mentioned in scripture with reference to the descendants of *Japhet*, farther than what relates to their founding of nations, we must refer the reader for what may be said of them under that head, to our account of the migrations.

Of Ham and  
his posterity.

THAT *Ham* was the youngest son of *Noah* †, though generally placed the second of the three, is evident by his being expressly called the youngest: he may have been born within a few years after *Shem*, but as neither his age nor the time of his birth are mentioned, we can determine nothing concerning that point. However, one would be apt to imagine, from *Ham's* indiscretion as well as wickedness in discovering his father's nakedness, that when he committed that crime he was but a very young man, though he had children; he might probably be about fifty or threescore, an age scarce <sup>d</sup> equivalent in those days to eighteen now.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxiv. 24.    <sup>a</sup> See below.    \* Vid. D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Japhet*.    <sup>c</sup> EUSEB. CHRONIC. l. i. p. 8. CHRONIC. ALEXANDR. AUGUSTINUS.

\* The common opinion is, that by *Eber* in this place is to be understood the *Hebrews* or *Jews*; but a learned author has offered reasons which seem to prove the contrary. He observes, that to take it in that sense is repugnant to the design of the passage, and makes *Balaam* bless and curse the children of *Israel* in the same breath, by prophesying of their destruction (1): and therefore he will have it that *Eber* has not respect to persons, but to place, and signifies beyond the river (2); in which sense that word is often used in scripture (3). Upon this occasion the same author proposes to amend our translation of the above text (4) by reading it thus; and they shall go forth from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur, and shall afflict the other side of the river (5), that is, the countries beyond *Euphrates*. There seems to be no need of supposing the last and to be taken conjunctively, or the words following it to be a repetition, or explanatory of the first, as that writer thinks; for *Ashur*, strictly speaking, lay beyond the *Tigris*; neither in *Balaam's* time had the *Assyrian* empire extended itself westward so far as the *Euphrates*: and when that prophecy was to be fulfilled, *Ashur* was reduced to its primitive bounds, and in subjection to *Elam*, or the *Persians*; as were also the *Babylonians*, and the inhabitants of *Aram* or *Mesopotamia*, who we think are to be understood by *Eber*, or the other side of the river, that is, the *Euphrates*.

† The *Persian* historians give *Japhet* eleven sons, viz. 1. *Fin*, *Chin*, or *Sin*. 2. *Seklab*. 3. *Mamlijs*. 4. *Gomara*. 5. *Turk* (from whom this patriarch is surnamed *Abu'l Turk*, or the father of *Turk*) 6. *Khalaj*. 7. *Khorar*. 8. *Rus*. 9. *Suffan*. 10. *Glaz*. And, 11. *Taraj* (6). The *Tartarian* authors name but eight sons of *Japhet*, in this order; 1. *Turk*. 2. *Khorar* [*Akhar*]. 3. *Saklap*. 4. *Rus*. 5. *Maminakh*. 6. *Zwin* [*Fin*]. 7. *Kamar*. 8. *Tarib* (7). The former authors assert, that *Japhet* married his sons to their own sisters, before they departed to people their countries, to the end they might multiply the easier; and indeed it happened, that the eastern countries, and the greater part of the north, were first peopled.

‡ The *Hebrew* word חם *Ham* signifies hot, or heat, or sun-burnt. Though he is expressly said to be the younger, yet numbers of commentators, relying more upon the order wherein he is named, maintain that he was the second son of *Noah*; and to elude the force of the text, several of them pretend that it is not *Ham* himself, but *Canaan*, his son, who is here spoken of: others will have it, that *Ham* was called the younger, or the youngest, for no other reason but because his conduct was less prudent than that of his brothers (9). But such interpretations, if once admitted, will serve only to render the most clear expressions in scripture obscure.

(1) Vid. HYDE de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 56. (2) Vid. eund. ibid. p. 57. (3) Idem, ibid. p. 50, &c. (4) MIR KHOND & KHOND AMIR. See D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Japhet*. (7) See

ABU'LGAZI KHAN'S *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, vol. I. p. 6. (8) D'HERBELOT, *ubi supra*. (9) Vid. HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patriarch. Exercit.* 20. num. 4.

WHEN

- <sup>a</sup> WHEN *Noah* was acquainted with the irreverent action of *Ham*\*, he cursed him in a branch of his posterity; *Cursed*, says he, *be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren*<sup>†</sup>. This curse, if it be a curse ‡, being pronounced not against *Ham* the immediate transgressor, but against his son, who does not appear from the words of *Moses* to have been any way concerned in the crime, though some imagine he had a principal share in it§, hath occasioned several conjectures: some ¶ have believed, that *Noah* cursed *Canaan* because he could not well have cursed *Ham* himself, whom *God* had not long before blessed<sup>‡</sup>; others, more reasonably, think *Moses*'s chief intent in recording this prediction, was to raise the spirits of the *Israelites* then entering on a terrible war with the children of *Canaan*, by the assurance, that in consequence of the curse, that people were destined by *God* to be subdued by them<sup>¶</sup>: for the opinion of those who imagine all *Ham*'s race were here accursed, seems repugnant to the plain words of scripture, which confines the malediction to *Canaan* and his posterity, and also contrary to fact<sup>\*\*</sup>.

AMONG those who are for extending the curse to *Ham* and his other race, some have supposed another effect of it, not mentioned by *Moses*; that *Ham* became a black-moor, and communicated that colour to his descendants††: but this opinion is a mere chimera, as hath been formerly observed<sup>‡</sup>.

- <sup>c</sup> IN consequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers that he had seen his father's nakedness, *Ham* has been looked upon as the first introducer of wickedness after the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, some of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded solely upon this single passage. They have believed, seeing *Ham* could be guilty of so much indiscretion towards his father, that

<sup>†</sup> Gen. ix. 25. <sup>¶</sup> CHRYSOST. serm. 29. in Genes. <sup>‡</sup> Genes. ix. 1. <sup>§</sup> AUGUSTIN. quest. 17. in Genes. THEODORET in quest. 58. Genes. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. p. 411. BAYLE cited in the notes below. <sup>||</sup> Introd. p. 48. a.

\* If we enquire by what means *Noah* came to know that it was *Ham* who had discovered his nakedness, some *Rabins* answer, that he inferred so much from *Ham*'s past shameful behaviour, in profaning the ark by lying with his wife (10). Others say, that *Ham*, by looking on his father's shame, found extraordinary alterations in himself; his eyes became red, his hair and beard burnt, and his lips distorted; and he knew so little what he did, that he stripped himself stark naked, and walked about in that condition. *Noah* seeing all this, from thence concluded that it was *Ham* who had dishonoured him. Some say that he could not have known it otherwise than by revelation. St. Chrysostom's opinion is very rational; he believes, that *Noah* seeing himself covered with a garment which did not belong to him, asked the occasion of it, and learned from *Shem* and *Japhet* all that had passed (11).

† Mr. Bayle does not take this passage properly to contain a curse. He says, it is pretty strange that the scripture takes no notice of any thing being done by *Noah* to *Ham*: he observes, that there is not one word of censure passed upon *Ham*; that the patriarch was content to curse *Canaan* the son of *Ham*; and that this curse was nothing else but a prophecy of the victories which the descendants of *Shem* should obtain over the descendants of *Canaan* under *Joshua*, that is to say, seven or eight ages after the crime of *Ham* had been committed (12).

‡ The *Jews* pretend that *Canaan* was the person who first discovered the nakedness of *Noah*, with which he acquainted his father *Ham*, who made sport of the accident, and went and told it to his brothers *Shem* and *Japhet*; and that *Noah* awaking out of his sleep, cursed *Canaan*, because he was the first occasion of the scandal (13).

\*\* A learned author hath affirmed, that there hath never yet been a son of *Ham* who hath shaken a scepter over the head of *Japhet*; *Shem* hath subdued *Japhet*, and *Japhet* hath subdued *Shem*, but

*Ham* never subdued either (14). However, this must be a mistake, if there be any truth in what the *Egyptian* histories relate of the actions of *Sesostris* and some others of their kings, who conquered the greatest part of *Asia* and *Europe*; and consequently *Ham* may be said to have subdued both. Besides, we find the *Israelites* were long the slaves of *Ham*, or the *Egyptians*; and we see no reason why the shameful submission which *Rehoboam*, the son and successor of *Solomon*, made to *Sihon* the *Egyptian* Pharaoh (15), who, after taking all the strong cities of *Judah*, seems to have had *Jerusalem* delivered up to him without opposition, to be spoiled with the temple, may not be deemed a servitude; it being expressly said, the *Jews* should be his servants (16). *Ham* also appears to have encroached upon *Shem* very early, for he seems to have driven the *Semites* out of their first seats in *Shinar*; and every body knows the *Babylonians*, who were *Hamites*, had a considerable share in the destruction of the *Assyrian* empire. But a stronger instance than any of the preceding is, the *Babylonish* captivity, in which the *Jews* themselves were the sufferers. Nay, the very branch of *Canaan* seems to have had great success against *Japhet*, not only by the exploits of the *Carthaginians* (originally *Canaanites*) in *Italy*, but by their conquest of *Spain*.

†† This opinion has been entertained by several Christians as well as *Mohammedans*, though some of the latter account otherwise for men's different complexions (17). The *Arab* writers add, that *Noah* relenting at the sudden change in his son, prayed to *God* that his posterity might be created gently in their servitude; in consequence whereof the black slaves are not only in great request, but generally have great credit and power with their masters (18).

Some of the same authors pretend, that *Noah*'s curse was inflicted on *Ham* for his disobedience, because he would not come to prayers one morning when his father called him (19).

(10) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patriarch. tom. I. p. 409. (11) Vid. eund. ibid. (12) BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. (13) BERESHIT RABBA. §. 37. THEODORET. quest. 57. in Genes. (14) See

MOSES'S works, p. 358. (15) 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. 2, 9. (16) 2 Chron. xii. 5, 8. (17) Vid. Introd. p. 45. d. (18) D'HARBELE. Eibl. Orient. p. 245, & 677. (19) Ibid. p. 677.

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Year before  
Christ, 2648.

Year of the  
Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 1648.

he was a reprobate, who had committed all sorts of abominations. They take it for granted, that none but he and his posterity were concerned in the building of *Babel*, which they consider as a very wicked attempt \*. They make him the first propagator of idolatry after the flood †, and the inventor of magic, and relate many passages to that effect ‡. They pretend that he set a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark †. Nay, it has been imagined, that the crime which he committed against his father was infinitely more enormous than it is represented in scripture: some concluding that *Ham* castrated *Noah* \*\*; others, that he rendered him impotent by virtue of some magic charms †; others again, that he committed incest with his father's wife ††; whilst a fourth party accuse him of all sorts

\* See after.

\* Several instances of this the reader will find hereafter.

† *Ham* is held to have been the inventor of magic, so far only as that it was he who preserved and taught it to the descendants of *Noah*; for it is allowed it was not *Ham* who first invented this art, but the angels, who becoming enamoured of the women of the old world, taught it the antediluvians (1). They say, that *Ham* not daring to carry with him into the ark the books which treated of this subject, engraved the principal rules of the art upon plates of metal and hard stone, able to resist the waters of the deluge; which treasure he carefully hid, and after quitting the ark, went and took them from the place where he had deposited them (2). It is pretended that *Mizraim* learned of his father *Ham* all those abominable secrets; and that the pretenders to that science consider *Ham* as their first founder, and to have been the same with *Zerobstres*, and honour him as a god. The first author of this opinion seems to have been the counterfeiter *Clemens* (3).

‡ Though St. *Ambrose* and others conceive from the words of *Moses* that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time *Noah* and his family lived in the ark (4); nevertheless it is an opinion which has spread pretty much, that *Ham* did not observe continency on that occasion, but that his wife brought forth *Canaan* in the very ark (5).

\*\* Some Jewish doctors have asserted this, and pretend that what prompted *Ham* to so violent an act, was to prevent *Noah*'s having any more sons; as if he feared his share in the division of the world would be too small (6). Some grave authors have undertaken to refute this fancy very seriously, by these words of scripture: *Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him*. If he had performed, say they, upon his father so painful an operation as that of castrating must have been, *Noah* would not have slept till he was sober, but the anguish would quickly have awakened him, and he would have surprised the criminal in the very fact; nor would he have had any occasion to have asked who he was (7). From such conceits as these some have drawn arguments to prove that all the pagan gods were taken from the Jewish traditions. Thus they pretend that *Noah* is the *Saturn* and the *Uranus* of the pagans; and that the stories which are told of *Jupiter*'s castrating his father *Saturn*, and *Cronus* castrating his father *Uranus*, are borrowed from this notion of *Ham* (8).

Upon this occasion we are tempted to introduce a passage out of the Count *de Gabalis*. He supposes that *Noah*, after the deluge, gave up his wife *Vesta*

to the salamander *Oromafis*, prince of the fiery substances, and persuaded his three children to resign also their three wives to the princes of the three other elements (9). *Ham*, adds that author, rebelled against the counsel of *Noah*, and could not resist the charms of his wife; but his want of complaisance marked all his black posterity: the frightful complexion of the inhabitants of the torrid zone, is the punishment of the profane ardour of their father.—You believe, for instance, continues he, that the injury which *Ham* did his father, was the same as is literally expressed; but it was indeed a very different thing. *Noah* being come out of the ark, and seeing his wife *Vesta*'s beauty rather improved by the familiarity which she had with her gallant *Oromafis*, his love for her returned upon him. *Ham* fearing lest his father might yet people the world with children blacker than his *Ethiopians*, took his opportunity one day, when the good old man had got his dose of wine, and castrated him without mercy (10). We leave the reader to judge which notion is most agreeable to scripture, or becoming the gravity of a commentator, that of the *Jews*, or this of the Count *de Gabalis*.

\*† This imagination is taken from the spurious *Berosus*: he says that *Noah*, unable to bear the vicious courses of *Ham*, who particularly addicted himself to magic, became odious to this son; and the rather, because he shewed more tenderness for his other sons who were younger; and *Ham* finding an opportunity of revenge, did not let it slip: he grasped the genitals of his father, and muttered some words which rendered him impotent for ever after (11).

†† This is the sentiment of Mr. *Von der Hart*, professor of the oriental languages in the university of *Helmstadt*. He believes that the injury which that patriarch received from *Ham*, consisted in the infamous temerity which this brutish son had to lie either with his own mother, or at least with his step-mother. He proves this explanation by divers places of scripture, where the phrase to uncover the shame of a woman, signifies to lie with her. In the same places of scripture it is said, that the nakedness or shame of a woman, is the nakedness or shame of her husband; and by consequence, according to this way of expression, to have seen the nakedness of *Noah*, is a modest phrase, importing to have had to do with *Noah*'s wife. This author supposes, 1. That *Ham* watched his time for compassing his design, when *Noah* was asleep after his debauch. 2. That somebody having discovered the affair, went and gave the other two sons of *Noah* notice of it. 3. That they, filled with indignation at the horrid affront which

(1) See before, p. 82. in the notes. (2) CASSIAN. Collat. 8. c. 21. PSEUDO-BEROS. lib. 3. p. 80. apud BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. (3) Lib. 4. recognition. Apud BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 1. (4) AMEROS. de Noa & arca, c. 21. apud SALIAN. tom. 1. p. 290. (5) Vid. HEIDEGG. vol. 1.

p. 409. (6) Referente R. LEVI in Gen. cap. ix. apud SALIAN. tom. 1. p. 297. (7) SALIANUS, ibid. (8) Vid. BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Cham, Rem. D. (9) Emretiens sur les sciences secretes, p. 204. (10) Ibid. p. 206. (11) PSEUDO-BEROSUS, lib. 3. p. 80.



a of uncleanness (A). This character is very conformable with what we meet with in the antients concerning *Cronus*, with whom, among many others (B), *Ham* is supposed to have been the same. Year of the Flood, 250. Year before Christ, 2648.

If we may judge by the number of persons in the three generations of *Ham's* line mentioned by *Moses*\*, which exceeds the number of persons descended from both his brothers in the same degree, he must have had the most numerous issue of the three sons of *Noah*, and a greater part of the earth to his share. But though much mention is made of the latter posterity of *Ham* in the succeeding part of the *Jewish* history, *Moses* has recorded nothing relating to his first descendants, besides their names and some general circumstances, excepting *Canaan* and *Nimrod*.

b CANAAN (C) was the fourth son of *Ham*, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name placed in scripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the time of his birth, are mentioned by *Moses*: however, some will have it that he was born in the ark, and that because he was the fruit of an unseasonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already observed, that the curse given by *Noah* to *Canaan* was peculiar to this son of *Ham*, and does not seem to have extended to the rest of his brethren. And indeed the prophecy of *Noah*, that *Canaan* should be a servant of servants to his brethren, seems to have been wholly compleated in him. It was compleated with regard to *Skem*, not only in that a considerable part of the seven nations of the *Canaanites* were made slaves to the *Israelites* when they took possession of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enslaved by *Solomon*†; but also by the subsequent expeditions of the *Assyrians* and *Perhans*, who were both descended from *Skem*, and under whom the *Canaanites* suffered subjection as well as the *Israhelites*: not to mention the conquest of part of *Canaan* by the *Elamites*, or *Persians*, under *Cbedlaomer*‡, prior to them all. With regard to *Japhet*, we find a completion of the prophecy, in the successive conquests of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Palestine* and *Phanicia*, where the *Canaanites* were settled; but especially in the total subversion of the *Carthaginian* power by the *Romans*, besides some invasions of the northern nations, as the posterity of *Tkogarma* and *Magog*, wherein many of them probably were carried away captive.

d IT is believed that *Canaan* lived and died (D) in the country called after his name; where formerly they shewed his tomb, which was twenty five foot long, in a cave of the mountain of the *Leopards*, not far from *Jerusalem*§.

CANAAN seems to have been known to the antient heathens. *Sanckoniatho* expressly says *Chna* was the first *Phanician*, or the first who was called a *Phanician*¶. The scripture mentions nothing particular with respect to any of his sons, but the trans-

\* Genes. x. 6.

† 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9.

‡ Genes. xiv. 4, 7, 8, &c.

§ See CALMET

Dict. de la Bible Art. Canaan.

¶ Apud EUSEB. Prep. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 39.

which had been put upon the patriarch, repaired to the place as fast as they could, and having surpris'd their brother in the act, threw their garments over him and his accomplice. 4. That they gave an account to their father of all that they had seen. 5. That *Noah*, much enraged, ordered by his will, that *Canaan*, who was to be the issue of that incestuous commerce, should be wholly deprived of the inheritance (1). These hypotheses, says Mr. *Boyle* (2), are learned and ingenious; but if once it be suffered to suppose, that the narrations of *Moses* are so disguised, it may be feared that the same liberty will be taken with the history of the temptation, and of the fall of *Adam*, as some have dared to do.

(A) The reason of *Noah's* discarding *Ham*, seems not to have been so much on account of the personal injuries he had received from him, as his other immoralities. That unhappy man, it is pretended, not only taught that men should live as they did before the flood, and commit all sorts of incests, and something worse; but practis'd those abominable lessons himself. We chuse to express them in the words of the author. *At vero cum publice corrumpere mortale genus, afferens & se ipsa exequens, comprehendendum esset ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ab his*

*ejectus a Jano piissimo & castimonis atque pudicitia, refertissimo* (3).

(B) The history of *Cronus* from *Sanckoniatho*, whose account of him is the most full, will be given in the next section. *Marjham* thinks *Ham* is to be found in profane history under the names of *Hammon*, *Thamus*, *Thammuz*, *Adonis*, *Osiris*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Jupiter* and *Saturn* the second (4). The same author says, the *Hebrew* chronology requires that *Ham* should be the same with *Menes*, the first king of *Egypt*, whom almost all other authors make to be *Mizraim*, his second son (5).

(C) The *Hebrew* word is *כנען*, and not pronounced as we commonly do *Canaan*, making *Ca* the first syllable, but *Chenaan*, or rather *Chnaan*, the *Shewah* joining the *Ch* and *N* into one syllable, and so the *Yews* pronounce it; which reading brings the word nearer the *Chna* of *Sanckoniatho* and *Stephanus* (6): it signifies a merchant, or trader, as the *Canaanites* or *Phanicians* were.

(D) The *Mahammedans* are not uniform in their opinions concerning *Canaan*; some agreeing with the account given of him in scripture, and others affirming that he was born before the flood, and went not into the ark, but was drowned in the deluge, as hath been already observed (7).

(1) See the book entitled *Ephemeridum Philologicarum tonus*, in the *Leipic Journal* for October 1693. p. 466. (2) *Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. Rem. F.* (3) *PSEUDO-BAROEUS*, lib. 3. p. 80.

(4) *Canon. Chron.* p. 23, 30, 31, 32, 33. p. 23. (6) *De Urbib. in voce Xra.* (7) See chap. 1. sect. 1.

Year of the  
Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.  
Of Nimrod.

actions of the *Israelites*, with their descendants, make up a great part of the *Jewish* a history, and will be treated of in their proper place.

NIMROD was the sixth son of *Cush* (E), and in all appearance much younger than any of his brothers; for *Moses* mentions the sons of *Raamah*, his fourth brother, before he speaks of him. What the sacred historian says of him is short, and yet he says more of him than of any other of the posterity of *Noah*, till he comes to *Abraham*. He tells us, that *Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth*; that he was a mighty hunter before the LORD, even to a proverb; and that the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinaar*<sup>c</sup>.

FROM this account a great idea hath been conceived of his strength and valour. Some represent him as a giant<sup>d</sup> (F); all consider him as a great warrior. It is generally thought, that by the words *a mighty hunter*, is to be understood that he was a great tyrant; but some of the *Rabbins*<sup>e</sup> interpret those words favourably, saying, that *Nimrod* was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and strength for the chase, and that he offered to GOD the game which he took; and several of the moderns are of the opinion, that this passage is not to be understood of his tyrannical oppressions, or of hunting of men, but of beasts<sup>f</sup> (G). It must be owned that the phrase, *before the LORD*, may be taken in a favourable sense, and as a commendation of a person's good qualities; but in this place the generality of expositors understand it otherwise (H).

HUNTING must have been one of the most useful employments in the times just after the dispersion, when all countries were over-run with wild beasts, of which it was necessary they should be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing seemed more proper to procure a man esteem and honour in those ages, than his being an expert hunter, as *Nimrod* probably was. By that exercise we are told the ancient *Persians* fitted their kings for war and government<sup>g</sup>; and hunting is still, in many countries, considered as one part of a royal education.

THERE is nothing in the short history of *Nimrod* which carries the least air of reproach, except his name, which signifies a rebel (I); and that is the circumstance which seems to have occasioned the injurious opinions which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators being prepossessed in general, that the curse of *Noah* fell upon the posterity of *Ham*; and finding this prince stigmatized by his name, have interpreted every passage relating to him to his disadvantage. They represent him as a rebel against GOD, in persuading the descendants of *Noah* to disobey the divine command to disperse, and in setting them to build the tower of *Babel*, with an impious design of scaling heaven (K). They brand him as an ambitious usurper, and an insolent

<sup>c</sup> Gen. x. 8, 9, 10. <sup>d</sup> EUTYCH. Annal. p. 63. ARU'LFARAG. p. 12. <sup>e</sup> ABEN EZRA, KIMHI. See also GROT. <sup>f</sup> BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 12. PERIZON. Orig. Bib. cap. 12. p. 230. <sup>g</sup> Vid. ALNOPH. Cyroped. lib. 1.

(E) Some *Alchammedan* authors confound the genealogies of the sons of *Noah* at a strange rate. One of them says, that *Nimrod* was the son of *Canaan*, and brother of *Cush*, whom the *Persians* surname *Fil dendam*, that is, the elephant's tooth (1).

(F) The Hebrew word גִּבּוֹר *Gibbor*, which our version renders *a mighty one*, is by the *Septuagint* translated *a giant* (2).

(G) A writer of great authority in the East, has a singular notion, that *Nimrod* by hunting provided food for the builders of *Babel* (3).

(H) The phrase *before the LORD*, seems to be in itself perfectly indifferent, and made use of only by way of exaggeration; however, it being often introduced in scripture where wicked actions are mentioned, therefore, instead of *before the LORD*, St. *Austin* will have it to be rendered *against the LORD* (4); in which he is followed by several (5). The *Jerusalem Targum*, and that of *Ben Uzziel*, both take this character of *Nimrod* in an ill sense.

(I) This name is generally derived from מַרְדּוּ *marad*, to rebel; but if a composition may be allowed of, a more favourable etymology, and more agreeable to *Nimrod's* occupation, might be offered

from מַרְדּוּ *marad* a leopard, which may by a metonymy denote wild beasts in general, and מַרְדּוּ *marad* to fell or beat down, or מַרְדּוּ *marad* to subdue or take. The *Arabs* make *Nemrud*, the plural of which is *Nemaredab*, the same with מַרְדּוּ *marad*, a rebel. However, a certain *Persian* author, who makes *Nimrod* the same with *Cay Gaus*, a king of the second dynasty of *Persia*, gives the name a *Persian* derivation, as if it was *Nemurd*, that is, *immortal*; which appellation, he says, was given to him on account of his long reign of above 150 years (6). If the first of the three significations be the right, the name must have been given him by his enemies, not by his subjects (7). The *Greeks* write the name *Nembrod* and *Nembrodes*.

(K) An *Arab* author says, that *Nimrod* built this tower, that he might ascend to heaven to see *Abraham's God*, who had delivered him from the fiery furnace into which that tyrant had cast him. They worked at this building three years, and when *Nimrod* had gotten on the top of it, he wondered to see the heaven as far from him as it was before; but his astonishment encreased, when this tower, and another, which had been built for the same purpose, were

(1) The author of *Lobb al Tarawikh*, apud D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod*, p. 668. (2) Gen. x. 8. (3) ARU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dynast.* p. 12. (4) De civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 4. (5) JOH. SARISEUR. *Polycrat.* l. 1. p. 13, & l. 8. p. 559.

NIC. ABRAM, *Pharus V. T.* lib. 9. cap. 9. § 16. (6) The author of *Mefatih al Olum*, apud D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod*. (7) Vid. HYDE de rel. vet. *Persar.* p. 35.

a oppressor; and make him the author of the adoration of fire (L), of idolatrous worship given to men, and the first persecutor on the score of religion (M). On the other hand, some account him a virtuous prince, and so far from advising the building of *Babel*, that they say he left the country and went into *Assyria*, because he would not give his consent to it (N).

Year of the  
Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.

NIMROD is generally thought to have been the first king after the flood (O); though some authors, supposing a plantation, or dispersion prior to that of *Babel*, have made kings in several countries before him. *Mizraim* is supposed by many, who contend for the antiquity of the *Egyptian* monarchy, to have began his reign a good while earlier than *Nimrod*<sup>1</sup>; and others, from the uniformity of the languages spoken in *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Canaan*, affirm those countries to have been peopled before the confusion of tongues<sup>2</sup>.

b THE four cities (P) *Moses* gives to *Nimrod*, made a large kingdom in those early times, when few kings had more than one: only it must be observed, that possessions might at first have been large, and afterwards divided into several parcels; and *Nimrod* being the leader of a nation, we may suppose his subjects settled within those limits. Whether he became possessed of those cities by conquest, or otherwise, does not appear: it is most probable he did not build *Babel*, all the posterity of *Noah* seeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear that he built the other three, though the founding of them and many more, with other works, are attributed

<sup>1</sup> Vid. MARSH. Chron. Can. p. 18, 23.

<sup>2</sup> HORNIUS ad Sulpit. Sever. p. 21.

were successively overthrown. Still persisting in his design, he would be carried to heaven in a chest, born by four monstrous birds: but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force that made it shake; to which, as this writer imagines, alludes that passage in the *Koran*, though the stratagems of the impious make the mountains tremble (1).

*Nimrod*, by this disappointment, finding he could not make war with *God* in person, instead of acknowledging his power, proceeded to persecute those who adored any besides himself; but *God*, by dividing *Nimrod's* subjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who continued to adhere to him, by a cloud of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them.

Another author adds, that one of those gnats having entered into the nostril, or ear of *Nimrod*, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him such intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure some ease; and that he suffered this torture for the space of four hundred years, *God* being willing to punish, by one of the smallest of his creatures, him who insolently boasted himself to be the lord of all (2).

(L) The orientals make *Nimrod* the author of the sect of the *Magi*, or worshippers of fire; they tell us, that accidentally seeing fire rise out of the earth at a great distance from him in the east, he worshipped it, and appointed one *Andesham* to attend the fire there, and throw frankincense into it (3).

(M) The person persecuted by *Nimrod*, according to several *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Mohammedan* authors, was *Abraham*, who by the *Hebrew* chronology might have been his contemporary.

(N) *Jonathan ben Uzziel* paraphrases the passage (4) thus; *Nimrod* going out of that land, reigned in *Assyria*, because he would not come into the measures of those who were concerned in the division, therefore *God* gave him another country, where he built four other cities, viz. *Nineveh*, *Platashkarta*,

*Parioth*, and *Telsar*.

(O) The eastern writers make him not only the first king of *Babel*, but of all the world; and say he was the first who wore a crown, the model of which he took from the figure of one he had seen in the sky: for being pleased with the appearance, he sent immediately for an artist, and had a crown of gold cast in the same form, which he put upon his head; from whence his subjects took occasion to say, that it came down to him from heaven (5).

(P) We might be able to make some judgment concerning the extent of the first *Babylonish* kingdom, could we fix the situations of these four cities: but this is very difficult; all of them having been long since destroyed, and authors differing so much in opinions about them. There are even two traditions with regard to the ruins of *Babel*; some placing them at *Felugia*, a village on the *Euphrates*, about thirty six miles to the south-west of *Baghdad*, on the *Tigris*; others, about the same distance from *Felugia* southward, on the first of those rivers: how much more uncertain then must be the situation of the rest, which were towns not so famous, and whose ruins, if any remain, are seldom enquired after?

According to the eastern authors, *Erech*, or *Arach*, is *Hadas*, or *Edeffa* (6), called by the *Syrians* *Urhoi*, by the *Arabs* *Roka*, and by the inhabitants *Orsa*; *Accad*, or *Akhar*, as some write it, is *Nislin*; and *Calneh*, *Calanne*, or *Calya*, is *Ctesiphon*, or *Medain* (7); and if they are not mistaken, the distances of these cities from each other will give *Nimrod's* kingdom a great extent, as do some traditions concerning him (8); but the *Asiatics*, in many things relating to their own antiquities, are not to be relied on more than the *Europeans*. We are of opinion, the *Babylonian* kingdom, under *Nimrod*, was much more limited; and rather agree with those who believe *Erech* to have been a city of *Chaldea*, which from thence took its present *Arak* name of *Erak* (9). This seems to be the *Aracca* of *Ptolemy*, and *Aracca* of *Marcellinus*, who places it in *Susiana* (10). Neither can *Erech* be *Urhoi*, or *Edeffa*, in the opinion of those who hold *Ur* of the *Chaldees*

(1) Cap. 14. ver. 46.

(2) Vid. D'HERBELOT.

Bibl. Orient. Art. *Nimrod*.

(3) Vid. EUTYCH.

Annales, p. 63, 64. EBN AMID, p. 29.

(4) Gen.

x. 11.

(5) EBN AMID, p. 29. EUTYCH.

Annal. p. 63.

(6) Vid. Targum JONATHAN.

112 & Hierogl.

(7) EPHREM SYRUS

Comment. in Genes. ubi de *Nimrod*, apud ASSERMANI Bibl. Orient. tom. I. p. 26. ARULFARAO. p. 18.

(8) See THEVENOT'S Travels, Part II. Book 1. chap. 9, & 13.

(9) HYDE in notis ad Perisfol. Itinera Mundi, p. 64. D'HERBELOT Biblioth. Orient. Art. *Erac*.

(10) Lib. 23.

Year of the  
Flood, 250.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.

to him (Q). It may seem also a little strange, that *Nimrod* should be preferred to the a regal dignity, and enjoy the most cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs or heads of nations, even of the branch of *Ham*. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not assume the title of king till after his father *Cush's* death, who might have been settled there before him (R), and left him the sovereignty: but we incline to think, that he seized *Shinaar* from the descendants of *Shem*, driving out *Asbur*, who from thence went and founded *Nineveh* and other cities in *Assyria*.

Year before  
Christ, 2567.

THE scripture does not inform us when *Nimrod* began his reign (S). Some<sup>1</sup> date it before the dispersion; but such a conjecture does not seem to suit with the *Mosaic* history: for before the dispersion we read of no city but *Babel*, nor could there well be more while all mankind were yet in a body together; but when *Nimrod* assumed the regal title, there seem to have been other cities built, which shews it was a good while after the dispersion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, that is, in the year of the flood 431; and in all likelihood it should be placed rather later than earlier.

AUTHORS have taken a great deal of pains to find *Nimrod* in profane history: some have imagined him to be the same with *Belus*<sup>m</sup>, the founder of the *Babylonish* empire; others, with *Ninus*<sup>n</sup>, the founder of the *Assyrian* (T): some think him the same with *Erech*<sup>o</sup>, the first *Chaldean* king after the deluge<sup>o</sup>; and a fourth sort perceive a great resemblance between him and *Bacchus*, both in actions and name<sup>p</sup>. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers suppose *Nimrod* to have been *Zobak*, a *Persian* king of the first dynasty<sup>q</sup>; others, *Cay Caus*, the second king of the second race<sup>r</sup>; and some of the *Jews* say he is the same with *Amraphel*, the king of *Shinaar*, in *Moses*<sup>s</sup>. But there is no certainty in these conjectures, nor have we any knowledge of his immediate successors (U).

THE scripture mentions nothing as to the death of *Nimrod*; but authors have taken care that such an essential circumstance in his history should not be wanting. Some of the *Rabbins* pretend he was slain by *Esau* (W), whom they make his contemporary.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. NIC. ABRAM, Pharus V. T. lib. 5. § 7. <sup>m</sup> PETAV. Doct. temp. l. 13. p. 283. <sup>n</sup> HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 43, 44. <sup>o</sup> SYNCCELL. p. 90. <sup>p</sup> Vid. CALMET Dict. de la Bible, Art. Nemrod. BENFORD Script. Chronol. p. 265, 266. <sup>q</sup> TARIKH MONTAKHAB apud D'HERBELOT, Art. Nimrod & Norh. <sup>r</sup> See before, p. 122, in the notes. <sup>s</sup> BEN UZZIEL, YAKHI, R. DAV GANZ in Zemach David.

*Chaldees* and *Uthoi* to be the same; for *Erech* and *U* are distinguished in scripture as two different cities. *Cahs* we admit to be *Grisphen*, or *Medain*, nearer either of the aforesaid ruins of *Babel* than is *Bagdad*; and as for *Acad*, we may suppose it to have been some city in the neighbourhood of the other three, long since ruined, and the memory of it lost: and thus will this early monarchy be reduced to such dimensions, as, in all probability, the first could not exceed.

(Q) *Abulfarag* says *Nimrod* built three of these cities, mentioned by *Moses*, viz. *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Cahs* (1), or *Cahs*. Others ascribe to him the building of *Babel*, *Nineveh*, *Resin*, and several other cities, among which was *Adherbijan* (2), in the *Persian* province of the same name. An *Arab* author mentions a city called *Takharat*, or *Takharan Sar*, where *Nimrod* coined money (3). Others write, that he dug several rivers in *Erak*, derived from *Euphrates*, of which that of *Cutha*, in the way [from *Babel*] to *Cutah* was one (4).

(R) A *Persian* author of great authority affirms, that *Cush*, or *Cutha* was king of the territory of *Babel*, and resided in *Erak*; and attributes to him the making of the river *Cutha* (5). Dr. *Hyde* places the original seat of *Cush* in the same country, which he calls the most ancient *Cush* (6); and says, that his posterity removing into *Arabia*, it thence took the name of *Cush* also (7).

(S) The *Arabs* say, that *Nimrod* reigned in *al Secwad*, that is, the black country; for so they call *Irak Arabi*, from the black tents of the *Sienite Arabs* scattered over the province (8). They suppose his father *Cush* resided at *Erac*, in the province of *Babel* (9); though *Babel* is generally thought, by christian authors, to have been the regal seat of *Nimrod*.

(T) Many have confounded the *Babylonian* and the *Assyrian* empire together, by mistaking the sense of the text (10), as if both of them had been founded by *Nimrod*; but this point will be discussed hereafter, when we come to speak of the foundation of the *Assyrian* empire.

(U) Some christian and *Mohammedan* historians call the most ancient kings of the *Babylonians*, who succeeded *Nimrod*, *Nimaredab*, that is, *Nimrod's* (11). Some of the latter say he reigned in *al Secwad* 400 years; and that he was succeeded by a prince of the same family, called *Nabat Ebn Koud*, who ruled 100 years (12); and some of the former tell us, that *Pokhtanser* [or rather *Bakht Nasr*, which is the name the orientals give to *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*] was of his race (13).

(W) They tell the following story, as the occasion of this accident: that the coat which God made *Adam*, was with his body in the ark; and that when *Noah* and his sons quitted that vessel, *Ham* took it, by which means it afterwards fell to *Nimrod*, who putting it on, all kinds of beasts and birds came and fell down before him, as thinking him to excel in strength, and made him king over them, according to the text, where he is said to be a mighty hunter before the Lord. *Esau* seeing the coat upon *Nimrod*, conceived so strong a desire for it, that he slew him, and stripped him of it (14).

(1) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dyn.* p. 18. (2) EUTYCH. *Annal.* p. 64. (3) SAFIODDIN. apud HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 74. (4) AHMED EBN YUSEF, apud HYDE, *ibid.* p. 71, 73. (5) AL TABARI in cap. de morte Sarz, apud HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 40. (6) HYDE *ibid.* p. 38. (7) *Id.* *ibid.* p. 37. (8) ABU MOHAMMED

MUSTAFA apud HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 42, 43. (9) Vid. HYDE *ibid.* p. 40. (10) GEN. x. 11. (11) Vid. D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Nemrod. (12) ABU MOHAMMED MUSTAFA apud HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 42, 43. (13) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dyn.* p. 72. (14) ELIEZER Pirke, cap. 24.

There

- a There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of *Babel*, which was overthrown by tempestuous winds while *Nimrod* was in it\*. Others say, that as he led an army against *Abraham*, God sent a squadron of gnats, which destroyed most of them; and particularly *Nimrod*, whose brain was pierced by one of these insects\*.

Year of the Flood, 350.  
Year before Christ, 2648.  
Of Shem and his posterity to Abraham.

WE now come to the history of *Shem* and his posterity, which for convenience we have placed last, though he was the second son of *Noah* by birth, and by prerogative the eldest, the right of primogeniture seeming to have been lodged in him.

THE posterity of *Shem* are twice related by *Moses*. In the first place\* he only mentions the names of such of his descendants as were concerned in the first dispersion. In the other\*, he deduces the genealogy in the line of *Arphaxad* down to *Abraham*.

- b But the sacred writer having been more brief in the history of these patriarchs, than in that of the branch of *Ham*, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their sons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more) for the rest we must have recourse to the traditions and conjectures of the *Jewish* and Christian writers, where we shall not want for matter.

*SHEM* was born ninety eight years before the flood; for two years after it, at the birth of *Arphaxad*, he was one hundred years old\*. We shall have given the reader all that is to be found in scripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he assisted his brother *Japhet* in covering the nakedness of their father\*, and shared in his blessing for so doing: *Blessed be the God of Shem, said Noah, and Canaan shall be his servant*†.

IT hath already been observed in what manner this prophecy was accomplished: but there is one thing peculiar in these words of *Noah*, which ought to be taken notice of; and that is, that he blest the God of *Shem*, and says nothing of that kind with regard to *Japhet*: by which circumstance is plainly intimated, that the knowledge and worship of the true God was to be found in the branch of *Shem*; and that though *Japhet* himself did at that time believe in the true God, yet his posterity should quickly fall away from the faith, and worship such gods as did not deserve to be blessed; and therefore *Noah*, who foresaw what would happen, suppressed that short chronology, in giving his blessing to *Japhet*. However, this prophecy seems to have no farther prospect than till the coming of the Messiah in the line of *Shem*, which was the prime prerogative of that patriarch; for since that time most of *Japhet's* posterity have received the knowledge of the true God.

- THE *Jews* suppose the tradition of theological truths to have passed from *Noah* to *Shem*, who communicated them to his children, by which means the true religion was preserved in the world. The *Rabbins* pretend that *Shem* was entrusted with the will of *Noah*, whereby he divided the earth among his three sons; that he went to school to *Methuselah* for threescore and eighteen years, and kept on himself, after the deluge, upon mount *Tabor*, where he taught morality; that he instructed *Abraham* in the ceremonies relating to sacrifices, which that patriarch afterwards observed. They say farther, that God gave him the spirit of prophecy a hundred years after the flood, and that he discharged the function of a prophet for the space of four hundred years, without reaping much fruit of his labour, mankind being become greatly corrupted. They attribute also to him the invention of astronomy, together with the manner of computing by months and years\*, and of intercalating the former, having learned these secrets from *Noah*†. Those who confound *Shem* with *Melchizedec* (X), ascribe to him the

\* ABU'LFARAG. Hist. Dyn. p. 12. \* HYDE de Rel. ver. Pers. p. 74. See before p. 125. in the notes.  
† Gen. x. 21. \* Gen. xi. 10. \* Ibid. † Gen. ix. 27. \* Gen. ix. 26. \* SCIP. SGAMBAT. Archiv. Vet. Test. lib. 1. p. 165. apud CALMET Dict. de la Bible, Art. Sem. † ELIZER Pirke, c. 8.

(X) The *Jews*, followed by many christian authors, ancient and modern, are of this opinion, which has nothing to countenance it in scripture: nor is it likely so eminent a patriarch would divest himself, as it were, of the sovereignty which he held over his own branch, to settle in *Canaan*, and become a petty prince within the dominions of another, who was to be his servant (1), namely *Ham*. The learned, who were of this opinion, have been led into it by adhering too strictly to the *Hebrew* computation (2), and perhaps looking on the tradition of the *Jews* as

some authority (3). Yet it is since the time of *Josephus*, who speaks of *Melchizedec* only as a *Canaanite* king (4), that they have made him the same with *Shem*; which seems to have been a notion altogether unknown to *St. Paul* (5). The oriental christians make *Melchizedec* the son of *Phaleg* (6); for the *Syriac* chronology, which is generally received among them, will not allow him to be the same with *Shem*. A learned *Syrian* author, who holds a middle opinion between them and the *Jews*, will have *Melchizedec* to be the son of this last mentioned patriarch (7).

(1) Gen. ix. 26. (2) CUMBERL. on Sancton. p. 47. (3) Id. ibid. p. 1-4. (4) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 11. (5) Heb. vii. 2. (6) EBN ASID

p. 13. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. (7) ABU'LFARAG. Hist. Dynast. p. 10.



Year of the  
Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.

109th *Psalm*, and a treatise of physic<sup>c</sup> (Y). Some make him to have been the first<sup>a</sup> king in the world, and to have founded three cities, one in each of the three parts of the earth known to the antients (Z).

THE *Eastern* writers say, that *Shem*, in pursuance of the directions of *Adam* and *Noah*<sup>d</sup>, together with *Melchizedec*, the son of *Phaleg*, took *Adam's* body out of the ark, and being conducted by an angel, carried it to mount *Calvary*, where they buried it: after which *Shem* constituting *Melchizedec* the priest of *God*, left him behind to attend at the sepulchre; and pretended on his return that he died by the way, and was buried<sup>e</sup>. Some say, *Shem* interred there no more than the skull of *Adam*, which had been given him by *Noah*<sup>f</sup>.

THOSE who seek to reconcile the heathen mythology with the *Mosaic* history, are greatly at a loss to find among the gods, or heroes, one who in name or character hath any resemblance to *Shem*; and therefore are reduced to that ridiculous shift of making him the god of hell (A).

SEEM having lived 502 years after the flood, died at the age of 600. He left five sons, *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud* and *Aram*<sup>g</sup>. The more moderate *Persian* historians say, their first king *Cayumarras* was a son of *Shem*<sup>h</sup>, meaning probably *Elam*, whom *Moses* makes the founder of that nation.

THE scripture has recorded no one action of any of these sons of *Shem*, except *Ashur*; and the passage relating to him is a very material one, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the *Assyrian* kingdom. This remarkable fact is related by *Moses* in these words; *Out of that land [namely Shinaar] went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rhoboth, and Calah<sup>i</sup>, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city<sup>k</sup>*. We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendered according to the marginal reading of our translation, *He went out into Assyria*; as if *Nimrod* was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense puts a manifest force upon the words. As to the epoch of this *Assyrian* kingdom, we suppose it might have been founded about the same time with that of *Babel*, that is, thirty years after the dispersion, in the year of the flood 431.

As to the situation of the cities built by *Ashur*, in order to determine the extent of this first *Assyrian* kingdom, we find ourselves more at a loss than we were with regard to those which composed the kingdom of *Babel*. However, we may venture to draw this inference, that as the number of cities, of which each monarchy consisted, was equal, so it is probable their dimensions were much the same; and that the other three cities lay at no great distance from *Nineveh*, whose situation has been in some measure preserved by tradition (B).

<sup>c</sup> SCIP. SGAMBAT. Archiv. V. T. lib. I. p. 164.  
AVID, p. 13. EURYCH. Annal. p. 30.  
D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Sam.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 80. in the notes.

<sup>e</sup> ERY

<sup>f</sup> See before, p. 80. in the notes.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. x. 22.

<sup>h</sup> Vid.

<sup>i</sup> Gen. x. 11.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. ver. 12.

(Y) The *Hebrew* manuscript of this book, we are told, is to be found in the elector of *Bavaria's* library (1).

(Z) These three cities are *Setta* [or *Centu*] a maritime town in *Africa* [on the coast of *Barbary*], *Salernum* in *Italy*, and *Salem* in *Judea* (2). Others say he only laid the foundations of [this last, supposing it to be] *Jerusalem* (3).

(A) As those authors, who fancy a resemblance between *Saturn* and *Noah*, have on account of the supposed similitude of names, made *Ham* *Jupiter*, and *Japhet* *Neptune*, *Shem* must of consequence be *Pluto* (4); but such an hypothesis, we think, is not for the honour of that patriarch, any more than another which supposes him to be *Typhon*: we should have been glad therefore to have known what reasons *Calmet* had to believe, that profane historians intend *Shem* by *Typhon*, whom he owns to have been a famous giant, or maleficent deity (5); and, indeed, was had in great detestation by the *Egyptians*, as a monster of wickedness, having embroiled the nation in a rebellious war, and murdered his brother *Osiris*.

(B) *Nimrod* is supposed to have stood on the east side of the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*, opposite to *Misul*; at least, the tradition of the country will have it so; but there are no ruins to be seen there, as there are at old *Babel* (6). Though a certain traveller pretends to have discovered and thoroughly viewed some remains, by which he judged the city to have been built in form of a long square, in length 150 furlongs, and in breadth 90; which, at eight furlongs to an *Italian* mile, make threescore miles in compass (7).

The city *Rehoboth*, is by many supposed to be *Rebeboth* on the *Euphrates*, the same probably with that called *Rahabath Malek*, not many miles below the place where the *Ababur* falls into the *Euphrates* (8); and *Resen* to be the *Resaria* of the antients, in *Mesopotamia*, still in being, and called *Ras alam*, that is, the head of the fountain, on account of the many springs rising thereabouts; and among the rest that of the *Ababur*: It is also called *Am M'ardab*. But others endeavour to find *Rebeboth* and *Resen* nearer *Nineveh*; and also object, that they cannot be *Rahabath* and *Ras alam*, because these last are

(1) CALMET *Dict. de la Bible, Art. Sem.* (2) *Vid.* SCIP. SGAMBAT. *Anh. Vet. Test.* lib. 1. pag. 164.  
(3) SHALSH. HAKK. p. 93. 2. (4) *Vid.* BOCHART *Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1.* (5) See his *Dict.*

*de la Bible, Art. Sem.* (6) See THEVENOT's *Travels*, part 2. chap. 11. p. 52. RAUWOLF's *Travels*, part 2. chap. 9. p. 188. (7) See the *Preacher's Travels*, p. 89. (8) *Geog. Nub. Clim. 4. part 6. p. 199.*

- a ARPHAXAD, or as the *Masoretes* read the name *Arpachshad*, the third son of *Shem*, had one advantage above the rest of his brethren, namely, of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation of the *Chasdim* or *Chaldeans* from *Arphaxad* (C), which opinion seems more reasonable than that which makes *Chefed*, the son of *Nabor*, *Abraham's* brother, to be the founder of them; though possibly the *Chasdim* had another original; for nothing is mentioned in scripture concerning it. Some *Mohammedan* authors make *Arphaxad* both a prophet and an apostle, and lodge the chief sovereignty over the nations of the world in his descendants (D). *Arphaxad* was born in the hundredth year of his father, two years after the flood<sup>1</sup>; and having begat the succeeding patriarch in the 135th year of his age<sup>m</sup>,  
b died after he had lived in all 438 years<sup>a</sup>; which is the sum of what the scripture relates concerning him, though writers have added several conjectures of their own (E). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xi. 10.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ver. 11.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. ver. 12.

are not in *Affyria*, which lies to the east of *Tigris*. They suppose, that *Rebboth* is the same with the *Birtha* of *Ptolemy*, or *Virtha* of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1), situate at the mouth of the river *Lycus*, from which the present ruins of *Nineveh* are not many miles distant to the north: and the reason they give is, because *Birtha* signifies in the *Chaldee* the same which *Rebboth* does in the *Hebrew*, that is, *streets*. And as a confirmation that these names are the same, *Ptolemy* also places a *Birtha* on the *Euphrates*, about the place where we have supposed the other *Rebboth* to have stood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the *Alabur* and *Euphrates*, instead of below it, lay any good objection in the way, since *Ptolemy* is full of such faults. It may rather be objected, that *Moses* seems to have given all the cities he mentions the names they went by in the country where they stood, as near as the *Hebrew* orthography would allow: but in such doubtful cases, we must always make allowances; so that *Birtha* or *Virtha* may stand for *Rebboth*, since we cannot find a more likely place.

*Calab*, the next city, is supposed to be the *Calach*, situate about the springs of the river *Lycus* (2), mentioned by *Strabo* as the capital of a province called *Calachene*, which seems to be the same with *Ptolemy's* *Calacine*, above *Adiabene* towards mount *Niphates*. *Borhart* thinks it is the same with *Halab*, whither the *Israelites* were carried captives (3); the *Heb* being sometimes changed into the *Kaf*, of which that author produces some instances (4).

Could we be sure of being right as to the situation of *Calab*, that of *Resen* would be found of course; for *Moses* says it lay between it and *Nineveh*, which is enough for our purpose, without supposing it to be the *Larissa* of *Xenophon*, according to whose description it was a great city (5), as *Resen* is likewise said to have been. The difference of the names may be easily accounted for, from the usage of the *Greeks*, who either could not, or would not write exotic names properly. But we must own *Larissa* seems to lie too much out of the way to be *Resen*, for it stood on the *Tigris* to the south of *Nineveh*; whereas it should rather have been situate to the northward of that city, and at a distance from the river, to lie in the way between *Nineveh* and *Calab*. We may, however, suppose *Resen* to have been some city in the neighbourhood of those other two, long since destroyed.

(C) Some *Rabbins* are of this opinion (6). And if the authority of *Josephus* be of any weight, he affirms the same: *Arphaxad*, says he, gave name to the *Arphaxadzeans*, as present called *Chaldeans*, whose

prince he was (7). He certainly does not mean, as *Dr. Wells* observes (8), that the name *Chaldeans* is derived directly from the name *Arphaxad*; but perhaps he meant, that the true name *Chasdim* is derived thence, that is to say, from *רשדן*, the three last letters of *Arpachshad*, (9); and from *Chasdim* the *Greeks* have made *Chaldai* instead of *Chasdai*, by changing the *s* into *l*. And this opinion is more probable, because the *Chaldeans* were not only called *Ahasdim* (10) before *Chefed* was born (11), but appear to have been a nation when *Abraham* came out of *Ur* of the *Chasdim* (12); at which time *Chefed* was neither old, or considerable enough to have built towns and founded a nation. And this argument is so cogent, that *Borhart* and others, at the same time that they treat this etymology as a chimera, are obliged to fly to the common subterfuge on this occasion, and say, that the city of *Ur* is called *Ur of the Chaldees* by a prolepsis (13), which will hardly serve in this case, for the reasons already alledged. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point, nor will it be repugnant to scripture to deny the derivation of the name of *Ahasdim*, either from *Arphaxad* or *Chefed*.

Some compound *Arphaxad's* name of *רשדן* *Rafa Ahasdim*, that is, the healer, or prelate of *Chaldea*; supposing it to have been given to *Gaiman* as a name of dignity (14).

(D) According to a curious, though fabulous *Mohammedan* tradition, ascribed to *Ebn Abbas*, *Shem* being called by *Noah*, at day-break, to assist at morning prayer, arose and awakened his children, of whom only *Arphaxad* got up and attended his father to *Noah*, who gave them his benediction, and prayed for them: whereupon *God* revealed to him, that the gift of prophecy, together with the apostleship, should be granted to the children of *Shem*, and in an especial manner to the family of *Arphaxad* his eldest son; which gift should neither be taken from him, nor transferred to any other: and that the same family should also enjoy the prerogative of sovereignty and empire over the other nations, which should be divided successively between the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the *Arabs*, to the end of the world (15).

(E) A certain author makes him one of the *Rephaim*, (in consequence of the etymology he has given of his name) supposing them to have been believers, and sent by *Noah* to recal mankind to the worship of *God*; wherefore they were named *Rephaim*, that is, *healers* and *restorers*, to wit, of souls. He farther advances, upon no better grounds, that *Gaiman* or *Arphaxad*, (whom he makes

(1) Lib. 20. (2) *Geog. lib. 11.* (3) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. and xviii. 11. (4) *Ibid. PHALEG. lib. 4. cap. 12.* (5) *ANABAS, lib. 3.* (6) *GEDAL. in SHALIL. HAKKAP, p. 93.* (7) *Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7.* (8) *Geog. of the Old Test. vol. 1. p. 187.* (9) *Ibid. LIGHTFOOT Oper. vol. 1. p. 13.* (10) *Gen.*

xv. 7. (11) *Gen. xxii. 22.* (12) *Gen. xi. 31.* (13) *Ibid. PHALEG. lib. 2. cap. 2.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 458. § 43.* (14) *Ibid. BOLDUC de Eccles. ant. legem, lib. 2. cap. 2.* (15) See D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nonh, p. 677.*

Year of the  
Flood, 350.  
Year before  
Christ, 2648.

WHO this son so begotten by *Arphaxad* was, has occasioned no small dispute among a the learned: according to the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, *Salah* was his son; but in the *Septuagint* version we find *Cainan* put in between the two, as the son of the first, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of succession, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the *Septuagint* to exceed the *Samaritan* by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for *Cainan* to have begotten his son. Those who adhere to the *Septuagint*, draw their chief argument from St. *Luke's* ° mentioning *Cainan* in his genealogy of CHRIST, which has been already answered ¶ (F). However, the *Septuagint* version having been received over a great part of the christian world, *Cainan* passeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations (G), in many countries, and there are more traditions concerning him (H) b than of *Salah*, the true son and successor of *Arphaxad*.

*SALAH* is the only patriarch concerning whom the christian writers have observed an equal silence with *Moses*. He hath been thought by some to be the same with the prophet *Saleh*, sent to preach the true religion to the tribe of *Thamud* in *Arabia-Petrea*¶; but this person appears to have been much later than the patriarch (I).

It is the general opinion, that the *Hebrews* derive their name from the patriarch *Eber* (K), the son of *Salah*; and many of the *Jews* (as well as *Christians*) attribute to

° Luke iii. 36.  
Orient. Art. *Salah*.

¶ Pag. 113. b.

¶ HYDE de Rel. vet. Persar. p. 58. D'HERBELOT. Bibl.

makes to be the same) was the founder of the empire of *China*; that the fict of the *Bonzes* was introduced into *Japan* by him or his disciples; and that the *Brachmans* took their rise in *Chaldea* soon after the arrival of that patriarch in the country of *Etham*, (where he was sent with a colony by *Noah*) about the year of the deluge 68, the chief of which colony was called *Yar ha*, which in the *Hebrew* is *Rapha*, that is, a curator or healer (16).

(F) To the arguments already produced by us on this head (17) may be added; 1. That *Cainan* was unknown to *Origen*, the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, *Phil*, and *Jacopus*, and to the *Syriac*, *Persian*, and *Arab* translators, as well as to the author of the *Vulgate*. *Berosus* also placing *Abraham* in the tenth generation after the flood (18), leaves no room for *Cainan*. *Zoeptolus Antiochenus*, (19) and *Leontius* (who was contemporary with the apostles themselves) do also omit him, as do the more correct Greek writers (20). 2. He is wanting in the *Roman* and *Paris* editions of the *Septuagint*, in a place (21) from whence omissions of this kind are usually supplied; which would scarce have happened in case there had been such a person. Nor is he to be found in that edition of the *Septuagint* itself, which having been placed in the *Alexandrian* library of *Cleopatra*, and received in *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, was inserted by *Origen* in his *Hexapla*; and which, according to *Jerom*, was formerly reckoned the only faultless and uncorrupted copy, the other copy, called the *Vulgar*, having been corrupted at the pleasure of ancient writers (22). It is true, *Origen* mixed *Theodotian's* version with the other, but took care to mark with an asterisk what it had left, and with an obelisk what it had more than the *Alexandrian* MS. which method we see observed by *Procopius Gazens* (23). 3. The various readings in the several Greek copies, as well with regard to the years of *Arphaxad* after the birth of *Cainan*, as to those of *Cainan* after the birth of *Salah*, are no small evidence of corruption in this point (24).

Some of the moderns, to reconcile St. *Luke* with the *Hebrew*, make *Cainan* and *Salah* (25), others *Arphaxad* and *Cainan* to be the same person (26).

(G) The *Alexandrian* chronicle (27) derives the *Sarmatians* from *Cainan*; *Eusebius Antiochenus* (28) the *Sacordians*; *George Gyncellus* (29) the *Gassperi*; *Epiphanius* the *Cajani* (30); *Salmasius* (31) thinks the river *Gana* in *India* takes its name from him.

(H) Besides the particulars already mentioned, it is said *Cainan* was the first after the flood who invented astronomy, and that his sons made a god of him, and worshipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of *Hirran* in *Alypota* is also attributed to him, which, it is pretended, he so called from a son he had of that name (32).

(I) An *Arab* writer makes the prophet *Saleh* to be the son of *Ajal*, the son of *Cisseki*, the son of *Haaver*, the son of *Abaler*, the son of *Thamud*, [the son of *Gatber*] the son of *Aram*, the son of *Sem* (33); so that he was five generations later than the patriarch *Salah*, who was the third in descent from *Noah*. Besides, the destruction of the tribe of *Thamud* was subsequent to that of the tribe of *Ad*, to whom the prophet *Hud*, or *Eber*, was sent, as we learn, from one of the commentators (34) on the *Aran*; and consequently *Saleh*, the prophet of the *Thamudites*, must be posterior to *Eber*.

(K) The *Hebrew* word עֶבֶר *Eber* signifies beyond, or simply, a passage; for what reason he was so called is uncertain: but if the *Hebrews* were so called from him, as most imagine, why might it not have been given him prophetically by *Salah*, to denote the future passage of his posterity over the *Euphrates* into the land of *Canaan*, in the same manner as many suppose *Eber* gave his son the name of *Peleg*, foreseeing the division of the earth which was to happen towards the middle, or end of his life? This patriarch's name is in some versions confounded with that of עֶבֶר *Eber*, which both occur in one chapter (35).

(16) BOLDUC. de Eccles. ant. legem, lib. 2. cap. 2. See before, p. 84. in the notes. (17) Pag. 113. b. (18) Apud JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 8. (19) Lib. 3. ad Autolye. (20) Vid. MASSÆUM, lib. 2. PERER. in Genes. cap. x. (21) Vid. MASSÆUM, lib. 2. PERER. in Genes. c. x. (22) HIERONYM. Epist. 135. (23) Vid. PROCOPIUS in Genes. xl. (24) Vid. HEIDECC. Hist. Patr. tom. 2. §. 10. p. 8. (25) HERMAN. CONTRACT. JOH. LUCIDUS LUD. DE DIEU. FR. GOMARUS,

Escc. (26) BOLDUC. ubi sup. (27) Pag. 70. ED. RADERI. (28) Apud HEIDECC. tom. 2. exerc. 1. §. 12. (29) Chronogr. p. 46. (30) Apud HEIDECC. ubi supra. (31) Apud eundem, ibid. (32) ABULFARAG. Hist. Dyn. p. 11. (33) TARIKH MOSTAKHAR. apud D'HERBELOT. Art. *Salah*. p. 740. (34) HOSSEIN WAFDH, apud D'HERBELOT, ibid. p. 741. (35) 1 Chron. viii. 12, 17, 23.

- a him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation' (L). But there is much more appearance that the name of *Hebrews* was given to *Abraham* and his descendants, on account of his passing over the rivers in his way from *Irak*, or *Chaldea*, into *Syria*: so that a *Hebrew* should signify nothing else in the original sense of the word, than a man from beyond the *Euphrates*. Year of the Flood, 350.  
Year before Christ, 2648.

IN consequence of the same opinion, it has been commonly believed by the ancients as well as moderns, that the *Hebrew* language also took its name from *Eber*, and that at the confusion of tongues it remained solely in the family of that patriarch and his descendants' (M): but as the first part of this assertion hath no better ground than the former opinion, so the latter is false in fact, the *Hebrew* language having been  
b common to people who had no affinity with the family of *Eber*; as the *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, who in the time of *Abraham* spoke *Hebrew*, or a language differing very little from it.

THE building of *Babel* is properly referred to the time of *Eber*, just before the birth of his son *Peleg*, in the 134th year of his age, and of the flood four hundred and one. Some of the *Rabbins* and christian fathers, who refer that event to a subsequent part of *Peleg*'s life, say *Eber* gave him that name prophetically, to denote a division of the earth which was to happen some time after, and accordingly reckon *Eber* a prophet chiefly upon that account". Year of the Flood, 401.  
Year before Christ, 2597.

TILL this time all mankind lived in a body together, and spoke one language; but  
c GOD being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their speech, and dispersed them abroad, in order to people and plant the earth. But what particular language the first was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole transaction relating to the building of *Babel* and the dispersion of mankind, must hereafter be the subject of different sections.

\* JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. SHALSH HAKK. p. 803. EUTYCH. Ann. p. 47. Vid. ARU'LFARAG. p. 11. HYDE de Rel. vet. Persar. p. 47, &c. Vid. EBN ANID, p. 14. SHALSH HAKK. p. 803. ZENACH DAV. part 1. p. 6. SEDER OLAM. cap. 1. p. 1. YAKHI ad Genes. x. 25. HILTON, in quest. Hebr. in Genes. CHRYSOST. Hom. 30. in Genes.

(L) The maintainers of this opinion bring many arguments to support it, of which two only seem to be of any weight: 1. That a patriarch of that name being found among the ancestors of the *Jews*, it is reasonable to believe they derived their name from him. 2. That *Shem* is expressly said to be the father of all the children of *Eber* (36).

To the first of these it is answered, that as *Moses* intimates nothing that way, the bare affinity of the name is not sufficient to determine the point in favour of that opinion. And as for what they alledge, either of the superior piety and merit of *Eber* above the other patriarchs, or of the *Hebrew* language being peculiarly spoken or preserved by him and his posterity, it is not only begging the question, there being no foundation in scripture for those suppositions, but may be presumed to be false as to the first (since he cannot be supposed to have been more pious than *Shem*) as it appears to be with regard to the last (37), the *Hebrew* having been spoken by nations which were not of his posterity.

To the second argument it is replied, that the word *Eber* in the before-mentioned text, has not respect to a person, but to place, and consequently that the words do not signify the children of the patriarch *Eber*, but the people who dwelt on one side or the other of the river, meaning thereby either the *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both, which parts were the seat of *Shem*'s posterity. To enforce which acceptance, it may be farther observed, that if *Eber* be taken here as a proper name, then under the designation of his children must be comprehended not only the *Hebrews* properly so called, descended from him by *Peleg*, and the *Arabs*, who were *Joktan*'s posterity, and settled on this side of the river, but also those who remained on the other side of the river, either in *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, or *Elymais*: but it

could never be *Moses*'s meaning to make *Shem* the father of *Eber*'s children in this sense, which seems to have nothing in view; being too extended to illustrate any thing relating particularly to the *Hebrews* or *Jews*, and too limited to reflect any honour on *Shem*, who was the father of many nations, and of some more considerable than those descended from *Eber*. Nothing therefore seems to favour this opinion, unless it may be said that *Moses* in this place had a mind to pay a compliment to all the posterity of *Eber* in general, on account of the relation they bore to the *Jews*, as being collateral branches of the same ancestor. But this point we shall more critically examine when we come to the history of *Abraham*.

(M) The confusion of tongues having been considered as a punishment of the temerity of those who undertook to build *Babel*, many authors, possessed with high sentiments of *Eber*, have presumed that the posterity of that patriarch, who was destined by GOD to be the stock of the holy people, and the depository of the true religion, had no share in that enterprize, nor consequently in the punishment which attended it. But if *Eber*'s children were not concerned in it, it must have been because none of them were grown up to an age capable of assisting in that work, the dispersion having happened at the birth of *Peleg*, who is by many supposed to have been *Eber*'s eldest son: for it seems to be incontestable that all the descendants of *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*, were concerned in that building (38). However, it is plain *Eber*'s posterity shared in the punishment, for their language was divided; witness the difference between the *Arabic* (the language of *Joktan*'s posterity) and the *Hebrew*; not to mention the *Chaldees*.

(36) Genes. x. 21.

(37) See the next note.

(38) See sect. 4.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

THE original of idolatry by image-worship is by many attributed to the age of a Eber (N), though most of the fathers place it no higher than that of *Serug*; which seems to be the more probable opinion, considering that for the first hundred and thirty four years of *Eber's* life all mankind dwelt in a body together, during which time it is not reasonable to suppose idolatry broke in upon them; then some time must be allowed after the dispersion for the several nations, which were but small at the beginning, to encrease and settle themselves: so that if idolatry was introduced in *Eber's* time, it must have been towards the end of his life, and could not well have prevailed so universally, and with that obstinacy which is imagined by authors. However, the *Arabs* have a tradition that *Hud* (O), who is generally supposed to have been the same person with *Eber*, was sent to preach to one of their ancient tribes, b named *Ad*, who had corrupted themselves with the worship of idols, and were afterwards almost totally destroyed for not hearkening to him. They also say, he ended his days in the province of *Hadramaut*, where they still pretend to shew his sepulchre, near *Merbat*, and within two miles of *Hafec*, a port on the *Indian* sea: there is a small town built about it, which is now called *Kabr Hud*, or the *Sepulchre* of *Hud*.\*

EBER is supposed by many to have built *Hebron* in *Canaan*, and *Tanis* in *Egypt*; but those are groundless imaginations. Some refer the golden age to the time of him and his son *Peleg*: and indeed if we can suppose there ever was such a pacific and innocent state on this side the flood, it is most likely to have been in the days of *Noah* c and his three sons, that is, during the time their posterity continued in their first habitation, before their removal to *Shinaar*, and a while after the dispersion, which probably gave it a short interruption.

EBER had two sons, *Peleg* and *Joktan*; *Peleg* was born just after the dispersion happened, on which occasion that name (P) was given him. Venerable *Bede* affirms, that temples were first built in his days, and that several of the chiefs of nations were worshipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch we are told that contention arose between his sons and those of his brother *Joktan*, whereupon men began to build castles for their defence<sup>b</sup>.

THE scripture mentions only one son of *Peleg's*, besides which the orientals have d given him another mentioned in scripture, though not as *Peleg's* son, namely, *Melchizedec*. They say he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother<sup>a</sup>, which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded, than that of the *Jews*, who make him to be the same with *Shem*. Of this person we have already related some particulars, and may have occasion to say more hereafter.

JOKTAN is generally supposed to have been *Peleg's* elder brother, upon a presumption that he and his thirteen sons were leaders of colonies at the dispersion of *Babel*. They are indeed mentioned at the same time with the other heads of nations, and are doubtless to be included amongst those by whom, it is said, the nations were divided in the earth after the flood<sup>e</sup>: but we do not think it follows from thence, that they must e have been leaders in that first dispersion, in case their ages would allow it. Besides, by that means we should not only postpone the time of that transaction, which seems

\* Vid. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 36. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. \* Vid. D'HERBELOT, ibid. Art. Cabar Houd. † Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 2. p. 11, 13. \* Vid. GORDON, Chron. lib. 2. cap. 3. \* Vid. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1. † AB'ULFARAG. p. 12. \* EBN AMID. p. 28. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 48. \* EBN AMID. ibid. † EBN AMID. p. 28. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 48. † Genes. 1. 32.

(N) Dr. Hyde thinks idolatry may by numerous arguments be proved to have begun as high as the times of *Eber* and *Salah*, who preached to their countrymen, the idolatrous *Arab* tribes of *Ad* and *Thamud* (39). But we have already observed, that the apostle of the *Thamudites* was much later than the patriarch *Salah*; and the mission of *Eber* is not an authority to build upon.

(O) It seems as if the *Arabs* had some notion of the *Hebrews* being so called from *Eber*; and therefore from the other name of that nation, viz. *Jews*, which they pronounce *Hud* and *Tebud*, they have given this prophet the name of *Hud* also.

*Shickard*, on the credit of two authors, one an *Arab*, who places *Hud* between *Salah* and *Eber*; and the other a *Turk*, who sets him between *Arphaxad* and *Eber*; conjectures *Hud* is *Cainan* (40). But this is against the current of *Mohammedan* writers, who make him the son of *Salah* (41), and the same with *Eber* (42).

(P) The name *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*, signifies division. The division of the earth and dispersion of mankind, was doubtless the same transaction; though several authors, especially those who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, make two of them, as we shall observe hereafter.

(39) HYDE de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 58. (40) SCHICKARD Tarikh regum Persia. (41) Tarikh Montakhab apud D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. (42) Vid. EBN AMID, p. 14. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 46.



<sup>a</sup> to be necessarily connected with the birth of *Peleg* (Q), but introduce five generations in the line of *Sbem* as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the descendants of *Ham* and *Japhet*, and therefore we have reserved them for a second remove or plantation.

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THE scripture gives to *Joktan* thirteen sons; whereas the *Arabs*, who derive their original from *Joktan*, or, as they more usually call him, *Kabtan*, assign him one and thirty by the same mother, of whom all but two leaving *Arabia* (R), went and settled in *India*<sup>1</sup>. *Tarab*, the elder of the two who staid, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the *Arabic* language, which he first spoke<sup>2</sup>. *Jorham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*<sup>3</sup>, which contained part of *Arabia Petraea*, and other territories.

WE find little said concerning the three succeeding patriarchs, *Ren* (S), *Serug*, and *Nabor*: however, some authors refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (T); the invention of several arts (U); the spreading of idolatry (W); and

<sup>1</sup> AHMED BEN YUSEF apud POCOCK. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> POCOCK. ibid. p. 40, 55, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 40, 78.

(Q) Those who follow the *Hebrew* computation are at a great loss for an expedient to make *Joktan* and his thirteen sons leaders of colonies at the dispersion, supposing it to have happened at the birth of *Peleg*. For *Eber* having been but thirty four years old when he begat the latter, there cannot reasonably be allowed above half that space for *Joktan's* age at that time, granting him to be the elder: so that we cannot well conceive him to have been the father of more than one son before the dispersion. Upon which account many postpone that transaction to a succeeding part of *Peleg's* life, supposing *Eber* imposed that name prophetically (40). But the great *Cyber* thinks himself obliged to refer it to his birth, though he knows not how to get over the difficulty just now mentioned (41); which may be solved well enough by the *Samaritan* chronology, according to which time sufficient may be allowed for *Joktan* and his sons to propagate.

(R) D'Herbelot mentions four other sons of *Kabtan*, namely, *Hadramaut* (the same with *Hazarmaut*), *Saba*, *Osir*, and *Khawilah*, or *Havilah* (42).

(S) According to the different pronunciation of the *ש*, this patriarch's name is variously written, *Ren*, and *Ragan*; and, by prefixing an *א*, sometimes *En* and *Argan*.

(T) The building of *Babel* is by some placed in the seventieth year of *Ren* (43), and the beginning of *Nimrod's* reign in his hundred and thirtieth (44). About the same time others fix the founding of the kingdom of *Egypt* and the city of *Memphis* by *Mizraim* (45); of the city of *Saba*, in *Arabia Felix*, by a certain queen (46); of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and its metropolis *Prague* (47); and of the kingdom of the *Amazons* (48); but these last are idle imaginations of the *Jews*. With more probability, though perhaps equal foundation, others attribute the building of *Rages* in *Media* to *Ren* himself (49), as that of *Sarnj*, the capital of *Diwar Madar* (50), might be to his son *Serug*, who is supposed to have dwelt in the place where that city now stands (51). In *Nabor's* time we are told,

that *Armures*, a king of *Canaan*, built *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, and *Zoar*; to the two first of which he gave the names of his two sons, and to the last that of their mother (52).

(U) It is pretended, that the first mint for coining, and the first foundery for gold and silver ornaments, were erected in the days of *Ren* (53). Others attribute this invention to *Terah* (54), as that of coining gold and silver is ascribed to *Serug* (55). Weights and Measures are said to have been invented by *Samirus*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in the days of the same patriarch (56), tho' the use of them seems not to have been instituted till *Nabor's* time (57). The art of weaving silks, and of dying, is also attributed to the said king (58).

(W) Though the generality of authors, and particularly of the fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of *Serug* (59), whom some suppose to be the introducer of it, erroneously making him (if he be not a different person from the patriarch) of the race of *Japhet* (60); yet others make it more early (61), and it is said, that in *Ren's* days mankind was fallen into various kinds of false worship; some adoring the heaven, others the celestial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceased friends (62). About the same time also the custom of mens sacrificing their children to devils, is pretended to have been introduced on the following occasion: A certain rich man dying, his son made a golden statue in representation of him, and placed it on his tomb, setting a servant to watch it. Some time after the son was robbed of all he had, and coming to make his complaints at his father's sepulchre, the devil spoke out of the image, and promised to restore him all he had lost, if he would offer his youngest son as a sacrifice to him, and bath himself in his warm blood; which he did, and thereupon the devil coming out of the image, entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But at length this practice of human sacrifices growing frequent, God sent a violent earthquake,

(40) See above, p. 129. (41) Chronolog. Sacra, part 1. cap. 5. p. 26. (42) D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba & Hegiaz. (43) ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. (44) EBN AMID, p. 29. (45) Idem, ibid. MIDRASH, sect. נִמְרוֹד. (46) EBN AMID, ubi supra. (47) R. DAVID GANZ, in Zem. Dav. p. 4. JUCHASIN, p. 135. (48) SHALSH. HAKKAB. p. 94, 95. (49) HYDE de rel. vet. Perf. p. 55. (50) GEOR. NUBIENS. p. 203. (51) HYDE, ubi sup. p. 57. (52) ABU'LFARAG. p. 13. (53) EBN AMID, p. 30. (54) SHALSH. HAKKAB. p. 94. 2. (55) ABU'LFARAG. p. 12.

(56) Idem, ibid. (57) EBN AMID, p. 30. EUTYCH. Annales, p. 63. (58) ABU'LFARAG. ubi supra. (59) JON. DAMASC. EPIPHAN. Panar. l. 1. CHRONIC. ALEX. p. 113. ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 56. Vid. etiam HYDE de rel. vet. Perf. p. 57. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. II. exerc. 1. § 32. GURTNER. Hist. Univ. p. 93. (60) EUSEB. Chron. Grac. p. 13. CEDREN Compend. Hist. p. 36. SUIDAS in voce Σαρδύχ. MALLA Chron. p. 94, &c. (61) See the preceding page. (62) EBN AMID, p. 29. EUTYCH. p. 59.

some

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some other particulars of less moment (X) to their times.

TERAH, the son of *Nahor*, was the father of *Abraham*, the founder of the *Hebrew* or *Jewish* nation. The scripture informs us, that *Terah*, after the seventieth year of his age, begat three sons, *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*<sup>\*</sup>. But of these sons, *Haran* only, who was the eldest, at least much older than *Abram*, was born in that year; and the other two probably much later<sup>†</sup>, and, as is supposed, by a different mother<sup>‡</sup>. *Haran* died in his native country, in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (Y), before his father, leaving a son named *Lot*, and two daughters, one named *Milcab*, and the other *Israb*<sup>§</sup>. *Nahor* married *Milcab* his niece, and *Abram* *Sarai* his half sister<sup>||</sup>.

TERAH, who is generally supposed to be the same whom the *Asiatics* call *Azer* (Z), is on all hands allowed to have been an idolater; nor can this be denied, since he is expressly said in scripture to have served other gods<sup>¶</sup>. The eastern authors unanimously agree that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before<sup>‡</sup>, and taught that they were to be adored as gods<sup>¶</sup>: however, we are told his employment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great man (A); that at length he was converted by the

\* Genes. xi. 26.

† See before, p. 112.

‡ Vid. *Herodotus*, Hist. Patr. tom. II. Exerc. 3. § 3.

¶ Genes. xi. 27, 28, 29.

§ Ibid. ver. 29, and xx. 12.

|| Joth. xxiv. 2, 14.

¶ EPIPHAN. advers.

Heret. lib. 1. p. 7, 8.

¶ SUIDAS in Lexico, voce Σιπυρχ.

earthquake, the first of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples (63). The rise of the *Sabian* religion, is by some referred to the age of *Nahor* (64).

(X) The oriental authors mention a king called *Karnu*, who reigned in the days of *Ren*, but say not where. They pretend he was a famous chymist, and built a city called *Uksh* (65), or *Ukin* (66) with bricks of gold. But this seems to be the same person whom the *Mohammedans* make coeval with *Miser*, and the *Carab* of the scriptures. We are also told, that in the time of *Sereu*, a king of *Egypt*, called *Affanur*, built a ship, and invaded the inhabitants of the sea-coast; and that he was succeeded by *Pharach*, the son of *Sanes*, from whom the *Pharachs* were denominated (67): that the giants began to encrease in *Nahor's* time, of whom one was *Ad*, a famous king of the *Arabs* (68), and another *Hellen*, who assisted at the building of the tower of *Babel*, and was worshipped by the *Greeks* (69); and that the troubles of *Joh* happened in the twenty fifth year of the last mentioned patriarch (70).

(Y) Several writers taking *Ur*, which signifies *fire*, for an appellative, pretend that *Haran* was burnt; some saying that that accident happened as he endeavoured to take the images of *Terah* out of the fire, unto which *Abraham* had thrown them (71). Others, as he attempted to quench the flames of an idol temple which *Abraham* had set on fire (72). A third party say, that *Abraham* being thrown by *Nimrod* into a burning furnace, *Haran* was intent upon the event, resolving to follow the religion which prevailed; and seeing his brother come out unhurt by the flames, upon *Nimrod's* demanding who he believed in, *Haran* replied, in the God of *Abraham*; whereupon he was cast into the furnace, and died in the presence of his father, as the *Rabbins* express (73) what our translation renders *before his father*. It is said the fire had power over him, because his faith was not so strong as *Abraham's*, nor was he destined to so great things (74). *Epiphanius* says, that *Te-*

*rah's* surviving *Haran*, was a punishment for his daring to make images of clay; and that before him no father had seen his children die a natural death (75). *Jos. phus* affirms, that *Haran's* sepulchre was to be seen at *Ur* in his time (76).

(Z) Some of the *Mohammedan* authors write, that *Azer* was the father of *Abraham*, and son of *Terah* (77); and *D'Herbelot* says, that the *Arabs* always distinguish them in their genealogies as two different persons; but that because *Abraham* was the son of *Terah* according to *Moses*, it is therefore supposed, [by *European* writers:] that he is the same with the *Azer* of the *Arabs* (78). How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, we cannot say, but we are sure it cannot be true of all; for several *Arab* and *Turkish* writers expressly make *Azer* and *Terah* the same person (79). *Azer*, in ancient times, was the name of the planet *Mars*, and the month of *March* was so called by the most ancient *Persians*; for the word originally signifying fire (as it still does) it was therefore given by them and the *Chaldeans* to that planet (80), which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians* as a god or planetary deity, whom they anciently worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence *Azer* became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (81), and is found in the composition of several *Babylonish* names. For these reasons, a learned author supposes *Azer* to be the heathen name of *Terah*, and that the other was given him on his conversion (82).

(A) The *Eastern* authors say *Azer* was a great lord, and in high favour with *Nimrod*, whose son-in-law he was (83), because he made his idols for him, in which art he excelled all others. This employment was very honourable among the *Chaldeans*, the person who followed it being considered as the maker of gods: for it required profound skill in astrology to chuse the proper materials, and fix the proper time for that work, every

(63) EUTYCH. p. 63. EBN AMID, p. 30.

(64) EUTYCH. p. 63.

(65) EBN AMID, p. 30.

(66) EUTYCH. Annales, p. 60.

(67) ABULFARAG. p. 12.

(68) EBN AMID, ubi supra.

(69) SUIDAS in

voe Σιπυρχ.

(70) ARUDH. CANANEUS apud

ABULFARAG. p. 12.

(71) CERREUS

apud BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Abraham, Rem. B.

(72) ABULFARAG. Hist. Dyn. p. 13.

(73) BEN

UZZIEL ad Gen. xi. 28. MAIMON. Yad Hitzak.

Et de Idolat. cap. 1. SHALSHEL. HAKKAB. p. 8.

(74) Judai apud Iyranum & Tostatum citante SA-

LIANO Annal. Tom. I. p. 401.

(75) EPIPHANIUS

de Heret. lib. 1. p. 8.

(76) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(77) TARIKH MONTAKHAB apud D'HERBELOT Bibl.

Orient. Art. Abraham, p. 12.

(78) D'HERBELOT

ibid.

(79) EBN SHOHNAN, MIRAT KAINAT,

etc. MSS. See also PHARHANG GLHANGHURI apud

HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 68.

(80) HYDE,

ibid. p. 63. (81) Idem, ibid. p. 64.

(82) Idem,

ibid. p. 62. (83) D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient.

Art. Abraham.

- a earnest persuasions of *Abraham* (B), and prevailed upon to leave *Ur*. *Josephus* says, he quitted *Chaldea*, being not able to endure the country after the loss of his son *Haran*<sup>a</sup>. Some would have it that he did not become an idolater till he was settled at *Haran*<sup>b</sup>, which is absurd<sup>c</sup>; and others say he never was converted<sup>d</sup>, any more than his son *Nabor*, who afterwards left *Ur* to join his father at *Haran*<sup>e</sup>, which seems from him to be called the city of *Nabor*<sup>f</sup>: but there is more probability, that both *Nabor* and *Haran* were converted; seeing *Lot* was bred in the true religion, and *Abraham* chose *Isaac* a wife out of the family of *Nabor*, not caring to marry him to the idolatrous daughters of *Canaan*<sup>g</sup>: wherefore a learned author supposes *Nabor* and *Haran* to have been the names given to those two brothers at the time of their conversion<sup>h</sup>.
- b HOWEVER, *Terab*, towards the latter part of his life, designing to remove from *Chaldea* into the land of *Canaan*, took his son *Abram*, and *Sarai* his daughter-in-law, and his grandson *Lot*, and leaving *Ur* came to *Haran*, a city in the north-west parts of *Mesopotamia*, where having dwelt for some time, he died, being two hundred and five years old.

Thus have we collected, in the best method we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the postdiluvian patriarchs. In the next section we shall proceed to give part of the fragments of a heathen author, whose history is supposed to relate to the earliest times of this period.

### SECT. III.

#### *The History of Sanchoniatho after the Flood.*

HAVING in a preceding section brought down the *Phœnician* history of *Sanchoniatho* to the tenth generation, which probably perished in the flood, though he takes no notice of that great event; we shall here resume the thread of his narration: premising only, that, according to the plausible hypothesis which we have formerly mentioned (C), that writer proceeds to continue the idolatrous line of *Cain*, by

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. <sup>b</sup> TOSTAT. apud PERRINUM in Genes. cap. 11. <sup>c</sup> Vid. BAYLE Dict. Art. Abraham, Rem. C. <sup>d</sup> CHRYSOST. Hom. 31, & 37. <sup>e</sup> St. AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 13. <sup>f</sup> Compare Gen. xxiv. 10. with Gen. xxvii. 43, and xviii. 10. <sup>g</sup> Gen. xxv. 3. <sup>h</sup> HYDE de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 62.

kind of wood, as well as stones and metals, being by the *Chaldeans* dedicated to its peculiar planet, of whose influence it was thereby believed to participate more than any other; and an idol thus formed under a happy position of the heavens, and of the matter appropriated to such a planet, was conceived to be rightly prepared and made according to art (84). Some of the *Rabbins* say *Terab* was a priest, and the chief of them (85).

(B) *Mohammedan* authors relate, that *Abraham* often advised his father to forsake the worship of images, asking how he could worship that which neither heard, nor saw, nor did him any good (86): that this offending *Terab*, he was often ready to fall from words to blows; but that at length *Abraham* got the better of his father's obstinacy, refusing to pray for him until he promised to become a convert (87): for while he was an enemy to God, he was an enemy also to *Abraham* (88). The *Jews* say he repented (89); and it is thought to have been owing to the merit thereof, as well as of his son *Abraham*, that the chain of the oral law descended from *Adam* to him, and thence to his son *Abraham* (90). There is some ground to think *Terab* was converted by *Abraham's* persuasions, because he travelled with him from *Ur* to *Haran*, in order to go into *Canaan* (91).

(C) Bishop *Cumberland*, suspecting the *Phœnician* records to have been corrupted in this place, has

proposed an amendment of them (92): He supposes a dislocation in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations, either through neglect in transcribers, or rather purposely made by the *Cabiri*, who wrote those records, to conceal the great judgment of the flood, which swept away the race of *Cain* (93), and of which for that reason they have suppressed all mention (94). To support this opinion, he alleges, 1. That *Sydye* and *Misor* could not be the children of *Amyrus* and *Magnus*, because the tenth generation in the line of *Genus* or *Cain*, wherein those two last persons are placed, must have been drowned in the flood, together with such children as might then be born of them (95), answering to *Sbem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*. 2. That *Sydye* being *Melchizedec*, whom he takes to be *Sbem*, and *Cronus Ham*, it was necessary to join them both together under the line of *Uranus*, which *Sanchoniatho* owns to be distinct from that of *Genus* (96). 3. That *Misor* being manifestly *Mizraim*, the son of *Ham* or *Cronus*, there is a necessity of placing him one generation lower than he is placed in *Sanchoniatho*, viz. in the twelfth (97); and that without this change, the beginning of the *Egyptian* kingdom would be placed too near the flood (98). 4. That *Japhet* being still wanting to make up the three sons of *Noah*, and *Nerens* being the only person in *Sanchoniatho's* genealogies which answers the Scripture account of him,

(84) D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham, p. 63. (85) Shalshel. Hakkab. p. 94. (86) SHAH-KISTANI ex Alkorano, c. 19. ver. 39. apud HYDE de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 68. (87) Al Koran, c. 9. ver. 216. (88) HYDE, ubi sup. (89) Shalshel. Hakkab. p. 94. (90) ZOAR apud HOTTINGER.

in Smegm. Orient. lib. 1. p. 280. (91) HYDE ubi sup. p. 59. (92) CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 43. (93) Ibid. p. 49. (94) Ibid. p. 47, 177. (95) Ibid. p. 41, 677. (96) Ibid. p. 47. (97) Ibid. p. 48. (98) Ibid. p. 49.

persons taken out of the line of *Noah*, and annexing them as sons to *Amyrus* and *Ma-gus*, the last of that race.

Generation XI. FROM these men, says he, were begot *Misfor* (D) and *Sydyc* (E), i. e. *Well-freed*, and *Just*: these found out the use of salt.

Generation XII. FROM *Misfor* came *Taantus* (F), who found out the writing of the first letters; whom the *Egyptians* called *Tboor*, the *Alexandrians* *Thoyth*, and the *Greeks* *Hermes*: but from *Sydyc* came the *Dioscouri*, or *Cabiri* (G), called also *Corybantes*, and *Samo-thraces*. These first invented the building a compleat ship.

Generation XIII. OF these others came, who found out herbs, the cure of bitings, and charms.

URANUS, whose parents lived in these mens age, as hath been already mentioned, succeeding his father *Eliun* in the kingdom, had by *Ge*, his sister, four sons; 1. *Ilus* b or *Cronus*; 2. *Betylus*; 3. *Dagon* or *Siton*; and 4. *Atlas* (H); besides much issue by

him, he has joined him to *Sydyc* and *Cronus* in the line of *Uranus* (99). But the alterations will better appear, by giving the reader a table of *Sanchoniatho's* genealogies, from the place where the bishop's corrections begin; referring him for our remarks on the scheme itself to the succeeding notes.

*The two Lines, as they stand in SANCHONIATHO.*

SETH'S Line.	CAIN'S Line.
9. <i>Eliun</i> or <i>Hypsisus</i> ,	<i>Agrus</i> , <i>Agronurus</i> ,
10. <i>Uranus</i> ,	<i>Amyrus</i> , <i>Migus</i> ,
11. <i>Cronus</i> ,	<i>Misfor</i> , <i>Sydyc</i> ,
12.	<i>Thoth</i> , <i>Cabiri</i> or <i>Dioscouri</i> ,
13.	The sons of the <i>Dioscouri</i> .

*SETH'S Line, in SANCHONIATHO, corrected.*

9. <i>Eliun</i> or <i>Hypsisus</i> ,		
10. <i>Uranus</i> ,		
11. <i>Sydyc</i>	<i>Cronus</i>	<i>Nereus</i>
or <i>Stem</i> ,	or <i>Ham</i> ,	or <i>Japhet</i> ,
12. <i>Cabiri</i> or <i>Dioscouri</i> ,	<i>Misfor</i> ,	<i>Pontus</i> ,
13. The sons of the <i>Dioscouri</i> .	<i>Thoyth</i> ,	<i>Posidon</i>
		or <i>Niptum</i> .

(D) This person Dr. *Cumberland* takes to be the *Mizraim* of the Scripture, and the *Amenes* of the *Egyptians*, for these reasons; 1. He supposes *Misfor* to be the singular of *Mizraim*, the first king of *Egypt* according to the *Hebrews*, as *Menes* is according to the *Egyptians* (1). 2. That *Eratostratus*, in *Synellus* and *Saliger's Eusebius* (2), affirms *Menes* to be *Misraim*, as the *Greeks* write the name of *Mizraim* (3). 3. That *Thoth* was the son of *Menes*, as well as of *Misfor*, and the second king of *Egypt* (4). 4. That *Misfor* and *Menes* lived at the same time; and, 5. Died the same violent death (5). We shall consider this opinion, which we take to be absolutely untenable, in another place; and shall only observe at present, that we cannot find *Eratostratus* has affirmed any such thing, as that *Menes* is *Misraim*; which is the mere imagination of those authors who have transcribed him.

As to the translation which *Philo* gives of the name *Misfor*, "Ευλυσις, or well-freed, *Bochart* derives it from the *Syriac* ܡܫܝܪܐ *Misro*; but bishop *Cumberland* rather thinks the notion of freedom to be consequent to his name, which he supposes to signify a prince, from the root ܡܫܝܪ *asar*, to rule or restrain, by addition of the servile ܡܝܡ *im* (6) [though to effect this the first radical must be thrown out] freedom from any coercive power being the consequent of his dominion and superiority (7).

(E) *Sydyc* the bishop supposes to be *Melchizedec*, and *Melchizedec* *Stem* (8). All the arguments he brings in favour of the first supposition, is, that *Gotius* (9) affirms *Melchizedec* to be *Sydyc* (10), probably on account of the similitude of the names, *Sydyc* or *Sedec* signifying *just*, and *Melchizedec* the *just king*. Nor does he bring any proof that *Melchizedec* is *Stem*: he only says, that he thinks the objections against that opinion are sufficiently answered (11) by other authors; so that he produces no reason to support these two opinions, on which his system is chiefly grounded. If it be objected, that *Misfor* and *Sydyc* were the sons of *Amyrus* and *Migus*, he answers, that *Sydyc* was not the son of those persons, but brother to *Ilus* or *Cronus*, and son to *Noah* (12); and that the *Cabiri* who had corrupted the records by suppressing all mention of the flood (13), have taken the righteous king *Sedec* or *Melchizedec* (14), with *Misfor*, and their children the *Cabiri* and *Thoth*, and placed them in *Cain's* line, being willing to transfer all the honour gained by them to the family in which their false religion began; for which *Sydyc's* [or *Melchizedec's*] living in *Canaan*, might furnish a pretence (15).

(F) *Taant* or *Thoth* is thought to be *Athoth*, the son of *Menes*, and the second king of *Egypt*, according to *Eratostratus*, upon a presumption that *Misfor* and *Menes* are the same; and because he was also a king of *Egypt*, and son of a king [though it does not appear from *Sanchoniatho* that *Misfor* was a king] as *Athoth* was (16). It is observed also, that as *Sanchoniatho's* line ends with *Misfor* and *Thoth*, so *Eratostratus's* line of *Theban* kings begins with *Menes* and *Athoth* (17), as does the first dynasty of the *Thebanes* in *Manetho*. And the difference between the names *Thoth* and *Athoth* is no objection, the bishop producing several instances of proper names in the eastern languages, where the initial *A* was frequently left out (18).

(G) Of the *Dioscouri*, or *Cabiri*, the sons of *Sydyc*, we shall speak hereafter when we come to the *Grecian* mythology. According to Dr. *Cumberland's* scheme, they were a little branch of *Sydyc* or *Stem's* race, that lived with *Ham*, or near him (19).

(H) We shall consider these four sons of *Uranus* in their order. 1. *Cronus* is in all probability the same with the *Ham* of *Moses*; the last seems to have been his proper name, and the other, which may be derived from ܟܪܢ *Keren*, a horn, or power, and importing regal dignity, might have been his *Phœnician* title, as *Belus*, or ܒܠܝܐ *Baal*, signifying a lord, was his *Chaldean* title (20); for the *Babylonians* are said to have called the first *Baal Cronus* (21). *Moloch* and *Asitum*, names of the same signification, are also frequently used to design

(99) CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.* p. 257, 258, 259.  
 (1) *Ibid.* p. 45, 55. (2) *Chron. Græc.* p. 17.  
 (3) CUMBERL. ubi sup. p. 54, 185. (4) *Ibid.*  
 p. 44, 55. (5) *Ibid.* p. 55. (6) *Ibid.* p. 98.  
 (7) *Ibid.* p. 179. (8) *Ibid.* p. 47, 173. (9) *In*  
*not. ad Heb. vii.* 1. (10) CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.*  
*Chron.* p. 174. (11) *Ibid.* p. 175. (12) *Ibid.*

p. 47. (13) *Ibid.* p. 47, 177. (14) *Ibid.* p. 47.  
 (15) *Ibid.* p. 178. (16) *Ibid.* p. 44, 54, 186.  
 (17) *Ibid.* p. 46. (18) *Ibid.* p. 127. *Vid.* BOCHART.  
*Canaan.* p. 826. (19) CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.*  
 p. 261. (20) *Ibid.* p. 111, &c. (21) EU-  
 DOLEMIUS in *Alex. Philist.* apud EUSEB. de *Præp.*  
*Evangelic.* lib. 9. cap. 17.

a other wives: wherefore *Ge* being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached *Uranus*, so that they parted from each other. But *Uranus*, though he parted from her, yet by force invading her, and lying with her when he listed, went away again; and he also attempted to kill the children he had by her. *Ge* also defended, or avenged herself, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

But when *Cronus* came to man's age, using *Hermes Trismegistus* as his counsellor and assistant (for he was his secretary) he opposed his father *Uranus*, avenging his mother: but *Cronus* had children, *Persephone* [*Proserpina*] and *Athena* [*Minerva*]: the former died a virgin, but by the counsel of *Athena*, and of *Hermes*, *Cronus* made of iron a scimeter and a spear. Then *Hermes* speaking to the assistants of *Cronus* with b enchanting words, wrought in them a keen desire to fight against *Uranus*, in behalf of *Ge*. And thus *Cronus* warring against *Uranus*, drove him out of his kingdom, and succeeded in the imperial power or office.

In the fight was taken a well-beloved concubine of *Uranus*, big with child. *Cronus* gave her in marriage to *Dagon*, and she brought forth, at his house, what she had in her womb by *Uranus*, and called him *Demaroon*.

AFTER these things *Cronus* builds a wall round about his house, and founds *Byblus*, the first city (1) in *Phœnicia*. Afterwards *Cronus* suspecting his own brother *Atlas*, with the advice of *Hermes*, throwing him into a deep hole of the earth, there buried him.

Sign the same man (22): and *Baal-Berith* (23) probably signifies this *Cronus*, worshipped antiently at *Beatus* (24). That *Cronus* is the *Ham* of *Moses*, appears from the authority of *Eusebius*, whose words are these: *πρώτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον. ὃν εἶπαι Κρόνον ἐν τῇτε δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ Χαναάν, τῶτον δὲ τὴν Χαναάν γενέσθαι τὴν πατέρα τὴν τοιούτων τῇτε δὲ Χάμ ὡς γενέσθαι, ὃν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνέγετο Ἀσβολόν, πατέρα δὲ Αἰθιοπίων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ Μισραὴμ πατέρα [πατρὸς] Αἰθιοπίων (25);* which bishop *Cumberland* renders thus: *There was at first Belus, who is Cronus; but of him came another, 1. Belus, and, 2. Canaan, who was, or begot the father of the Phœnicians; his son too was, 3. Chum, whom the Greeks call Asbolon, the father of the Ethiopians, the brother of, 4. Misraim, the father of the Egyptians.* It is easy, says that author, to adjust this translation to the four sons of *Ham* (26); for two of their names are plainly the same, *Canaan* and *Misraim*; the third, *Chum*, is but slightly altered from *Cush*, the *ω* being changed into *μ* only to express the accusative case, as *Bochart* has well noted [though, by the way, this is an odd manner of accounting for that variation, the *Greeks* having no accusative in *m*, nor indeed any word ending in *m*] wherefore it only remains that *Belus*, the successor of *Ham* in his dominions in *Africa*, be allowed to be the same with *Phut* in *Moses*; and it is reasonable to admit that he who succeeded his father in that large empire, should bear his title among the *Babylonians*, as he is here called by the *Chaldean* title of honour *Belus*, whereas *Moses* calls him properly by the name given him at his birth (27). We find several footprints of *Cronus* in that passage of the *Mosaic* history where *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates are recorded to have smitten the *Rephaim* in *Ashteroth Carnaim*, and the *Zuzims* in *Ham*. *Ashteroth* will easily be admitted to be *Asarte*, and *Carnaim* being derived from *Keren*, the root of the name of *Cronus*, may relate to him. And as *Raphas* is acknowledged by the learned to have been a title of *Cronus*, both from the *Coptic* name of his *Star*, and from the *Septuagint*, who translate *Chim* (*Cronus*'s known name) by *Raphas*, written in some copies *Rempias*, which is the clearest account of that passage in *Isaïas* (28), so from him some of his posterity,

who were most like him, and other antediluvians, of long life, great strength and stature, were called *Rephaim*; especially those who dwelt in his city *Ashteroth Carnaim*, and seem to have been his children, and their cities to have taken their father's name (29). As to *Ilus*, or *Il*, it seems to be no other than *Il El*, which signifies *strong*, and is therefore in *Hebrew* one of the names of *God*.

2. *Betylus*, bishop *Cumberland* does not find mentioned by any other writer, his name seems to be of eastern original, from the root *בטל* *Betel*, which, though it often signifies dishonourable idleness, yet sometimes denotes that quiet spirit which serves religious duties and study. And in *Arabic* it signifies a hero, who by successful wars procures to himself and subjects rest and peace (30).

3. *Dagon* is called, agreeably to *Philo*'s skill in the eastern languages, *Siton*, because he was the inventor of sowing bread-corn; and *Jupiter Aotrinus*, from his contriving of ploughs. He was worshipped by the *Phœnicians* in *Canaan*, and his name, which the bishop supposes was given him at his canonization, suggests to us the reason of the divine honours they gave him (31) [being derived from *דגן* *Dagon*, bread-corn.]

4. *Atlas* is also reckoned one of the most celebrated sons of *Uranus* in the *Atlantian* theology; the *Atlantii* in *Africa* are derived from him. The bishop supposes the reason of his being cruelly buried alive by his brother (as *Sanhoniatio* tells us presently) was to secure to him and *Thoth* the dominion over the western parts of *Africa* where the *Atlantii* were seated; though that design was not effected but by *Hercules*, or *Arles*, called *Assis* (the purling of *Egypt*) in the reign of *Amans* the son of *Atlas* (32). The bishop chuses rather to consider *Atlas* as the brother, than the son of *Japetus*, as the *Greeks* represent him, because *Sanhoniatio* reports him to be the brother of *Cronus*, whom the *Greeks* also agree to be brother to *Japetus*.

(1) It is urged as an objection to the veracity of this fragment, that *Byblus* is here said to be the first city in *Phœnicia*, after mention has been made of *Tyre* in the fifth generation (33); but no more can be made of what is said there, than that it was a place inhabited, perhaps by people living

(22) *Vid. THEOPHIL. ANTIOCHEN. ad Autlyc. lib. 2. DAMASCIUM in vita Isidori, & SUIDAM in voce Koi: &c.*

(23) *Judg. viii. 31.* (24) *CUMBERL. on Sancton. p. 142.*

(25) *Apud EUSEB. de prep. Evangel. lib. 9. cap. 17. p. 419.* (26) *Gen. x. 6.*

(27) *CUMBERL. on Sancton. p. 145.*

(28) *Chap. v. 26. Vid. etiam POCOCK. specim. Hist. Arab. p. ult.*

(29) *CUMBERL. ubi sup. p. 120, 121.* (30) *Idem, ibid. p. 326.* (31) *Idem, ibid. & p. 327.*

(32) *CUMBERL. Sancton. p. 327, 328.*

(33) *See before, p. 87. b.*



AT that time the descendants of the *Dioscuri* having built some tumultuary and a other stronger ships, went to sea, and being cast on shore near mount *Cassius*, there consecrated a temple (K).

THE auxiliaries of *Ilus*, or *Cronus*, were called *Eloim* (L), which is as much as to say *Cronii*, for so were they named who were under *Cronus*. But *Cronus* having a son called *Sadid* (M), dispatched him with his own sword, having a suspicion of him, and deprived his son of life with his own hand. So also he cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods were amazed at the mind of *Cronus*.

IN process of time, *Uranus* being in flight, or banishment, sends his virgin daughter *Astarte*, with two other of her sisters, *Rhea* and *Dione*, to cut off *Cronus* by deceit, whom *Cronus* taking, made those sisters his wives. *Uranus* understanding this, sent *Eimarmene* and *Hora* [*Fate* and *Beauty*] with other auxiliaries, to war against him: but *Cronus* having gained the affections of these also, kept them with him. Moreover, the god *Uranus* devised *Betylia*, contriving stones that moved as having life (N).

*Cronus* begat on *Astarte* seven daughters, called *Titanides*, or *Artemides*; and he begat on *Rhea* seven sons, the youngest of which, as soon as he was born, was consecrated a god (O). Also by *Dione* he had daughters, and by *Astarte* two sons, *Pothos* and *Eros* [*Desire* and *Love*.]

DAEMON, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called *Zeus Aro-trius*.

To *Sydye*, or the just, one of the *Titanides* bare *Asclepius* (P). *Cronus* had also in c

living in tents, or scattered huts: for building with sun-dried bricks was not found out till three generations after. Besides, if it had been called a city, the expression would have admitted of an explanation by *prolepsis*. *Byblus* seems to have been the imperial seat of *Cronus*; as it was of *Mizraim* for some time, according to the bishop (34).

(K) Dr. *Cumberland* observes, that this is the first navigation we have any account of in history after the flood (35); and perhaps this is the first temple founded also; for before they used itinerant temples, carried about on carts (36). Mount *Cassius* lay on the coast forty miles from *Pelusium* in *Egypt* eastward, in the road to *Palesine* (37).

(L) *Eloim* is עֲלֹיִם the plural of עֲלֹהִים *Eloah*, and signifies the gods, as they are called just after. The bishop renders the word in this place *Ilus's men*, or those that were for *Cronus* (38); in which sense it may be understood, considering the persons who assumed it were the auxiliaries of *Il*, and took their name from him on that account.

(M) شَدِيد *Shadid* in *Arabic* signifies a strong man, and seems to be of kin to *Shaddai*.

(N) *Bochart* conceives that by the transposition of a letter by the transcriber of *Sanchoniathe* writing עֲלֵיִם for עֲלֹיִם, animated stones, have been transformed into animated stones. *Jacob* seems to have set the example of anointing stones, when he poured oil upon the top of the pillar which had been his pillow, calling the place *Beth-el* (39). The *Jews* say the *Phœnicians* worshipped that pillar of *Jacob*, withal consecrating and anointing stones in imitation of it, which they called *Betylia*, and *Betyli*, in memory of the stone erected at *Beth-el*. *Hesychius* says, the stone was so called which *Rea* gave *Saturn* to devour instead of *Jupiter*. *Priscian* says, the same stone is called *Abadir*, or *Abaddir*, and that it is the *Betylus* of the god *Abaddir*. But that name taken for the stone, seems to be corrupted from the *Phœnician* אבן אבן *Aban dir*, signifying a spherical stone, which was the figure of

the *Betylus*. *Damascius*, a superstitious heathen writer in *Justinian's* time, says, he saw several of these *Betylia*, or *Betyli*, of which many wonders were reported, in mount *Libanus*, near *Heliopolis* of *Syria* (40): nay, and pretends he saw one of these stones moved in the air (41), and describes it to be round, about a span in diameter, and whitish, though it often appeared of different colours (42); which shews there was a popular notion in those days of the *Betylia* being moving stones. They were generally consecrated to some god or other, as *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, the *Sun*, &c. (43).

(O) Dr. *Cumberland* supposes this son of *Rhea* was *Muth*, because afterwards mention is made of a consecrated son of *Rhea*, called *Muth*; but the 1st seems to be a different son from him spoken of in this place; for *Muth* was not consecrated till his death, the other as soon as he was born.

(P) He was surnamed *Esmunus* from עֲשְׂמוֹנִי *Esmini*, which signifies the eighth. His mother was one of the daughters of *Cronus*. This is hard to believe, yet it is not impossible that *Sydye* in his latter time dwelling in *Canaan*, might, to secure his quiet life (for we read of no warlike action of *Sben*) marry a daughter of *Ham's*, and by her have this son *Asclepius*; whom alone of all the sons of *Sydye*, *Sanchoniathe*, chiefly regarding his own country, hath taken notice of, probably because he only might have settled in *Phœnicia*, among the issue of *Ham* (44): and that he did settle among them appears from *Apuleius's* saying that *Apollo* (whom *Sanchoniathe* makes *Cronus's* son) gave to *Æsculapius*, as he calls him, the herb *Solanum* (45), or night-thade, called from his *Phœnician* name, *Astr Esmuni* in *Punic* (46). *Asclepius* is also called *Momphites* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and passed for a god in *Egypt* (47). And *Pausanias* (48) mentions a temple to *Æsculapius*, *Apollo* and *Hygiea*, *Egyptians*. This is the eldest account the bishop meets with of skill in physic or medicines (49).

(34) CUMBERL. *Orig. Gent. Antiquiss.* p. 174.

(35) *Ibid.* p. 368.

(36) See before, p. 88. b.

(37) *Vid. Itiner.* ANTONINI.

(38) CUMBERL.

*Sanchon.* p. 31. (39) *Genes.* xviii. 18, 19. and

xxi. 13. (40) *Apud* PHOTIUM *Bibl.* p. 1047.

(41) *Vid.* PHOTIUM *ibid.* p. 1062. (42) *Ibid.*

p. 1063.

(43) *Idem, ibid. Vid. etiam* BO-HART.

*Canaan*, l. 2. c. 2. (44) CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.*

p. 200. (45) *APULEIUS de virtutib. herbar.*

(46) *In Auluar. ad Dioscorid.* (47) *CLEM.*

*ALEX. Stromat. lib. 1.* (48) *In Crinitiaz.*

(49) CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.* p. 201.

2 *Peræa* (Q) three sons: 1. *Cronus*, of the same name with his father. 2. *Zeus Belus*. 3. *Apollo* (R).

CONTEMPORARY with these were *Pontus* and *Typhon*, and *Nereus* the father of *Pontus* (S). From *Pontus* came *Sidon*, who by the exceeding sweetness of her voice, or singing, found out first the hymns of odes or praises; and *Posidon* [or *Neptune*]. But to *Demarion* was born *Melicartus*, who is also called *Hercules* (T).

THEN again *Uranus* makes war against *Pontus*, and being separated from him, joins with *Demarion*. *Demarion* invades *Pontus*, but *Pontus* puts him to flight, and *Demarion* vows a sacrifice for his escape.

BUT in the thirty second year of his power and reign, *Ilus*, who is *Cronus*, having laid an ambuscade for his father *Uranus* in a certain midland place, and having gotten him into his hands, cuts off his privities (U) near fountains and rivers. There *Uranus* was consecrated, and his spirit or breath was separated, and the blood of his secrets dropped into the fountains and waters of the rivers; and the place is shewed unto this day.

THEN our historian, after some things interposed, goes on, saying, But *Astarte* called the Greatest, and *Demoroon* surnamed *Zeus*, and *Adodus* the king of the gods, reigned over the country by *Cronus*'s consent or authority (W): and *Astarte* put on her

(Q) *Peræa* being the Greek name of the country of *Byzhan*, beyond *Jordan*, the bishop supposes these three sons of *Cronus* to have been born at *Asteroth Carnaim* (50), a noted city thereof, from the relation already mentioned, which that place hath to *Cronus*. The names of these sons are well known to belong to heathen deities by ancient writers; but it does not appear from such writers that they were the sons of *Cronus*; only *Eupolemus* says something to the purpose in the fragment above-mentioned; though neither *Moses*, nor *Eupolemus*, who writes the *Babylonian* traditions about them, do use or own the names given them by the *Canaanites*: and indeed the same man was deified in one place, who was not honoured so in another; and often the same person was worshipped in several places under several names (51).

(R) The first of these sons, *Cronus* the second, the bishop conjectures to be *Misraim*, from a passage of *Nonnus*, where *Apis*, the living image of *Osiris*, whom he supposes also to be *Misraim*, is said to be likewise called *Cronus*, *Belus*, *Hammon*, and *Zeus*, all acknowledged to have been names belonging to *Ham* his father, and therefore he must be the second in them all (52). By *Belus*, the bishop supposes *Gust*, the son of *Ham*, to be intended by our author (53); and that the third, whom he calls *Apollo*, was the *Phut* of *Moses*, known among the *Greeks* sometimes by the name of *Pytkius*, which in radical letters agrees with *Phut*; and sometimes by that of *Apollo Carnens*, which he takes to signify the elder *Apollo*, the son of *Cronus*, from קרן *Keren*; from which root also his town was called *Carnaim* (54), or, as it is elsewhere (55) written, *Carnion* (56).

(S) Bishop *Cumberland* has made another alteration here in *Sanhoniatho*'s successions, placing *Nereus* and his descendants, whose line is uncertain, in the line of *Uranus*, and supposes *Nereus* to be *Japhet*: 1. Because being contemporary with *Ham* and his issue, and having found *Skem* under the name of *Sydyr*, it remains, that he takes *Japhet* and his issue to be here pointed at (57). 2. Because every one knows *Nereus*, *Pontus*, and *Posidon* or *Neptune*, relate to the sea, its illes and shores, which in scripture fall to *Japhet*'s share (58). 3. Because this author never mentions *Japhet* and his line if

it be not here (59); and it would be strange, if an historian, writing of that age wherein mankind was repaired, should omit him who peopled a third part of the world (60). 4. Because though *Nereus* and his issue are not said to be descended from *Uranus* or *Noah*, yet we know by scripture, that they must come from him; and there is no other line known, in which they might come from *Noah*, but *Japhet*'s. 5. Because *Sanhoniatho*, being a *Canaanite*, has taken no care to clear other pedigrees, but only that of *Ham* and *Cain* (61).

(T) This is the old *Phœnician Melcartus* or *Hercules* (62), whose temple at *Gadira* or *Gades* had no images in it, and continued to the time of *Silius Italicus* (63). *Bochart* supposes this way of worship, practised in this temple, was taken from the *Jews*; not considering that *Hercules Phœnicus* was long before the *Jewish* law, and that the patriarchal religion used no images (64).

(U) It may be presumed, that this circumstance gave occasion to that notion of some, already mentioned (65), that *Ham* castrated *Noah*.

(W) It is conceived that *Adodus* or *Adod*, which signifies among the *Assyrians*, the one, by way of eminence (66), was a title belonging either to *Gush* the son of *Ham*, or to *Nimrod*, who, as his kingdom extended even to *Assyria*, might well have many subordinate kings under him, who are called gods, as *Cronus*'s confederate princes were called *Elom*. Agreeably hereto, we find that *Hadad* was antiently a kingly name in *Edom* (67) and *Syria* (68), sometimes written *Hadar* (69). *Adar*, or *Adir* is the magnificent, or mighty potentate, and therefore may also be a title. *Adodus* reigning over many gods or kings, can only be understood of the large dominion allowed him by *Ham* (70); and we may see what sort of gods they were, when the king of them seems to have been but a delegate of *Cronus*, and could not reign without his consent.

This *Adodus* may possibly be the *Adid* *Josephus* mentions, whom, together with *Azazel*, the *Syrians* worshipped as gods, boasting much of their antiquity; whereas that author observes, they were no other than *Hadad* and *Hazael*, kings of *Syria* (71), who reigned at *Damascus* in the time of *Joram* king

(50) Gen. xiv. 5. (51) CUMBERL. on *Sanhoniatho*, p. 335. (52) *Ibid.* p. 336. (53) *Ibid.* p. 337. (54) Gen. xiv. 5. (55) Macc. xii. 16. (56) CUMBERL. on *Sanhoniatho*, p. 116, 337. (57) *Ibid.* p. 257. (58) *Ibid.* p. 259. (59) *Ibid.* p. 257. (60) *Ibid.* p. 258. (61) *Ibid.* p. 259. (62) *Ibid.* p. 265. (63) SIL. ITAL. lib. 3. (64) CUMBERL. on *Sanhoniatho*, p. 265. (65) See

before, p. 120. (66) MACROB. *Saturnal.* lib. 1. cap. 31. BOCHART. *Chanaan.* lib. 2. cap. 8. (67) Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 50. (68) 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6. Vid. etiam NICOL. DAMASCEN. apud JOSEPH. *Antiq. lib.* 7. cap. 5. (69) Gen. xxxvi. 39. 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 7. See also CUMBERL. *Orig. Gent. Antiquiss.* p. 171. (70) *Ibid.* p. 173, 236, 256. (71) 2 Kings viii. 7, &c.

head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head. But travelling about the world, <sup>a</sup> she found a star falling from the air or sky, which she taking up, consecrated in the holy island *Tyre*. And the *Phanicians* say, that *Astarte* is she, who is among the *Greeks* called *Aphrodite* [or *Venus*].

*CRONUS* also, going about the world, gave to his own daughter *Athena* the kingdom of *Attica*: but when there was a plague and mortality, *Cronus* made his only son a whole burnt-offering to his father *Uranus*<sup>c</sup>. This fact our author relates more particularly in another place, saying, that it was established as a custom among the antients, that in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a city or nation should give up their most favourite child to be slain, as an expiation to appease the avenging <sup>b</sup> dæmons; and the victims in these cases were butchered with much mysterious ceremony. *Cronus* therefore, called by the *Phanicians* *Israel*, who reigned there, and was after his death consecrated into the planet *Cronus* [or *Saturn*], having an only son by a certain nymph of the country named *Anobret*, and whom therefore he called *Jeud*, which in the *Phanician* tongue, at this day, signifies *only-begotten*; and the country being involved in a dangerous war, he adorned this only son with royal attire, and sacrificed him on an altar which he had prepared for that purpose<sup>d</sup> (X). *Cronus* was also circumcised in his privities, and forced his auxiliaries to do the same. And not long after he consecrated, after his death, another son, which he had by *Rhea*, called *Muth*; so the *Phanicians* call *death*, or *Pluto*.

AFTER these things *Cronus* gives the city *Byblus* to the goddess *Baalhis*, which is <sup>c</sup> *Dione*; and *Berytus* he gave to *Pofidon*, and to the *Cabiri*, and to husbandmen, and to fishermen, who consecrated the remains (Y) of *Pontus* in or unto *Berytus*.

BUT before these things, the god *Taautus*, having formerly imitated or represented *Uranus*, made images of the countenances of the gods *Cronus* and *Dagon*, and formed the sacred characters of the other elements. He contrived also for *Cronus* the ensign of his royal power, four eyes partly before and partly behind, two of them winking as

<sup>c</sup> *SANCHONIATHO* apud *EUSEB.* de *Præp. Ev. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 36, &c.*  
1. 1. c. 10. p. 40. & 1. 4. c. 16. p. 156.

<sup>d</sup> *Idem*, apud eundem,

king of *Israel* (72); the first of whom had thirty two kings serving under him in his army (73), from whence he might have acquired the title of king of the gods, kings antiently having been called gods.

(X) This is thought by some men of learning not to be a true account of any sacrifice really performed, but only a misrepresentation of *Abraham's* intended sacrifice of his son *Isaac*, with some additions and mistakes, which the heathen writers frequently made in all their relations (74). The reasons alledged for this opinion are; 1. *Cronus* sacrificed his only son; so was *Abraham* reported to have done. 2. That son was called *Jeud*, and יְהוֹדָה *Yehid*, or only son, is the epithet given to *Isaac* by *Moses* (75). 3. The mother of this only son is the same with *Sarah*; *Anobret*, or אֲנוֹבֶרֶת *Ann-oberet* signifying conceiving by grace, as *Sarah* did. 4. *Cronus* and his followers were circumcised; so was *Abraham* and his household. 5. *Cronus* was called *Israel*, which name the *Canaanites* gave to *Abraham*, from the nation of which he was the father.

To these reasons it is answered: 1. That the sacrificers in *Moses* and *Sanchoniatho* are two different persons; *Cronus* being plainly *Ham*, and here called *Israel* by a mistake of transcribers, who took *Is*, the surname of *Cronus*, to be an abbreviation for *Israel* (76), as the letters *is* frequently are. 2. The occasion of the offerings, and of the circumcisions of *Cronus* and *Abraham* were also different; *Cronus* sacrificed his son to remove a war and plague on the country, according to a settled custom, and circumcised himself for the same purpose, to appease an angry deity; but what *Abraham* did was by a special command from *God*, as an instance of his faith and obedience. 3. The persons to be sacrificed were

different: *Cronus's* son was his only son by *Anobret*, a *Canaanitish* concubine; but *Abraham's* son was the only child of his wife *Sarah*, who was of *Chaldea*; and the name of *Anobret*, even according to the above-mentioned derivation, rather signifies a passing fair one. 4. The deities to whom the two sacrifices were offered were not the same; *Abraham* certainly offered to none but the true *God*, *Cronus* to his father and the avenging dæmons (77).

*Bochart* (78), besides this notion, that *Cronus* (whom he elsewhere makes to be *Noah*) was *Abraham*, imagines also, that the *Canaanites* misunderstanding that passage of *Moses*, where *Abraham* is called a great prince, or as the Hebrew אֲדֹנֵי אֱלֹהִים a prince of God, made a deity of him, dedicating the seventh day of the week, and sacrificing their children to him; which is a mere fancy, and without the least ground. A late writer (79) has endeavoured to prove *Cronus*, at least the second of that name (which last he supposes to be the person that sacrificed his only son, though *Sanchoniatho* expressly says it was the son of *Uranus*) was not more ancient than *Abraham*, from the order of *Sanchoniatho's* genealogies, placing *Elium's* birth in the time of the *Dioscuri*, who were a generation younger than *Misor* or *Misraim*; but even in this case, the elder *Cronus* could not be later than *Ren*, who was four generations older than *Abraham*, and therefore much earlier than that patriarch: notwithstanding that, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, they might possibly have lived at the same time; for the same chronology is absurd enough to make *Ham* himself contemporary with *Abraham*.

(Y) This is supposed to be the oldest consecration of relics to be met with in history (80).

(72) *JOSEPH.* *Antiq. lib. 9. cap. 4.* (73) 1 Kings xx. 1, 24. (74) *Vid.* *BOCHART* *Canaan. l. 2. c. 1.* *SHUCKFORD's* *Connec. vol. II. p. 30, &c.* and *DODWELL's* *Disc. on Sanchon. p. 49.* (75) *Gen.*

xxii. 2. (76) *Vid.* *GROT. de veritat. rel. Christ. l. 1. §. 16. not. 50.* (77) *Vid.* *CUMB. on Sanchon. p. 134, &c.* (78) *Ubi sup.* (79) *SHUCKFORD ubi sup.* (80) *CUMB. on Sanchon. p. 262.*

a in sleep; and upon his shoulders four wings, two as flying, and two as let down to rest. The emblem was, *That Cronus when he slept yet was watching, and waking yet slept*: and so for his wings, *That even resting he flew about, and flying yet rested*. But the other gods had two wings each of them on their shoulders, to intimate that they flew about with, or under *Cronus*. He also had two wings on his head, one for the most governing part the mind, one for the sense.

But *Cronus* coming into the south country, gave all *Egypt* to the god *Taautus*, that it should be his kingdom. These things, saith he, the *Cabiri*, the seven sons of *Sydyce*, and their eighth brother *Aesclepius*, first of all set down in memoirs, as the god *Taautus* commanded them.

b ALL these things the son of *Thabion*, who was the first hierophant [or director of sacred rites] that ever was among the *Phanicians*, allegorized; and mixing the facts with physical and mundane phenomena, he delivered them down to those that celebrated *Orgia*, and to those prophets who presided over the mysteries, who always contrived to improve their fables, and so delivered them down to their successors, and to those that were afterwards introduced among them. One of whom was *Isiris* (Z), the inventor of three letters, the brother of *Ckna*, the first *Phanician*; as he was afterwards called\*.

c THUS we have presented the reader with the small remains which are left of the *Phanician* antiquities, collected by *Sanckoniatho*; wherein a free and open confession is made of the beginning of idolatry, and their gods ingenuously acknowledged to have been once mortal men; a thing the *Greeks* were ashamed to do, and therefore turned all the stories of the gods into allegories and physical discourses†. A late learned prelate (A), who has endeavoured to explain this fragment, and reconcile it with scripture, has for that purpose made several corrections and alterations therein; supposing that the records from which *Sanckoniatho* extracted his history, were corrupted in those instances by the *Cabiri*, the first writers of them, who in particular suppressed all mention of the deluge for the reasons already given (B). The principal corruptions which the bishop observes, and would amend, are; 1. That *Sanckoniatho* and those he transcribes have removed several persons out of the line of *Uranus*, and placed them under that of *Cain*, in order to do honour to it: particularly *Mysor* and *Sydyce*, who are placed in the eleventh generation, as sons of *Amynius* and *Magus*, the bishop takes to be *Mizraim* and *Shem*, both of the line of *Uranus*; and he accordingly places *Sydyce* in the same generation with *Cronus*, supposed to be *Ham*, and *Mysor* a generation lower, as the son of *Cronus*. 2. That they have introduced *Nereus* and his issue, as belonging neither to the line of *Noah*, nor to that of *Cain*, and as contemporaries with *Cronus*'s children: but the bishop finding *Nereus* to answer the description of *Japhet* better than any of the sons of *Uranus* mentioned by *Sanckoniatho*, he raises him to or three

Bp Cumberland's amendments of Sanckoniatho considered.

\* Idem, apud eund. p. 40, 41.

† STILLINGFLEET Origin. SACR, book 1. chap. 2. §. 7.

(Z) *Isiris* being here called the brother of *Clns* or *Canaan*, the bishop concludes him to be *Mysor* or *Mizraim*, the father of *Thoth* (81). He observes also, that *Hellanicus*, an author older than *Herodotus*, often heard the *Egyptian* priests pronounce the name *Osiris*, *Hysiris* (82); and says, that *Sanckoniatho* represented *Isiris* or *Abram*, and *Thoth*, as *Phanicians*, to do honour to his country. And the reason why our author calls the same person in this place *Isiris*, whom he before called *Mysor*, was because in the preceding part of the work he wrote his name as he found it, thinking he ought not to recede from the records; and here he wrote it as it was spoken in his time, thinking he ought to comply with custom (83). To the objection, that *Isiris* cannot well be *Mizraim*, because it is not likely that he should make the doctrines of religion allegorical, and his son *Thoth* set them down in a different historical manner; it is answered, *Thoth* might cause the *Cabiri* to write this historical account or explanation before he went to reign in *Egypt*, for a help to his memory, or to shew the *Egyptians* the *Phanician* form of worship was elder than their fabulous representations; and that this was not to abolish, but to explain the religion esta-

blished by his father. Lastly, all that allegorical scene of *Egyptian* solemnities delivered by *Plutarch*, cannot be so old as *Mizraim*'s establishment, since much of it relates to his death, and is owned by *Plutarch* (84) to have been added by *Isis* (85).

(A) Bishop Cumberland, whose notes on this author we have hitherto given, intermixing very little of our own, having reserved our observations for this place.

(B) But after all, it seems not necessary to suppose the *Cabiri* purposely omitted to mention the flood, in order to suppress the memory of that judgment on the idolatrous race of *Cain*; because they might have retorted the reproach on their adversaries, and pretended their religion to have been that false one for which the world was punished: and this might have been the easier, considering the tradition concerning that religion must have been much more uncertain than that of the deluge, to which a considerable part of mankind, then living, was able to bear testimony. It is more probable, that the writers of those records were entirely ignorant of the deluge; and consequently that they are not genuine, or of that antiquity which is pretended.

(81) CUMBERL. on Sanckon. p. 94, 99, &c. (82) Vid. PLUTARCH. de Iside & Osiride, p. 364.

(83) CUMBERL. on Sanckon. p. 101, 102. (84) Ubi supra. (85) CUMBERL. on Sanckon. p. 103, &c.

generations higher, and makes him the son of *Uranus*; in which two alterations this <sup>a</sup> author's scheme principally consists. But however plausible his hypothesis may be, on a nearer examination it seems liable to several objections.

FOR as to the reason given for the *Cabiri's* making these dislocations, viz. to do honour to the line of *Cain*, it may be asked, why they who were of *Uranus's* line (for they could be descended from no body else, supposing him to be *Noah*) should desire to do honour to that of another, by renouncing their ancestors? why in doing this did they separate *Misor* from his father, and deny *Cronus* the honour which they did his son? or rather were they afraid *Cronus* would disgrace the line of *Cain*, and would not have it thought *Misor* and *Thoth* were descended from him, whom yet they acknowledge to be the founder of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* nations? how happened it when <sup>b</sup> they separated *Nereus*, or *Japhet*, from *Cronus*, that they did not make him the same honourable amends as they did his brother *Sydyc* (C), but drop him by the way two or three generations lower? was he a reprobate not fit to keep company even with *Cronus*? To be serious, it is not to be imagined that *Thoth*, who directed the *Cabiri* to write those records <sup>c</sup>, could think it a greater honour to be descended from a person in another line, who makes no figure in the history, than from *Cronus*, so renowned in the antient world: nor could he, as the case stood, have any prospect of concealing his true pedigree, if he were so minded, or the *Cabiri* be supposed to have so little regard to themselves, or their father *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, and in all probability still living, as to place themselves in the hateful line of *Cain*. The dislocation of *Misor* is opposed by a circumstance which seems to require that he should belong to the generation where he is placed in the history; for its being said that *Cronus*, when he came to man's age, used the council of *Hermes*, or *Thoth*, who was his secretary, seems to imply that *Thoth* was a man of more years and greater experience than *Cronus* himself, and consequently could not be his grandson. It is also unlikely that *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, should marry a daughter of *Cronus*, or *Ham*; which the bishop supposes he did to secure his quiet in *Canaan*, upon the presumption that *Shem* was *Melchizedec* <sup>d</sup>: which notion we have already shewn to be groundless <sup>e</sup>, and shall consider farther hereafter.

NOR can we approve of another supposition of the bishop's, viz. that *Ifiris* is the same with *Misor*, because said to be the brother of *Chna* or *Canaan*; for they are certainly designed to be two persons, differing as well in age as other circumstances. *Thoth* was king of *Egypt* when the *Cabiri* wrote these records at his command; which shews that his father *Misor*, whom the bishop supposes to have been *Menes*, the first king of *Egypt*, who reigned but sixty two years, was dead; as the bishop himself confesses <sup>f</sup>: the son of *Thabion*, who turned the history into allegory, and mixed it with physical matters, came after the *Cabiri*, and delivered it in the new form he had given it to those who presided over the sacred mysteries, from whom it passed to their successors, and to those that were afterwards introduced among them, of whom *Ifiris* was one. So that *Ifiris* seems not only to have been some generations later than the *Cabiri* and *Thoth*, <sup>e</sup> who reigned but sixty two years; but also to have been no more than one of the *Phœnician* priests, and not a king of *Egypt*. Nor is this in the least repugnant to the scripture account; it being very probable that the nation properly called *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, did not take their name immediately from *Canaan* the son of *Ham*, but from some later descendant of his of the same name, since we do not find the *Canaanites* among his children or descendants in the place set apart for giving an account of them <sup>g</sup>; nor do we hear of them, or the *Perizzites*, another branch descended from *Canaan*, before *Abraham's* arrival in the land of promise <sup>h</sup>.

MANY more objections arise against the bishop's scheme; but we think it enough to have considered the fundamentals of it, leaving the reader to make his farther remarks from the hints we have given. Upon the whole, we think the history of *Sanchoniatho* will in no wise admit of the corrections the bishop has made; it may be confuted by scripture, but it can never be reconciled with it; the plan is quite different from that of *Moses*, and seems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the first ages; if it be not rather a history framed long after the facts spoken of happened, by mixing fable, or invention, with some vulgar notions and glimmer-

<sup>a</sup> CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 104: Sanchon. p. 95.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 200.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 125.

<sup>d</sup> CUMBERL. on

<sup>e</sup> Genes. xii. 6. and xiii. 7.

(C) The first writers of these memoirs seem to have nothing more in view, by the particulars relating to *Sydyc* and *Nereus*, and their descendants, than to account for the original of the *Cabiri*, and

of navigation, and to do honour to *Berytus*, a *Phœnician* city, by making it the prime seat of their religion and trade.



- a ings of ancient transactions, which still remained in the time of the author, or editor, when the genuine and more perfect tradition of things had been lost.
- BUT before we close this section, we must not omit mentioning a word concerning the chronology of this history of *Sanckoniatho*, in which the bishop seems to vary from himself. In one place he says, it is bounded within the three first centuries after the flood, as ending with the beginning of *Tboth's* reign in *Egypt*<sup>a</sup>: in another that it ends within four or five hundred years after that event<sup>b</sup>. But the repugnancy is more obvious with regard to *Cronus*, or *Ham*. The bishop allows in several places, and thinks it but reasonable, that *Ham* and the other children of *Noah* should live to near about the same age, though he thinks *Ham* did not live altogether so long as *Shem*<sup>c</sup>.
- b He says, it appears plain enough from *Sanckoniatho*, as in fact it does, that *Cronus*, or *Ham*, out-lived his father *Uraus*, or *Noah*<sup>d</sup>: and as *Noah's* death is determined in scripture to have happened three hundred and fifty years after the flood, he concludes the life of *Ham* must be above four hundred and fifty years<sup>e</sup>. And elsewhere, from the circumstance of *Chedorlaomer's* invasion of *Canaan*<sup>f</sup>, concluding *Ham* to be then dead, he fixes his death in the fifth year before *Abraham's* entrance into *Canaan*, A.M. 2078; that is, in the year of the flood 422<sup>g</sup>. Notwithstanding all which, in another place, speaking of the age of *Ham*, he supposes him and his descendants to have shortened their days by debauchery, and that he only lived about three hundred years after the flood; and this, says the bishop, may well be granted, because his father lived fifty years longer, as it is certain his brother *Shem* out-lived him two hundred years<sup>h</sup>. Such contradictions and mistakes may the greatest men run into, when they have set their minds on an hypothesis; notwithstanding which, to do this learned writer justice, he has, in his remarks on our author, given great light into the history of those ancient times, and made many valuable observations.

## S E C T. IV.

- d Of the removal of Mankind from about Mount Ararat to the Plain of Shinaar, and of the Building of Babel.

AS there fall two or three very remarkable events within this period, namely, the building of *Babel* by the posterity of *Noah*, the confusion of languages, and the dispersion of mankind; it is incumbent upon us to give the reader some account of those important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtless of great benefit to mankind.

Year of the Flood, 401.  
Year before Christ, 2597.

- AFTER the death of *Noah*, his sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet* thought fit to remove with their families from the plains near *Ararat*, where we suppose they till then continued, and travelling from the east, found a plain in the land of *Shinaar*, and dwelt there<sup>a</sup>. The wording of this passage has occasioned some doubt whether by *Ararat* could be meant *Armenia*, since then their journeying would have been from the north-west. Wherefore others, instead of *from the east*, render it *eastward*. But there is no need to strain the text to explain a geographical difficulty. *Moses* spoke according to the belt of his knowledge, or perhaps with reference to the wilderness where he wrote; from which *Shinaar* lying eastward, he might judge *Ararat* lay eastward too, as lying farther off: or the difficulty may be easily solved by supposing with *Kircher*<sup>b</sup> and others, that as mankind multiplied they spread themselves in the country south-eastward of *Ararat*, and made small removes between the time of their descending from *Ararat*, and their coming to the place from whence they are mentioned to have moved towards *Shinaar*, which might have lain westward of that place. But after all, the mistake seems to lie on the side of the critics, and not of *Moses*; for even the mountain which at present passes with us for *Ararat*, lies above two degrees more east than the city of *Shinaar*, or *Senjar*, from whence the plain in all probability took the name: and if the sons of *Noah* entered *Shinaar* on the north side, they must of necessity have journeyed from the east, or, which is the same thing, have travelled westward, in order to arrive there; though at the same time they must have travelled southward too, for *Ararat* lies about north-east by north of *Senjar*; but all the geographers (*De Lisle* excepted) having drawn that mountain a good way out of its place to the westward, the commentators and historians, who relied upon them, have been embarrassed to recon-

The first migration of the sons of Noah to Shinaar.

<sup>a</sup> CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.* p. 95.  
p. 119.  
Orig. Gent. Antiquall. p. 172.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 119.  
<sup>c</sup> Genes. xiv.  
<sup>d</sup> Genes. ix. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 103, 119, 120, 123.  
<sup>f</sup> CUMBERL. on *Sanchon.* p. 123.  
<sup>g</sup> Turris Babel, p. 12.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>i</sup> Idem,

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

The extent and  
situation of the  
land of Shinaar.

cite the words of scripture with what they took for certain fact, viz. that *Ararat* lay a to the westward, and not at all to the eastward of *Senjar*.

IT is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of *Shinaar* (D) in the early times. We are informed from scripture, that the city and tower of *Babel* were built in a plain within that province<sup>7</sup>, and that *Nebuchadnezzar* carried the vessels of the temple into the land of *Shinaar* into the house of his God<sup>8</sup>, which in all probability was the temple of *Belus* in *Babylon*. Besides *Babel*, there are three other cities mentioned in scripture to have been situate in *Shinaar*, viz. *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Calneh*<sup>9</sup>; but as all the four seem to have stood at no great distance from each other<sup>b</sup>, we cannot thence judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be presumed, that it took in more to the north of *Babel* than to the south, and that it lay for the most part, b though not entirely, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; for *Babylon*, if it was the same with *Babel*, stood on the east side of *Euphrates* (E), which passed along the west side of it, before *Nebuchadnezzar* built the new city on this side that river, which thenceforth ran through the middle of the whole.

We meet with footsteps of the name of *Shinaar* in those parts, both in antient and modern authors; *Sennaar* of *Babylon* is mentioned by *Heftæus* the *Milesian*<sup>c</sup>, and the city of *Singara* in *Mesopotamia* by several<sup>d</sup>. Some speak of a territory of that name in the same quarters<sup>e</sup>; *Ptolemy* places both the city and mountain of *Singara* there<sup>f</sup>: all which seem to be the same city, mountain (F) and territory, which still bear the name of *Senjar* in the east<sup>g</sup>. The part of *Mesopotamia* chosen out by the astronomers in the time of the *Kalifa al Mamun*, for measuring the content of a degree of a great circle, was the desert of *Senjar*<sup>h</sup>; which the nature of the experiment shews to have been large, as well as a level country: and this we take to have been at least a part of the antient plain of *Shinaar*.

THE city of *Senjar* stands, or stood, in the northern borders (as we conjecture) of its territory, in the desert, at the foot of a certain mountain (perhaps that of the same name) twenty one miles from *Balad*, and twenty seven from *Misof*, which two last are situate on the *Tigris* twenty one miles asunder<sup>i</sup>. It is said to lie to the southward of *Nisibin*, almost three stages west of the *Tigris*<sup>k</sup>, or more particularly of *Misof*<sup>l</sup>; so that *Ptolemy* is in the wrong to place *Singara* on that river. As for the difference d between the words *Shinaar* and *Singar* it is very small, considering in the *Hebrew* the same character stands for the *Ain* and the *Ghain* (G). We find *Senjar* called also by another name, viz. *al Samara*<sup>m</sup>, which seems to be the contraction of *Sarra-man-rai*, a city on the east of the *Tigris*, three stages above *Baghdad*, and for a time the seat of the *Khalifa*<sup>n</sup>.

The building of  
Babel began.

THE sons of *Noah*, upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the sense of the passage which gives an account of this enterprize: And they said, go to, let us build us a

<sup>7</sup> Genes. xi. 2, &c. x. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Dan. i. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Genes. x. 10.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 123. in the notes.

<sup>c</sup> Apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. & EUSEB. de Pr. Ev. l. 9. c. 15.

<sup>d</sup> PLINIUS, Hist. Nat. AMMIAN. MARCELLINUS. EUTROPIUS. ATHANASIUS, in Epist. ad solitar. Vit. agent.

<sup>e</sup> SEXT. RUFUS, POMF. LATUS. <sup>f</sup> Tab. 4. Afie. <sup>g</sup> Geogr. Nub. p. 201. THEVENOT'S

Voyages, part 2. c. 10. <sup>h</sup> Vid. GOL. Not. ad Alfragan. p. 72. <sup>i</sup> Geogr. Nub. p. 201.

<sup>k</sup> GOLIUS, ubi supra. <sup>l</sup> HYDE de Relig. vet. Pers. p. 64. <sup>m</sup> ABU'LFARAG. Hist. Dyn. p. 18.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. GOL. ubi supra, p. 130. Geogr. Nub. p. 203.

(D) The name in *Hebrew* is שִׁנְאָר *Shinaar*, or *Sennaar*; in *Arabic* سنجار *Senjar*. *Bochart* says it is derived from שִׁנְאָר *naar*, which signifies to scatter or dissipate (86): and if so, it could not have been imposed by the *Noachides* on the plain where they first fixed, as *Jesephus* affirms (87), without supposing them to have foreseen the dispersion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

(E) Among other circumstances it may be observed, that the modern travellers represent the *Euphrates* a mile and half broad in those parts; whereas *Strabo* says the breadth of the branch of that river which passed through *Babylon* was but a furlong (88), or the eighth part of a mile; though the bridge, according to *Diodorus* (89), was five furlongs in length, if he does not mistake: but supposing the river as broad as the bridge was long, it

will be but little more than one third of the present breadth of the *Euphrates*; which yet lower down, at *Hilla*, becomes more narrow.

(F) *Haitbo*, the *Armenian*, writes, that in *Mesopotamia* there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit-trees, the more easterly of which is called *Sinjar*, the other *Lesson* (90); probably the desert or plain of *Sinjar* lay between these two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground *Heiderger* charges *Haitbo* with a mistake, as if he made *Sinjar* a mountain of *Chaldea* (91): on the contrary, that author seems to have mistaken *Haitbo*, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning *Mesopotamia*, as belonging to the foregoing chapter which treats of *Chaldea*.

(G) Thus שִׁנְאָר may be written either *Gomorrah*, or *Amorrah*: שִׁנְאָר, either *Ga'ah*, or *Azzab*, as we find it in the margin of our Bibles (92).

(86) PHALEG. lib. 1. cap. 9.

(87) Antiq.

nov. orb. p. 373.

(91) HIDEBO. Hist. Patr.

lib. 1. cap. 4.

(88) Lib. 16.

(89) Lib. 2.

tom. I. p. 419.

(92) Genes. x. 19.

(90) HAITBO de Tartaris, cap. 12. apud GRINÆUM,

- a city and tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth". Many imagine that the motive which induced them to undertake this building, was their apprehension of a second deluge, and therefore they resolved to raise a structure of sufficient height to fly to in case of danger<sup>o</sup>. Others think there is no room for this suggestion, for in that case they would rather have built it on an eminence than a plain; and the scripture expressly assigns the reason of their setting about it, viz. to make them a name, or leave a memorial of themselves, lest they should be scattered, or, as it is otherwise rendred (perhaps to serve the purpose) before they should be scattered abroad<sup>p</sup>; which implies they knew they should be dispersed before they began to build, being warned by God, according to some, to separate themselves into colonies<sup>q</sup>. But a third sort, to whom the text appears altogether unintelligible as it now stands in the several translations, will have it that the word *Shem* should not be rendred name, but sign; and so the passage will run, let us make us a sign, lest we be scattered; that is, as *Perizonius* explains it, the tower was to serve them as a beacon, or mark, by the sight of which, or of a signal made from the top of it, they might avoid straying in the open plains with their flocks (the first men being shepherds) and be brought back to the city which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to disperse themselves<sup>r</sup>.

Year of the Flood, 401.  
Year before Christ, 259.

- But whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which seem to be dubiously expressed in the text, the effect of their consultation was, that they set on foot the building of the city and tower of *Babel*. But this enterprize being displeasing in the eyes of God, as tending to frustrate or delay the execution of his design, which was, that mankind should not always continue together in one place, he obliged them to give over their project before they had finished it (H), by confounding their language, so that one could not understand what another said; from whence the city took the name of *Babel*<sup>s</sup>, which signifies confusion: whereupon the dispersion and planting of nations ensued.

- This great event happened just before the birth of *Peleg*, in the year of the flood four hundred and one, when the work, according to some, had been carried on twenty two years<sup>t</sup>, and according to others forty<sup>u</sup>; so that the foundation must have been laid ten, or at most, but twenty eight years after *Noah's* death.

- MANY, considering the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind thereupon, as a divine judgment, have deemed the building of *Babel* an evil attempt (I); and being concerned for the honour of *Shem* and his race, will not allow them to have been present at it, supposing that undertaking to be set on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind<sup>v</sup>, in which sense they understand the words the children of men<sup>w</sup>. On the contrary, others will have it, that not only *Shem*, but *Noah* and *Abraham* (who, according to one way of computing the Hebrew chronology, were contemporary) assisted in the raising of that structure<sup>x</sup>; while some say, *Nimrod*, who is generally looked on as the chief promoter of that work<sup>y</sup>, retired into *Assyria*, because he would not give his assent to it<sup>z</sup>.

THAT the building of *Babel* was a thing indifferent in itself, and no way sinful, seems evident from the silence of scripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or presumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of *Shem* were concerned in the work as well as the rest, appears from their sharing in the punishment, if it be a

<sup>o</sup> Gen. xi. 4. <sup>p</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. BASNAGE, Antiq. Judaïques, tom. II. cap. 2. § 27. p. 419. <sup>q</sup> Vid. the vulgat. translat. <sup>r</sup> USHER'S Annals in English, ad ann. mundi, 1757. <sup>s</sup> Vid. PERIZON. Origin. Babylon. cap. 11. p. 193. <sup>t</sup> Gen. xi. 7, 8, 9. <sup>u</sup> TORRIELLUS, SALIANUS, PERRIUS, &c. <sup>v</sup> SYNCEL. Chronogr. p. 80. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 53. <sup>w</sup> MORIN. Exercit. de Ling. cap. 8. p. 47. SCOTANUS Hist. Sacr. p. 48, &c. MARSHAM Chron. Canon. scul. 17. p. 478. VON DER HART Ephemer. Philol. Disc. 3. USHER. Chronol. Sacra, part 1. cap. 5. p. 26. GURTNER. Hist. Universal. cap. 9. p. 93. BOHMART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 10. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 5. <sup>x</sup> Genes. xi. 5. <sup>y</sup> ABEN EZRA apud R. GEDAL. in SHALOM. HAKKAB. p. 7. b. <sup>z</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. VON DER HART ubi supra. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 4. CONSTANT. MANASS. Annal. p. 14. <sup>aa</sup> See before, p. 123.

(H) Some pretend that the tower was thrown down by tempestuous winds on the builders heads; and that the city of *Babylon* was built out of the ruins (93).

(I) A learned divine of our nation, being of this opinion, supposes that this tower (whose pyramidal

form, he says, resembles fire, or the conic shape of its flame) was a monument erected to the honour of the sun, as the most probable cause of drying up the flood (94). But of this there is not the least footing in scripture.

(93) ABYDEN. apud EUSEB. de Prep. Ev. l. 9. c. 14. & SYBILLA, apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1.

c. 4.

(94) TENISON of idolatry.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

punishment, that is, the confusion of tongues; though this is denied by several<sup>b</sup>: for a the languages of *Elam* or *Persia*, and of *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, were different, as were also those even of the descendants of *Eber*, the *Arabs* and *Jews*, whatever others<sup>c</sup> may pretend; and if speaking the *Hebrew* language be a proof, then the *Canaanites* were not concerned in the building of *Babel* any more than *Eber* and his descendants, for their language was the same with the *Hebrew*.

BUT this supposed absence of the *Shemites*, as also another common opinion, current amongst those who adhere to the *Hebrew* chronology, that several nations were planted before the dispersion, are overthrown by the authority of scripture, which strongly intimates that all mankind then in being, without exception, were assembled in the plain of *Shinaar* (H); and it is probable, that after the building of *Babel*, *Shem* and his descendants chose or accepted of the adjacent country for their settlement<sup>d</sup>. So that the most we can allow, with *Buxtorf*<sup>e</sup> and others, is that they dissuaded the rest from that enterprize.

A description  
of Babel.

THE reader must needs have a curiosity to see some account of a city and tower which employed all the men in the world for so many years in building them. The scripture informs us, that they made use of burnt bricks instead of stone, and slime instead of mortar<sup>f</sup>. According to an eastern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning those bricks, each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick<sup>g</sup>. The slime with which these bricks were cemented, was a pitchy substance or bitumen<sup>h</sup>, brought from a city, in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, called *Is*<sup>i</sup>, or *Hit* (I). The oriental authors say, that the city built by the sons of *Noah* was

<sup>b</sup> BUXTORF. in Dissertat. Philologico-theolog. p. 70. CHRYSOSTOM. Homil. 30. in Genes. FULLER. Miscell. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. SCOTANUS. Bibl. Aet. sec. p. 91. HEIDEGGER. Hist. Patriarch. tom. I. Exercit. 16. § 16. STEPH. MORIN. ubi sup. p. 44, & 68. <sup>c</sup> EPIPHAN. apud GLYCAM. Annal.

p. 3. CONSTANT. MANASS. Annal. p. 14. See § 6. <sup>e</sup> Dissertat. Philologico-theol. p. 70.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. xi. 3. <sup>g</sup> EBN ARAB. p. 14. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 53. <sup>h</sup> JOSEPHUS Antiq. lib. 1.

cap. 4. <sup>i</sup> HERODOTUS Clit. p. 32.

(II) There is not a fact in all the *Mosaic* history, which seems to be more firmly established than this. As soon as *Moses* hath brought the three sons of *Noah* out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that of them was the whole earth overspread (93). And after giving us the names of their descendants at the time of their dispersion, he subjoins, and by those were the nations divid'd in the earth after the flood (94). Then proceeding to give an account of that memorable transaction, he tells us, That the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech (95). That as they, namely the whole earth, journeyed from the East, THEY found a plain in the land of *Shinaar*, and dwell there; and they said, let us make brick, and build a city and a tower; and the LORD came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded, and said, behold the people is one, and they have all one language (96). These seem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind collected there in one body, had but one language, so all those who had but one language, were assembled in one body; which argument is the more cogent, because it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world at the time of the building of *Babel*, which city was so called, because the LORD did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth (97).

From the beginning to the end of this narration, the connection is so well preserved between the antecedent and the relative, that there is no room to suppose that any less than all mankind were gathered together in the plain of *Shinaar*, and assisted in the building of *Babel*; and *Moses* seems to have made those unusual repetitions to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and take away all ground for supposing any branch of *Noah's* posterity were in any other part of the earth at that time. Wherefore the arguments

used by some, that the phrase *all the earth*, is often taken in a restrained and improper sense elsewhere in scripture, to signify only a part of the earth (98), and sometimes no more than the land of promise (99); as also, that the expression, *the children of men*, confines the builders to the unbelieving part of mankind only, because that phrase is also used in such a sense in other places of scripture (1), are of no force here; the sense of the whole (by which that of a part is always to be governed) being directly against such a meaning, and this last expression being evidently used only to vary the diction: besides, those who urge this last argument, do not seem to consider, that before the dispersion, infidelity could not well have crept in amongst mankind; who, it is but reasonable to conclude, while they kept together, were united in one faith as well as government.

(I) It is much no modern author that we know of, excepting *Bochart* (2), out of the many who have occasionally or professedly spoken of *Babylon*, have taken notice of this nice circumstance in *Herodotus*. That prince of historians observes, that by the city *Is*, eight days journey from *Babylon*, there runs a small river of the same name into *Euphrates*, whose waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen, which are conveyed thence to the walls of *Babylon*. *Diodorus* says, the quantity of bitumen in those parts is so great, that it suffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fuel, being dried and burned like wood (3). *Hit* is called *Æliopolis* by *Ipsidore* of *Charax* (4), who mentions the springs of bitumen near it, and places it on the *Euphrates*, about two hundred and fifteen miles west of *Selucia* on the *Tigris*, which agrees better with *Herodotus* than the account of modern authors, who place *Hit* thirty one parasangs, or about one hundred twenty eight

(93) Genes. ix. 19. (94) Ibid. x. 32. (95) Ibid. xi. 1. (96) Ibid. ver. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. (97) Ibid. ver. 8, 9. (98) Jerem. li. 7, 49. Dan. ii. 39. (99) Judg. vi. 37. 1 Sam. xvii. 46. Isai. x. 14.

(1) 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. 2 Sam. vii. 14. Psal. xii. 1. (2) PHALEG. lib. 1. cap. 11. (3) Lib. 2. p. 100. (4) Inter Geogr. Vet. Græc. Ed. HUDSONI, vol. II.

a three hundred and thirteen fathoms in length, and one hundred and fifty one in breadth, that the walls of it were five thousand five hundred and thirty three fathoms high, and thirty three broad, and the tower ten thousand fathom, or twelve miles high <sup>\*</sup>; which dimensions bear no manner of proportion to each other. Even *Jerom* affirms, from the testimony of eye-witnesses who examined the remains of the tower carefully, that it was four miles high <sup>1</sup>; but *Ado* raises the height to no less than five thousand miles <sup>m</sup>: but these are shameful extravagancies. The only account we can depend upon, as to the dimensions of this tower, supposing it to be the same tower with that which stood in the midst of the temple of *Belus*, afterwards built round it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, must be taken from profane authors. *Herodotus* tells us it was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth <sup>a</sup> (K); and *Strabo* determines the height to have been a furlong <sup>o</sup>, that is, the eighth part of a mile, or six hundred and sixty foot, which is itself prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greatest of the *Egyptian* pyramids in height one hundred seventy nine foot, though it fell short of it at the basis by thirty three <sup>p</sup>. It consisted of eight square towers one above another, gradually decreasing in breadth; which, with the winding of the stairs from the top to the bottom on the outside, gave it the resemblance of a pyramid, as *Strabo* calls it <sup>q</sup>. This antique form, joined to the extraordinary height of the structure, easily induces us to believe it to be the same tower mentioned by *Moses*; *Nebuchadnezzar* finishing the design which the sons of *Noah* were obliged, by the confusion of tongues, to leave unexecuted.

<sup>\*</sup> EBN AMID & EUTYCH. ubi supra.  
Chronica. <sup>a</sup> Lib. 1. p. 33. <sup>o</sup> Lib. 16. p. 1073. <sup>m</sup> In  
p. 68, 69. <sup>1</sup> Lib. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. lib. 5. Comment. in Esaiam.

<sup>m</sup> In  
<sup>p</sup> See GREAVES Descr. of the Pyramids,

eight miles west of *Baghdad* (supposed to stand near, if not in the place of *Seleucia*) and twenty one parasangs west of *Ambar*, once a famous city on the *Euphrates* (5), not far north from *Felusiab*, and eight to the north of *Kadesia*, a town no less remarkable for the battle wherein the *Arabs* gained the victory which decided the fate of *Persia* (6).

These springs of bitumen are called *Oyun Hit*, the fountains of Hit, and are much celebrated by the *Arabs* and *Persians*; the latter call it *Chejmeb kir*, the fountain of pitch. This liquid bitumen they call *nafta*; and the *Turks*, to distinguish it from pitch, give it the name of *kara sakiz*, or black mastice. A *Persian* geographer says, that *nafta* issues out of the springs of the earth, as ambergrease issues out of those of the sea (7). All the modern travellers, except *Rawwolf*, who went to *Persia* and the *Indes* by the way of the *Euphrates*, before the discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a strange thing. Some of them take notice of the river (8) mentioned by *Herodotus*, and assure us, that the people of the country have a tradition, that when the tower of *Babel* was building, they brought the bitumen from hence (9); which is confirmed by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians (10).

*Hit*, *Heit* (11), *Eit* (12), *Att* (13) or *Ida* (14), as it is variously written by travellers, is a great *Turkish* town (15), situate upon the right, or west side of the *Euphrates* (16); and has a castle, to the southwest of which (17), and three miles from the town, in a valley, are many springs of this black substance (18), each of which makes a noise like a smith's forge, incessantly puffing and blowing out the matter so loud, that it may be heard a mile off; wherefore the *Moors* [*Arabs*] call it *Bab*

al jebenmam, that is, bell gate (19). It swallows up all heavy things, and many camels from time to time fall into the pits, and are irrecoverably lost (20). It issues from a certain lake, sending forth a filthy smoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch, which spreads itself over a great field that is always full of it. It is free for every one to take; they use it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying it on two or three inches thick, which keeps out the water (21); with it also they pitch their houses made of palm-tree branches. If it was not that the inundations of the *Euphrates* carry away the pitch, which covers all the sands from the place where it rises to the river, there would have been mountains of it long since (22). The very ground and stones thereabouts afford bitumen, and the fields abundance of salt petre (23).

(K) The words of *Herodotus* are; 'Εν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ πύργῳ τεταγμένον ἔκτισται. καθύψω δὲ τὸ μὲν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλῳ πύργῳ ἐτίθεισαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις ὅπου πύργον. In the midst of the temple a solid tower is built, of a furlong in length, and as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that, and so on to the number of eight towers. It is true the word *μὲν*, which we here translate *length*, may also signify *height*; but some authors having thence supposed, as the construction seems to require, that the first tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other seven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant consequence, it seems more reasonable to understand *Herodotus* as we have rendered the passage, unless the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers.

(5) Vid. GOLII Not. ad Afragum. p. 124, 125. GEOGR. NUBIENS. p. 199. (6) D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Hit, Ambar, & Cadesia. (7) Apud eundem, ibid. Art. Hit. (8) ELDRED. See HACKLUIT'S Collection of Voyages, vol. I. (9) Vid. le Voyage de Perse en ann. 1598 & 1599, par un Gentilhomme de la suite du Seigneur Siberley, a la p. 110. des relations veritables & curieuses. (10) Vid. D'HERBELOT ubi supra. (11) NEWBERRY. (12) BALBI. Viaggio dell' Indie Orientale, cap. 4. l'id. eundem, apud de Brie, India Orientalis, vol. VII.

(13) CARTWRIGHT & FITCH. (14) RAWWOLF. (15) Idem, in his Travels, part 2. chap. 6. p. 163. (16) ELDRED, BALBI, &c. ubi supra. (17) NEWBERRY'S Travels. See PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. II. p. 1412. (18) ELDRED ubi supra. (19) CARTWRIGHT'S, or the Preacher's Travels, p. 105. ELDRED ubi supra. FITCH'S Travels. See PURCHAS ubi supra, p. 1730. (20) ELDRED & NEWBERRY ubi supra. (21) FITCH & BALBI, ubi supra. (22) BALBI, ibid. (23) Voyage de Perse, ubi supra.



Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

WHAT this most wonderful city was in its flourishing state, and the several changes of fortune which befel it, till at length it was totally destroyed, the reader will find remarked in the course of this history. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curiosity with some account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are so defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their situation; and this has occasioned travellers to differ concerning it. Most of them, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the west or northwest of *Baghdad*, to be the tower of *Babel* (L). *Rauwolf* supposes he found the ruins of *Babylon* upon the *Euphrates*, near *Felugia* (M), about thirty six miles to the south-west

(L) The name of this monument is variously written by travellers, *Carcassate Nimeru* (24), *Karkuf* (25), *Akaruf* (26); all who mention it call it the tower of *Nimrod*, and we are told that the common people of the country believe it to be such (27), and that it is at present called *the remains of the tower of Babel* (28). It is situate, according to some, seven or eight miles from *Baghdad* (29), according to others nine miles (30) towards the west-north-west (31); it is conspicuous at a vast distance (32), standing by itself in a wide plain between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reason that, contrary to what is generally observed in other objects, it appears greater at a distance than when one draws near it (33). It is fallen to ruin on all sides, and hath thereby made, as it were, a little shapeless mountain (34), which it resembles more than a tower (35), only it is rather square than round (36).

It is built of sun-burnt bricks, each a foot square, and six inches thick (37); some say three quarters of a yard long, and a quarter thick (38); others but ten inches square, and three thick (39). Authors differ as to the manner in which these bricks are ranged, and the materials made use of for setting and binding them together. They observe, first, that there is laid a bed consisting of canes or reeds bruised to pieces, mixed with wheat-straw, and spread an inch and half thick (40); some call them mats made of canes and palm-tree leaves (41); others say only straw the thickness of three inches (42), which appear as yellow and fresh as if they were but newly laid (43), and are still very durable (44). Upon this bed lie seven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds, and six rows of bricks; then a third bed with five rows of bricks, decreasing in that manner till you come to the top (45). Some say the ranges of bricks are interchangeably six and seven upon a bed (46); and others place a bed betwixt every course of bricks (47); but that is probably a mistake, though between each course of bricks there is laid a little straw (48), or rather they are set in bituminous mortar (49), consisting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed; which is at present the fashion of building at *Baghdad*, there being not far off a great lake of pitch (50), probably that of *Hit* before mentioned. There are fifty of these ranges of seven and six bricks, in so much that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty eight feet (51). Others say

'tis reduced to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet (52). This heap is in compass a quarter of a mile (53), or at most three hundred paces (54), not a mile, as one writes (55), the rains having washed it away on all sides. It has no entrance (56), being a solid mass, only at the foot of it one sees a *magbara* or lion's cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which passes quite through the building about a foot and a half square, besides a great window towards the top, into which our author threw a grapple, in order to ascend it; but the bricks giving way, had like to have killed him with their fall (57).

Travellers disagree in their sentiments of this tower: one says it has been so well described by *Moses*, that the sight of the remains and ruins would make one admire the veracity with which the writings of that great prophet are penned (58); but another declares, that, according to *Moses's* description, there is no likelihood that this should be the tower of *Babel*; and therefore, rejecting the vulgar opinion of the country, he looks upon that of the *Arabs* to be more probable, who say it was built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war (59): and this seems to be the truth of the matter.

(M) *Rauwolf*, a German physician, who in the year 1574. passed down the *Euphrates* in his way to *Bagdad*, being come to a village by him called *Elugo*, and by others, more properly, *Felugia*, which was the landing-place for that city, writes thus; "The village of *Elugo* is situated where formerly *Babylon* stood; but, at present, there is not an house to be seen for the shelter of passengers. The country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent city (which once was the most stately and famous in the world, seated in the pleasant and fruitful country of *Stinar*) did stand there, if I had not known it by its situation, and several delicate antiquities, which still are standing in great desolation; first, by the old bridge over *Euphrates*, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining a little above where I landed, built of brick, and of wonderful firmness. It is admirable also how they could build a bridge here, where the river is so deep, and at least half a league broad; yet in all the way from *Bir* [near *Aleppo*] where the river is much

(24) BALBI *Viaggio della Ind. Orient. cap. 9. p. 22.*

(25) TEIXEIRA *Viage de la India kasia India, p. 130.*

(26) TAVERNIER *Voyage de Perse, l. 2. c. 7.*

(27) *Idem, ibid.*

(28) *Idem, ibid.*

(29) CASAR FREDERIC. See HACKLUIT, vol. II. p. 25, & 269. FITCH's *Travels*. See PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, vol. II. p. 1730. BALBI *ubi sup. cap. 7. p. 26.*

(30) TEIXEIRA *ubi sup.*

(31) LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZE *Voyage, chap. 55. p. 312.*

(32) LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZE, *ibid.*

(33) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.*

(34) FITCH & BALBI *ubi supra.*

(35) LA BOULLAYE *ubi sup. p. 314.*

(36) TAVERNIER, *ubi sup.*

(37) LA BOULLAYE *ubi sup.*

(38) CASAR FREDERIC, & ELDRED, *apud HACKLUIT ubi sup.*

(39) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.*

(40) *Idem, ibid.*

(41) CARTWRIGHT.

(42) LA BOULLAYE *ubi sup.*

(43) *Idem, ibid.*

(44) BALBI *ubi supra.*

(45) TAVERNIER *ubi supra.*

(46) BOULLAYE *ubi sup.*

(47) CARTWRIGHT *ubi supra.*

(48) TAVERNIER *ubi supra.*

(49) CARTWRIGHT *ubi sup.*

(50) BOULLAYE *ubi sup.*

(51) *Idem, ibid.*

(52) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.*

(53) CARTWRIGHT *ubi supra.*

(54) BOULLAYE & TAVERNIER *ubi supra.*

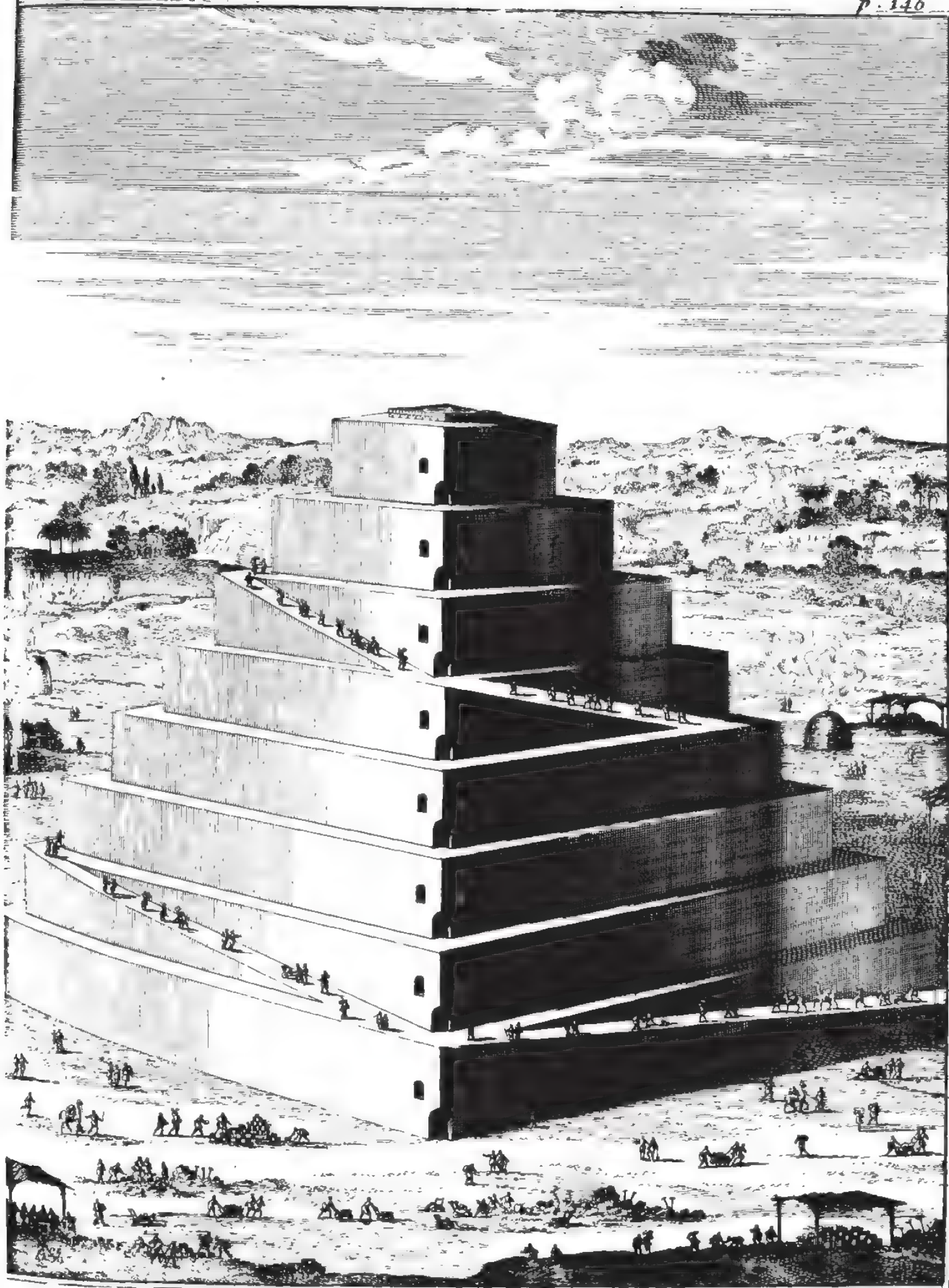
(55) BALBI *ubi supra.*

(56) FITCH *ubi supra.*

(57) BOULLAYE *ubi supra.*

(58) *Idem, ibid.*

(59) TAVERNIER *ubi supra.*



THE TOWER OF BABYLON.



a of *Baghdad*. And *della Valle* was directed, by another tradition, to look for it about two days journey lower (N), near an ancient city called *Hilla*, situate upon the same river. Here

Year of the Flood, 401.  
Year before Christ, 2597.

"much narrower, we saw no bridge. Near the bridge are heaps of *Babylonish* pitch to pay vessels withal; and just before the village is the hill whereon the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon may still be seen some remains of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Not far off, behind it, stood the tower of *Babel*, still to be seen, half a league in diameter; but so entirely ruined, so low, and so full of venomous beads that have made holes through it, that one dare not approach within half a mile of it, except in two months of the year, when those animals do not stir out (60).

"In the way to *Baghdad* the road at first was very rough and full of large and stately buildings, arches, and turrets standing in the sand, whereof many were decayed, and lay in ruins; others pretty entire, very strong, and adorned with artificial work, well deserving a more exact inspection. The steeple of *Daniel* is entire, built of black stone, and still inhabited. It hath some resemblance for height and building to that of the *Holy-Cross* church, or *St. Maurice* in *Augsburg*: from it may be viewed all the ruins of the old *Babylonian* tower, the castle hill, together with the stately buildings, and the whole situation of the old town, very exactly. We rested, after twelve hours march, near two ascents, one behind the other, extending themselves like two parallel walls with openings in some places, which I take to have been the gates of the old town (61); and the rather because I saw in some places, under the sand, wherewith the two ascents were almost covered, the old wall plainly appear."—Our author saw several other antiquities afterwards; but night coming on, in which he groped his way to *Baghdad*, he lost them (62); and, in all probability, among the rest, the tower of *Nimrod*, described in the preceding note, which lies in this road. A late author has given some account of these ruins, but is much out as to the situation of them, as he generally is in his geography (63).

(N) *Della Valle*, who was at *Baghdad* in the year 1616, was above five days travelling between that city and the ruins of *Babel*, which he went to see, taking the way, by the river side, through *Rufsumin*, a village in *Thevenot's* time the landing-place for *Baghdad* (64) instead of *Felugia*, which is not far off; though in his return, taking the short cut through the plain, he arrived at *Baghdad* in two days, from which city this ruin lies south-westward, or more to the south. "In the middle of a vast and level plain, says that excellent traveller, about a quarter of a league from *Euphrates*, which in that place runs westward, appears a heap of ruined buildings like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it. Its figure is square, and rises in form of a tower or pyramid, with four fronts, which answer to the four quarters of the compass; but it seems longer from north to south than from east to west; and is, as far as I could judge by my pacing it, a large quarter of a league. Its situation and form corresponds with that pyramid which *Strabo* calls the tower of *Brutus*, and is in all likelihood the tower of *Nimrod* in *Babylon* or *Babel*, as that place is still called. In that author's time, it had nothing remaining of the stairs, and other

"ornaments mentioned by *Herodotus*, the greatest part of it having been ruined by *Xerxes*; and *Alexander*, who designed to have restored it to its former lustre, was prevented by death. There appear no marks of ruins, without the compass of that huge mass, to convince one so great a city as *Babylon* had ever stood there; all one discovers within fifty or sixty paces of it, being only the remains here and there of some foundations of buildings, and the country round about it so flat and level, that one can hardly believe it should be chosen for the situation of so great and noble a city as *Babylon*, or that there were ever any remarkable buildings on it: but for my part I am astonished there appears so much as there does, considering it is at least four thousand years since that city was built, and that *Diodorus Siculus* tells us it was reduced almost to nothing in his time. The height of this mountain of ruins is not in every part equal, but exceeds the highest palace in *Naples*; it is a misshapen mass, whereon there is no appearance of regularity; in some places it rises in points, is craggy and inaccessible, in others it is smoother, and is of easier ascent; there are also tracks of torrents from the top to the bottom, caused by the rains, and both within and upon it one sees parts, some higher and some lower. It is not to be discovered whether ever there were any steps to ascend it, or any doors to enter into it; whence one may easily judge that the stairs ran winding about on the outside, and that being the less solid parts, they were soonest demolished, so that not the least sign of any appears at present.

"Within one finds some grottoes, but so ruined that one can make nothing of them: and it is a doubt, with regard to some of them, whether they were built at the same time with that work, or made since by the peasants for shelter; which last seems to be the most likely. The *Al-Hammians* believe that these caverns were appointed by God as places of punishment to *Harut* and *Marut*, two angels, who they suppose were sent from heaven to judge the crimes of men, but did not execute their commissions as they ought. It is evident from these ruins, that the tower of *Nimrod* was built with great and thick bricks, as I carefully observed, causing holes to be dug in several places for the purpose; but they do not appear to have been burnt, but dried in the sun, which is extreme hot in those parts. In laying these bricks neither lime nor sand was employed, but only earth tempered and petrified; and in those parts which made the floor, there had been mingled with that earth, which served instead of lime, bruised reeds, or hard straw, such as large mats are made of, to strengthen the work. Afterwards one perceives at certain distances in divers places, especially where the strongest buttresses were to be, several other bricks of the same size, but more solid, and burnt in a kiln, and set in good lime or bitumen; nevertheless, the greater number consists of those which are only dried in the sun. I make no doubt but that this ruin was the ancient *Babel*, and the tower of *Nimrod*; for besides the evidence of its situation, it is acknowledged to be such by the people of the country, being vulgarly called *Babel* by the *Arabs* (65)."

Th.

(60) See *his Travels*, part 2. chap. 7. p. 164.  
(61) *Ibid.* p. 166. (62) *Ibid.* p. 167. (63) *MAC GREGORY*, in his *Sepulchres of the antients*, p. 48.

(64) See *THEVENOT'S Travels*, part 2. book 1. chap. 9. p. 40. (65) *Ibid.* *Vingtième de PIETRO DELLA VALLE*, part 2. lett. 17.

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also must be placed the ruins described by a late traveller (\*) into these parts. We a

This is the account of that curious traveller, whose painter, by his directions, had drawn the plan, and several prospects of the ruins, which we do not find were ever published in any edition of his works; but Kircher, in his *Turris Babel*, has given two of them. However, after all, this seems to be only such another modern structure, built by the *Arabs* for a watch-tower, as that already described.

(\*) This gentleman (66) hath, by his penetration, made something of this rude mass, and discovered a great resemblance between it and the tower of *Belus*, as described by *Herodotus*, though it does not answer in dimensions. He distinguishes between the first original design upon which it was antiently begun, and the second different design upon which it was continued; it being built partly after one design, and partly after another. The original design our author describes to be a high tower, exactly square, in form of a pyramid; the length of one of whose sides at the base being two hundred and forty three *Babylonish* foot, each of which is equal to a *London* foot and two inches, it must be in compass two hundred and twenty six geometrical paces and four foot, or a little more than the fifth part of an *English* mile. The perpendicular height was intended to be likewise two hundred and forty-three foot, equal to the root of the square, and the oblique height 271½ foot. The whole being a mass, or heap of brick and bitumen work, inclosing a solid hill and rock. The execution of this first design (so far as it was executed) is in this manner: it is divided into nine parts, which are, as it were, so many square towers, in form of parallelepipeds, or flat cubes, one raised above another pyramidically, each twenty seven foot in height, but gradually diminishing in breadth as many foot, so as to make a gallery, or walk, quite round on the top of the tower below, and by the sides of the other above, 13½ foot broad. The last and highest tower was to have been an exact cube twenty seven foot square, and as many high.

This structure is built with bricks of earth, hardened with fire, each nine *Babylonish* inches square, and three thick, laid in bitumen mixed with straw, or reeds, to the thickness sometimes of three quarters of an inch, and sometimes of three inches, in the following order: first there is a bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick, then a row of so many bricks as make up the square likewise three inches thick: next is another bed of bitumen mixed with straw, three quarters of an inch thick, then a row of bricks as before; and so alternately a bed of bitumen and straw, and a range of bricks seven times more, so as to make up in all from the base the height of three foot: then a new bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick being laid, the whole is repeated in the same order eight times more, so as to complete twenty seven foot, which is the height of the first tower. The next five towers are raised in the same manner. The structure so far, being one hundred and sixty two foot high, or two thirds of the whole, was built by *Nimrod*; but it was afterwards continued by *Ninus Belus* upon a second and different design, which was that of a tower, exactly round, in form of a cone, or round pyramid, of the same dimensions with the former, divided likewise into nine towers gradually diminishing in the above-mentioned proportions, of which the last and highest would be a cylinder, or round tower, twenty seven foot in diameter, and as many in height. In pursuance of this second design, two round towers were built on the sixth

square tower; the second of which round towers (the diameter of whose base is fifty four foot) or eighth of the whole, has a temple practised, or contrived in its solidity along with the execution; which temple is likewise round twenty seven foot diameter, and the same in height; with an entry, or door, made in the [west] side towards *Babylon*, nine foot square, and thirteen and a half long, and a round opening, or, as it were, a window in the top nine foot diameter; the floor both of the temple and entry being plain, the sides perpendicular, and the roof arched; the arching being contrived in the uppermost third part of the height. This was built by *Ninus Belus*, who died before it was finished, when the structure was raised to the height of two hundred and sixteen foot, or just eight ninth parts of the whole: and though it wanted only one ninth part, which was the last and smallest of all, the completing of it was never afterwards thought on more by any of his successors: so that it ended with a round flat of fifty-four foot diameter, with the aforesaid window of the temple in the middle, and still continues so. And this tower, as well as the temple, has served as a model ever since for all nations to imitate; especially the temple, which has constantly been followed by those of all religions, who have always built their temples round, with an overture at the top, except the *Goths*, who introduced the figure of *Noah's* ark in their churches. Though, as to the overture, or window, it is a difficult question among architects, whether it was designed, or happened by the tower being left unfinished, and wanting the last ninth part, which, according to the original design, was to terminate it; and if so, would have stopped, or covered that overture. It is commonly said to have been designed so: and *Moses* seems to have been of that mind, when, giving an account of what followed upon the confusion of *Babel*, he says, the further building of the city was given over, but is silent as to that of the tower, because perhaps he reckoned it had been completed. Yet it is certain, from the knowledge of the design, that it never was completed, and that the overture happened by chance, as before observed: besides, there are some temples of the same times to be seen in and about the ruins of *Babylon*, particularly that of *Ninus Assur*, done by his wife *Semiramis*, where there is no such thing; which makes it more probable that it was not designed: though the greatest part of the *Babylonian* temples of those times, we see, have it, which renders the matter again something doubtful.

Before *Ninus Belus* began the before-mentioned temple, he made a sepulchre for his father *Nimrod* at the bottom of the tower, cut out of the rock, at the bottom of the little hill which is inclosed by the tower. This burying-place is a double grot, consisting of two ante-grots one within another, and six sepulchres, or small grots in each, two on each inner side (67); the sepulchres being eight foot long, six foot broad, and as many high; and their doors, or entries, cut upon the same level four foot long, three broad, and three foot high. Within the sepulchres, on the right hand, is a levee, or seat, the whole length of the sepulchre, three foot broad, and 1½ high, left uncut of the rock for laying the dead body on (68). This sepulchre was made by hollowing a passage into the tower after it was built, as appears by the face of the opening, which is irregular, and the bricks and earth broken. This overture was made through the brick-work and earth of the one,

(66) MAC GREGORY in his *Sepulchres of the antients*, p. 35, &c.

(67) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(68) *Ibid.* p. 14, 15.





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(67) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(68) *Ibid.* p. 14, 15.

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a have inserted in the notes abstracts of the several accounts; but must acquaint the reader, that they do not any of them seem to us to be the remains of the original tower, but rather some later structures of the *Arabs*.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

## SECT. V.

### *Of the Confusion of Tongues.*

b **B** EING in this section to give some account of the confusion of tongues, it may be expected we should first say something about the origin of speech, one of the most distinguishing differences between us and the animal creation; the great bond which holds society together, and the common conduit whereby the improvements of knowledge are conveyed from one man and one generation to another.

If the authority of *Moses* be conclusive, it seems not to be denied but that speech was the immediate gift of *God* to the first man: not that we suppose *God* really inspired him with any distinct or primitive language; but that he made him sensible of the power with which he was endued, of forming articulate sounds (O), and the use he might make of them as signs of his ideas, and then left the arbitrary imposition of them to *Adam* himself (P), as is intimated by *God*'s bringing the beasts and birds to him to see what he would call them; and whatever *Adam* called every living creature, that was the name thereof. So that excepting the first impulse of the Almighty, informing *Adam* of his natural power, we are inclined to think that speech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary sounds, to denote first the most obvious things, and after the less obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is possible *Adam* might attain the use of speech by this method, we presume none will deny; and if it be possible, we are sure it must be the most reasonable and probable to all but those who are for multiplying of miracles needlessly.

We cannot therefore approve of the opinion of those who imagine that *God* himself formed the body of a language, and then infused it into *Adam* (Q). Besides, the

\* Genes. ii. 19.

one, to serve as an avenue, or passage, leading to the entry of the other, made through the rock on the same side towards *Babylon* (69).

This antiquity is defaced somewhat on all the four sides, especially on the north and west, where the corners and edges of the parts are much decayed, and the body of the bricks worn away into a channel, or hollow, between the beds of bitumen, which, with the reeds and straw incorporated with them, continue firm and entire; neither time, weather, nor any other accident having been able to make an impression on them. The people of the country have dug caves in it to retire to, and those who conduct passengers from *Baghdad* to see it, break off pieces in one place to add to another, in order to make steps and hand-grips, to render the going up and down it safe. So that the face of the antiquity is now very much changed from what it was, the lowermost ninth part (or tower) being entirely hid under ground by the earth and ruins: in short, it is so disfigured, that one must be at a great deal of pains to find out the architecture of it; and travellers, for want of being properly qualified, not knowing what to make of it, have given imperfect and confused accounts of it (70). As to the situation of this ruin, which seems to be the same with that already described by *della Valle*, whom he mentions (71), he is very much out in it, since he places it twenty seven miles to the south-west of *Baghdad*, and but twenty nine to the north-west from the castle of *Corn*, at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* (72), whereas *Corn* is at least one hundred and eighty miles distant from that city.

(O) We cannot conceive that inarticulate sounds were ever made use of by any nation to communicate

their thoughts; nor that there are any instances thereof to be found, notwithstanding what some travellers have related concerning several remote people. We are told the *Samojedes*, inhabiting the coasts of *Siberia* and the icy sea, have nothing human about them, except their outward form; and that the uncertain sound they utter has no more the resemblance of speech than the chattering of apes (73): that the natives of *Greenland* use a sound like bralls, so uncouth, that no *Dane* or *Dutchman* could ever yet imitate it (74): and that the speech of the *Hottentots* comes nearer the gobbling of turkies than a human voice, tho' perhaps it may be intelligible among themselves (75). But it may be questioned whether these authors were proper judges in the case, as not being acquainted with the languages of those nations: and the rather, because, upon enquiry, we are credibly informed, that the language of these last, tho' commonly thought to be the most inarticulate of all others, is not a despicable one; and that those of the *Dutch* settlement at the *Cape of Good Hope* understand and speak it tolerably well.

(P) *Mohammed* in his *Koran* supposes *Adam* came by the names of things no otherwise than by revelation. That book pretends that the angels at the creation of man expressing some contempt of him, *God* taught *Adam* the names of things, and then demanded of the angels how those things were called; which they confessing to be above their knowledge, *God* ordered *Adam* to name them to them, which he did, and the angels afterwards, at *God*'s command, paid their homage to *Adam* as their superior (76).

(Q) The words which are generally translated, man became a living soul (77), the *Chaldees* paraphrase

(69) *Ibid.* p. 28. (70) *Ibid.* p. 42, 43, 44.  
(71) *Ibid.* p. 35. (72) *Ibid.* p. 28. (73) *Ibid.* p. 94.  
(74) *TEN RUYSE*, p. 444. (75) *NISU-*

*HOFF*, p. 188. (76) *Al Koran*, c. 2, ver. 30, &c.  
(77) *Genes.* ii. 7.



Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 1597.

much greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was; and the names of many a things and operations must have been imposed several ages after *Adam's* creation, as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniencies of life were invented. The birds and beasts indeed it is natural to suppose *Adam* might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think he went so far as to name every species of them, much less all the reptiles, trees, or plants, though some of the most familiar to him no doubt he did. The fish we presume no body will imagine were brought to him to be named; and if they had by miracle appeared before *Adam*, no doubt *Moses* would have mentioned it, the fish of the sea being the first part of the creation, the dominion of which was given by *God* to man<sup>a</sup>.

It has however been thought by great numbers, that the first language was of divine formation; and of this sentiment *Plato* himself seems to have been, who supposed that the names of things originally had some natural connection or congruity with the things themselves, and that the first names must have been justly imposed, because they were imposed by the gods (R)<sup>b</sup>. And partly from this notion, in all probability, arose those superstitious pretences of the holiness of one tongue above the rest, as being formed by *God*.

As we cannot see any necessity for supposing the inspiration of a language, so neither can we imagine that *Adam* could attain the use of speech so soon as is represented to us by *Moses*, without divine assistance. We might suppose indeed that mankind might of themselves, by degrees, form a perfect language; for when men wanted signs to express their ideas, and convey them to the understanding of others, they could find none more fit for that purpose, or which required less difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate sounds: but to frame a number of them sufficient even for the few occasions of the first men, must necessarily have taken up a considerable time; for which reason those who were unacquainted with the *Mosaic* writings, have imagined that men were at first no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech (S). Several of the antients were of opinion, that men in the beginning of the world expressed their thoughts by dumb signs, or gesticulation only, or else by confused sounds of no signification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language by imposing distinct names on things, which was not brought to any tolerable perfection, but by a long course of time<sup>c</sup>.

*The first language consisted of few words.* If we consider the primitive state of *Adam*, and the few things he had occasion to name, it cannot be conceived that his language at first was very extensive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts to serve the convenience of life, by accurate distinctions of the several species of crea-

<sup>a</sup> Genes. i. 26, 28.

<sup>b</sup> *PLATO* in *Cratyl.* Vid. eund. in *Protagora*.

<sup>c</sup> *Diodor. Sic.* l. i.

p. 8. Vid. *LACTANTI.* de vero cultu. l. 10.

phrases render it, viz. the breath breathed into him by *God*, became in man a speaking soul. Most of the *Jews* suppose the first tongue (which they all imagine was their own) was formed and created by *God* himself, and so communicated to *Adam* (78). Some of them think this was done by generally acquainting him with the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue only (79); others in a more special and particular manner, by revealing to him the whole extent and propriety of the language, even the letters, points and accents (80).

This notion, which some christians embraced, and particularly *Eunomius*, who, because *God* is introduced by *Moses* as speaking before the creation, held that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature, was strenuously opposed by *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, who declared it a silly, ridiculous and blasphemous opinion, to imagine the great *God* would condescend to turn grammarian, and set himself down subtilly to invent names for things (81).

(R) The words of this philosopher are; "Ὁνόμα-  
τ' ὁρῶμεν ἅπας ἰδέσθαι τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἀπο-  
κρίναι (82). And after; ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα  
οἱ θεοὶ ἔδωκεν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁρῶμεν ἔχειν (83).

(78) *SEPHEN COZEL.*

(79) *R. IS. ABRA-*

*VANEL.* (80) *R. JUDA HALLÉVI. MUSCAT.*

*EPHODIUS, &c.* (81) *GREG. NYSSEN. contra*

*Eunom.* l. 21.

(82) *In Cratyl.* p. 383. *Ed. Serrani.*

(S) This notion *Horace* has expressed in the following lines:

*Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,  
Mutum ac turpe pecus,—  
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,  
Nominaque invenere* (84).

When animals crawl'd forth from parent earth,  
A vile dumb herd they were—  
'Till words were found to utter what they  
thought,  
And names were set on things.—

And *Lucretius* to the same purpose:

*At varias lingua somitus natura subegit  
Mittere, & utilitas expressit nomina rerum* (85).

Kind nature pow'r of framing sounds affords  
To man; and then convenience taught us words.  
*Crech.*

The latter also ridicules those who suppose speech the invention of one man (86).

(83) *Ibid.* p. 425.

*sw.* 3. ver. 99, &c.

*nat.* l. 5. ver. 1027, &c.

&c.

(84) *HORAT. Serm.* l. 1:

(85) *LUCRET. de rerum*

*nat.* l. 5. ver. 1040,

(86) *Ibid.* ver. 1040,

- a tures, and metaphysical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we should find the remainder contained in a very small compass; so that it must necessarily be several ages before a language could be compleated to any degree in comparison to our modern tongues. *Scaliger*, agreeably to this notion, divides speech into three sorts or degrees, as formed either for necessity, use or delight: the first is that imperfect speech, or rather essay towards speech, abovementioned, serving as the means of necessary intercourse between man and man. The second was somewhat more refined and polished, by being adapted and made fit for use and convenience, and by applying certain dimensions, bounds, and lineaments to the first rude sketch; whence arose a certain rule of speaking. The third sort was yet more polite, there being added to the former the ornament of elegance as its dress<sup>a</sup>.

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b WHETHER there was more than one language before the flood is a thing about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reasonable to suppose that there was but one, in which it is possible there might be some difference in dialect, but none considerable; for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive, was preserved by *Noah*, or at least was spoken by his descendants till the confusion of tongues at *Babel* (T).

Whether more  
tongues than  
one before the  
flood.

c IT may be expected that we should here enter into a formal enquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was that the first progenitors of mankind spoke. But as this is an enquiry rather of curiosity than use, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being<sup>a</sup>; the most we can do will be to shew the vanity of the pretensions of those languages which have laid claim to this honour, as a great number have done, each nation being fond of it, as an undetiable evidence of their own antiquity (U); though they generally argue in a circle, and urge their antiquity as a proof of the former.

Enquiry con-  
cerning the pri-  
mitive tongue.

d BESIDES those kindred languages we commonly call the oriental tongues; the *Armenian*, the *Celtic*, the *Coptic*, the *Greek*, the *Teutonic*, and the *Chinese* have aspired to the preference in this respect. The *Armenian*, *Celtic*, and *Coptic* have little evidence to produce besides the antiquity of their nations; though the former insist, that as the ark rested in their country, and *Noah* and his children must have continued there for some time before the lower and marshy country of *Chaldea* could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reasonable to suppose they left their language there. The *Greek* some writers have fancied to be the most antient, because of its great extent and copiousness<sup>b</sup>. The *Teutonic*, or that dialect of it which is spoken in lower *Germany* and *Brabant*, has found a strenuous patron<sup>c</sup>, who has endeavoured to derive even the *Hebrew* itself from that tongue. And the pretensions of the *Chinese* have been supported<sup>d</sup> not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and sciences, and their having preserved themselves so many ages from any considerable mixture or intercourse with other nations; but also from the nature and singularity of the tongue itself, which consists of few words, all monosyllables, is most

Several lan-  
guages claim  
this honour.

<sup>a</sup> *SCALIGER* in *Poetic.* l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Vid. GROT.* in *Genes.* xi. 1. & *CLUVER.* *Germ. Antiq.* l. 1.

c. 8. p. 59, 60.

<sup>c</sup> *EUTYCH.* *Annal.* p. 50.

<sup>d</sup> *GOROPHUS BECANUS,* in *Origina.* Antwerp.

<sup>e</sup> *Vid. WEBB'S* Essay towards the primitive language.

(T) Supposing there were more tongues than one before the flood, and that *Noah* and his three sons could speak them all, it is most reasonable to believe that they taught but one common tongue to their children, who propagated the same among their descendants; so that the rest expiring with those first patriarchs, there remained but one language amongst mankind at the building of *Babel*.

(U) *Psammetichus*, a king of *Egypt*, appears to have been of this opinion; for wanting to know who were the most antient people in the world, after several fruitless experiments, he at last hit on the following expedient. He took two infants newly born, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to suffer any person to speak a word in their hearing, but to nurse them in a solitary cottage, by bringing them goats to suck, till they could take other food. *Psammetichus's* intention herein, was to find out what word the children would first utter when they began to articulate; imagining, as others have since done, that they

would naturally speak the primitive language, if not taught otherwise. At two years end, as the shepherd one day entered the cottage, he had no sooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and holding out their hands, cried *Becar*. Of this the shepherd at first took no notice, but afterwards observing they frequently repeated this word at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and by his order brought the children into his presence. *Psammetichus* having himself heard them pronounce the same word, inquired whether any nation made use of it; and finding the *Phrygians* called *bread* by that name, he and his subjects allowed this to be a proof that the *Phrygians* were the more antient people. *Herodotus* remarks, that the *Greeks*, among other ridiculous things, reported, that these children were brought up by women, whose tongues had been cut out by the king's order for that purpose (87). The *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* (88) tells the same story of another king of *Egypt*, named *Sesouchis*.

(87) *HERODOT.* *Enterp.* in *hæc.* *Vid. SUIDAM* in *verb. BAKCHIDANTH.*

(88) *In nubel.* p. 149, 150.  
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simple in its construction, having no variety of declensions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and so modest, that it is said they have no character to express those parts which we industriously conceal<sup>b</sup>: all which are conceived to be strong marks of its being the first language of mankind; besides the presumption, formerly mentioned, of Noah's being the founder of the Chinese nation<sup>a</sup>.

As to the oriental languages, though they have each of them their partisans, yet the generality of eastern authors allow the preference to the Syriac, or that dialect of it which was spoken in Mesopotamia, Chaldaea and Assyria, in which countries mankind made their first settlements after the flood, and where it is presumed the language of Noah and his sons remained. For which reason the more judicious Arab writers acknowledge Yarah, the son of Kabtan (or Jerah, the son of Joktan) to be the first whose speech deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic; and little regard the pretences of some of their countrymen, that their language was spoken by Adam before the fall, and then changed into the Syriac, but restored again upon his repentance; that notwithstanding in time it degenerated again into the same language, and would have been utterly lost, had it not been preserved by the elder Jokham, who escaped with Noah in the ark, and propagated it among his posterity<sup>d</sup>.

THE patrons of the Syriac tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedence, endeavoured to derive the names of persons and places mentioned by Moses from that language<sup>a</sup>, and generally with better success than some writers will allow (X): but this argument, though commonly looked upon as conclusive, yet proves nothing of itself, as will be hereafter observed. However, thus much we must in justice acknowledge, that if any of these tongues in particular may claim to be the original, or mother of the rest, it seems to be the Syriac, which was probably spoken by all the patriarchs from Noah to Abrahah, that being, after the confusion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived; though it must be confessed it will not thence follow, that it was in use there before the confusion.

The pretensions  
of the Hebrew  
tongue consid-  
ered.

BUT the Jews are they who assert the antiquity of their tongue with the greatest warmth. They pretend that it was immediately framed by God; that he spake it himself, for which reason it is called the holy tongue; that it is the only language understood by the angels, and wherein we can pray and be heard with effect<sup>c</sup>. And several Christian writers<sup>e</sup>, abating these superstitious fancies of the Jews, have acknowledged and maintained, that the Hebrew tongue is the most antient in the world; the very same which was spoken by Adam and Noah, and preserved in the family of Eber, who were not concerned in the building of Babel, nor consequently shared in the punishment inflicted on those that were. But as we have already shewn this to be a groundless imagination, we shall proceed to consider their principal argument, and indeed the only one which deserves any consideration, drawn from the etymologies of the names in Moses; some of which that inspired writer himself derives from the Hebrew, and the rest are generally supposed to have been taken thence likewise.

AND here it cannot be denied, that several proper names of persons and places, before the confusion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the Hebrew; and that there are some very pertinent reasons given, and allusions made by the sacred historian to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the person or place designed by them: and this is the most that can be allowed; for though all the names in general, mentioned by Moses before the division, may possibly be forced from some

<sup>a</sup> SEMEDO Rel. de la Cina, parte I. c. 11. <sup>c</sup> See before, pag. 115, &c. <sup>d</sup> Vid. Pocock. Orat. præf. in Carmen Tograi, & Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 38, 40. <sup>e</sup> Vid. THEODORET. quest. 51. in Genes. <sup>f</sup> Vid. Buxtorf. de ling. Hebr. orig. <sup>g</sup> CHRYSOST. Homil. xxx. in Genes. xi. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 17. c. 11. ORIGEN. in Numer. Hom. xi. HIERON. Comment. in Sophon. Vid. etiam SELDEN. de Synedr. vet. Hebræor. l. 2. c. 9. BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 15. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patriarch. tom. I. exerc. 16. & alios præc. innumeros.

(X) It is said in particular, that the *paronomasia* in this passage, *she shall be called woman* (עֵוָה *ishbah*) because *she was taken* (קָחָה *me-ish*) out of man (89), is not preserved in the Chaldee and Syriac translations, which instead of *ish* and *ishbah*, use the words *Baal* and *lita*, or *Gabro* and *Atto*: whence some have concluded, that the translators were not able to express the allusion in the Syriac tongue (90); but this is a mistake, for the Syrians from the

masculine *ish* regularly form the feminine *ishbah*; which word is to be found in their lexicons and grammars, though it be antiquated, and therefore not made use of by the translators. It is likewise objected (91) with as little foundation, that Adam does not signify *man*, nor *Crim* possession, in that tongue. We may observe hereafter, that some names in *Moses* are more happily derived from the Syriac than the Hebrew.

(89) Genes. ii. 23. (90) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. exercit. 16. § 13. N. CHOLSON

Dissert. philol. de univ. tit. us oris linguis, p. 4. (91) HEIDEGG. *ubi supra*.

a *Hebrew* root or other, yet much the greater part of them seem to be insignificant, at least to have no congruity with the subject; nor can it be expected they should, unless we either imagine all such names as seem to relate to a future part of a person's life were given by the spirit of prophecy; or else allow them to be imposed after the events which occasioned them happen'd, and so to be rather sur-names than proper names; a concession which manifestly weakens the argument drawn from them.

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Thus much being premised, it will be easy to shew, that this demonstrative argument, as it is called<sup>1</sup>, will not bear examination. For, 1. It is not certain that the names used by *Moses* were the very original names themselves, and not translated by him from the primitive tongue into *Hebrew*, or at least somewhat alter'd, to accommodate what he wrote to the understandings of the *Jews*. And how inconsistent soever some may think this method with historical veracity, it has been frequently practised by profane as well as sacred historians, as has been undeniably proved<sup>2</sup>: and *Moses* himself has given a plain instance of this approbation of such changes, in altering his own name, which was of *Egyptian* original, to adapt it to a *Hebrew* etymology (H). 2. Supposing the names given by *Moses* were the true original ones, it would not be strange at all, if some of them might by accident aptly admit of a *Hebrew* derivation; such casual conformities sometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3. Several of those names are more pertinently derived from some other of the oriental tongues than from the *Hebrew* (I): and not a few of the etymologies which *Moses* himself gives us, are deduced without any regard at least to the present rules of analogy (K). 4. A few lucky *paronomasiae* or allusions are no proof in this case, because they may happen by accident; and in fact, some of those mentioned by *Moses* may be expressed in other tongues as well as the *Hebrew* (L).

THIS argument has been farther enforced from the significancy of the names of several animals in the *Hebrew* tongue, which are thought to have been imposed by *Adam*, because of some peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correspondent to their respective roots<sup>3</sup>: but since the same may be as justly asserted of most other languages as the *Hebrew*, it will conclude nothing. Besides, we are much

<sup>1</sup> ABRAVANEL.      <sup>2</sup> Vid. PLATON. in Critia. GROTIUS in Genes. xi. 1. & de veritate rel. Christi. lib. 1. HUET. in Demonstr. Evang. prop. iv. c. 13. § 4. CLEREC. dissert. de lingua Heb.      <sup>3</sup> Vid. BOCHART. Hierozoic. & HEBDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. Exerc. 16. § 16.

(H) The original name is *Mouſe*, or (as it is in the *Coptic* version) *Mouſes*, with the *Greek* termination, and composed of two *Coptic*, or old *Egyptian* words, *mor*, *water*, and *'ſe*; to *preserve*. But *Moses* finding the *Hebrew* verb מָשָׁה *maſha*, to draw out, bore some resemblance in sound to his name, and in signification to the occasion of it, writes it מֹשֶׁה *Mohſeh*; and introduces *Pharaoh's* daughter giving this reason for her imposing it, because מַשִּׁיתִיו מֵהַמַּיִם *maſhitu, I drew him out of the waters* (1).

(I) Thus *Abel*, or *Hebel*, which in *Hebrew* signifies *vanity*, or a *vapour*, seems a name not very apposite to *Adam's* second son, and therefore *Moses* has given no reason for it's imposition. But if it be derived from the *Syriac* יָהֵב אֵיל *Yah il*, which answers to the *Latin* name *Deus dedit*, it is very proper; and accordingly in the margin of a manuscript copy of *Abulſaragius*, we find the name of *Abel* interpreted in *Arabic* by that of هبة الله *Hebatallah*, the gift of *God*.

The name of *Babel* itself, which the *Hebrew* text tells us was so called because *God* did there בָּלַל *balal*, i. e. confound the language of all the earth (2), may likewise more naturally be derived from the *Syriac*, in which tongue *balbel* is to confound, and *boblo*, or *bobel*, confusion.

(K) We shall instance in the names of *Noah* and *Abraham*. The former was so called, because, said his father, יְנַחֵם אֱנִי *yenahemenu*, he shall comfort us, &c. (3). But if his name were derived from the root נָחַם *niham*, to comfort, it should have been *Nohem*, or *Menahem*, not *Noah*, which can regularly come from no other verb

than נָחַם *nuah*, to rest; and the *Septuagint* have therefore, instead of *he shall comfort us*, rendered it *διαναχόμενος*, he shall cause to rest, &c. which has induc'd some learned men (4) to think the ancient and true reading was יָנִיבֵנִי *yanibenu*. And *Philo Judaeus* and *St. Jerom* translate the name *Noah*, rest.

The name of *Abraham* was changed from *Abram*, which signifies *high father*, by inserting only the letter *H*, because he was to be made אֲבִי הָמוֹן *Ab hamon*, the father of a multitude of nations (5): according to which etymon he should rather have been called *Abhamon*, or *Abham* (though we know some fancy the letter *h* was inserted from the word רַב *rab*, many). But the names of these two persons, especially the latter, being too famous and well known in the east to admit any considerable change, *Moses* was therefore obliged to retain them; and give the best etymology he could from the *Hebrew* tongue. We might offer a more plausible one of the name *Abraham* from the *Arabic*, wherein أَبُو رَهْمَان *Abu roham* signifies the father of a multitude, did we not consider that it is one of those casual resemblances we have already mentioned, and most certainly false.

(L) As *Adam*, which name is an appellative common to all the species, was so called from *adamah* the earth, so the *Latins* called man *homo*, which the best etymologists derive from *humus* the ground (6). Yet we cannot think any body ever dreamed from hence that the *Latin* was the primitive tongue.

(1) Exod. ii. 10. (2) Genes. xi. 9. (3) Genes. x. 29. (4) GROTIUS ad loc. & LUD. CAPPEL.

Critic. Sacra. l. 4. c. 8.

(5) Genes. xvii. 5.

(6) Vid. VOSSII Etymol. ling. Lat.

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Whether all  
other tongues  
may be de-  
rived from the  
Hebrew.

deceived if we imagine (as has been hitherto generally supposed) that the verbs were <sup>a</sup> really the original roots of the *Hebrew* tongue; on the contrary, the greatest part of them, at least, were themselves at first derived from nouns, though they be now for grammatical convenience considered as the roots (M). On the whole it must be acknowledged, that no conclusive argument for the antiquity of any language can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occasions, to be urged with great caution, being for the most part uncertain and precarious.

SOME learned men however have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the *Hebrew*, which they imagine to be the parent of all others<sup>b</sup>. That they should succeed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues is no wonder, since they are manifestly sprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the mother from the daughters. That they have also given tolerable satisfaction in deducing from the same tongue several words not only in the *Greek* and *Latin*, but in some other *European* languages, is not matter of much surprize, considering the great intercourse several nations of our continent had with the *Phœnicians*, whose mother tongue was the *Hebrew*. But when these writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the same fountain, they only shew their ignorance, and make themselves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate skill in those tongues; for a proof of which we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind<sup>c</sup>. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the *Hebrew* tongue by some of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the justness of its pretensions, we may say something hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

If the *Hebrew* tongue therefore cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been said in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was entirely lost at *Babel*, at least that no one can now tell where it was preserved, which is much the same thing.

The confusion  
of tongues.

THE speaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other respects) yet being the great obstacle to that division of them into distinct nations which God had for most wise purposes resolved on<sup>d</sup>, he thought fit to break this bond which held them so strictly together, and confound their language, that they should not understand one another's speech; the natural consequence of which was, that they were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth. This event is mentioned by profane historians, who write that mankind used one and the same language, till the overthrow of the tower of *Babylon*; at which time a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods: whereupon wars ensued, and those whose speech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and seized such countries as they chanced to light upon<sup>e</sup>.

How effected.

As to the degree of this *Babylonish* confusion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diversity of sentiments. Several learned men, prepossessed with an opinion that all the different idioms now in the world did at first arise from one original language, to which they may be reduced<sup>f</sup>, and that the variety which we find among them is no more than must naturally have happened in so long a course of time, supposing a bare separation of the builders of *Babel*, have been induced to believe that there were no new languages formed at the confusion, but that the most that was done was only to set those builders at variance, by creating a misunderstanding among them (N). This some think to have been effected

<sup>a</sup> Vid. HEIDECC. ibid. § 18:      <sup>b</sup> THOMASINI Glossar. Universal. Hebr.      <sup>c</sup> Genes. xi. 6.  
<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 7, 8.      <sup>e</sup> ABYDENUS apud Euseb. de prep. Ev. l. 9. c. 14. SIBYLLA & HESTIUS, apud eund. ib. c. 15. & apud Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4.      <sup>f</sup> STERNHILM. prefat. in Evang. Ulalæ, p. 4.      <sup>g</sup> Vid. HEIDECC. ubi sup. Exerc. 21. § 21.

(M) Many examples might be given of the verbs being manifestly derived from, and posterior to the nouns in all the oriental tongues: so in *English*, *dog*, *duck*, &c. were certainly first imposed as names, and afterwards used as verbs, to express actions proper to those creatures.

(N) To support this opinion, it is said, that the *Hebrew* word שפֹּה *shaphah*, *lip*, which we render *language* and *speech* (7), rather signifies *agreement*, or *unanimity*, and is equivalent to שִׁפְהָא *Phe ebhad*, i. e. *one mouth* (8), which is justly translated *with one accord*. But this latter is an adverbial expression, which the other is not: nor

does it follow, that *one lip* must import the same thing as *one mouth*; the only passage that has been produced as an instance of its being used in that sense (9), being far from proving any such thing (10). Another text has been alledged which seems to favour this interpretation much more; it is where *David* praying against his enemies, begs of God to *divide their tongues* (11), that is, *to set them at variance*. But this cannot be *Idi's* meaning here, because he immediately explains what he means by *one lip*, by adding, *and of one speech*, or more literally, *of the same words* (12).

(7) Genes. xi. 1, 6, 7.      (8) Job. ix. 2. 1 Kings      WOTTON'S Disc. on the confusion of languages, p. 9.  
xxii. 13.      /sa. xix. 18.      (10) See Dr.      (11) Psal. lv. 10.      (12) Genes. xi. 1.

without



- a without any immediate influence on their language<sup>a</sup>, which seems contrary to the words and obvious meaning of the sacred historian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confusion of their speech, or rather of their apprehensions, causing them, while they continued together, though they spake the same language, yet to understand the words differently<sup>b</sup>. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and perhaps some new words, which disturbed and perverted the former manner of expression: and this might occasion different dialects, yet could not create new languages<sup>c</sup>. But none of these explications seem fully to answer the apparent design of *Moses*; which was not only to inform us how mankind were at first dispersed, and broken into so many different nations, but to account for the diversity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impossible to do, without having recourse to some extraordinary interposition of the divine power. For though time, intercourse with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and sciences, and the difference of climates (O), cause very considerable alterations in languages, yet the utmost effect we can imagine them to have, will not come up to the question<sup>d</sup>. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be so much disfigured, that all the general marks and characteristicks should disappear. It is not easy to apprehend how all the words of a language should be entirely changed for others; nor is there any one instance to be given of any such total change: but it is next to impossible to conceive that so great a diversity as we find in the frame and constitution of languages wherein the grand and essential differences between them consist, rather than in the words which compose them, (as may be observed in the accounts we shall hereafter give of the several languages of which we have any knowledge) could ever have been occasioned by the causes assigned above. The present diversity of tongues in the world is prodigious<sup>e</sup>; and considering the time that has elapsed since the building of *Babel*, and the alterations made in some known languages in the course of one, two, and three thousand years, (which alterations we constantly find greater or less in proportion to the intercourse the nation has had with foreigners) and considering that there are many tongues which when compared with others have not the least affinity, so that a man must be the greatest visionary in the world to imagine them the offspring of the same parent, it seems to us that the variety of idioms now spoken can be no way possibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite system, or allowing a formation of new languages at *Babel*<sup>f</sup>. A very learned man, who warmly espouses the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet so sensible that exceptions must be made, that he himself excludes the languages of *America* and of the *Indian* islands out of the number; adding, that some have thence rashly imagined, that the men who speak those tongues are of a distinct species, and not the descendants of *Adam*<sup>g</sup>: which concession is enough to overthrow the hypothesis he would maintain.

ANOTHER argument against the formation of new languages at *Babel*, which has been thought to be of some weight, is, that if such a division of tongues be understood, no good reason can be given why those colonies which spoke languages that were near a-kin, were not removed to the greatest distances, and those whose lan-

<sup>a</sup> CLERIC. Comment. in loc. Vid. Pere SIMON, Hist. Crit. du vieux Test. l. 1. c. 14. <sup>b</sup> Judæi apud J. C. SCALIGER. Exercit. in Cardan. 259. § 1. <sup>c</sup> IS. CASAUB. Diatribe de ling. Heb. Vid. M. CASAUB. de quatuor lingg. p. 17, & sub initio. <sup>d</sup> See Dr. WOTTON's Disc. concerning the conf. of languages, p. 57. Dr. BRETT's Essay on the conf. of languages, p. 61, &c. <sup>e</sup> Vid. CALVIN. in Genes. xi. 1, 2. <sup>f</sup> Vid. Dr. WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 36. Dr. BRETT, ubi sup. & DIODOR Sic. l. 2. p. 8. <sup>g</sup> STIERNHJELM. ubi sup.

(O) It has been thought by several that the air or climate of some countries disposes the inhabitants to a peculiar pronunciation, and renders them unapt for the uttering certain sounds or letters: whence, as they imagine, it comes to pass, that some languages are so full of gutturals, or of consonants, while others have scarce any of the former, and comparatively few of the latter; that the *Ephraimites* could not pronounce the letter *Shin* (13); and that the *Chinise* find so much difficulty in the letter *R*, and the *Arabs* in *P*, &c. But we are far from being satisfied that this difference is caused by any quality of the climate; on the contrary, it is much more reasonable to believe, that such varieties in tongues and dialects, are perfectly casual, no one language comprehending all the several sounds, some making greater use of

one sound, and some of another; and that a man accustomed from his infancy, for that reason and no other, to a peculiar pronunciation, must needs find it hard to imitate even the easiest and seemingly most natural sound that is not agreeable thereto. Thus the *Hurons* in *America*, who have no labials at all in their language, and therefore when they speak, have no occasion ever to shut their lips (14), would not soon be brought to pronounce any one letter of that organ: yet experience shews us how readily and perfectly a child, whose organs are free and not stiffened by long habitude to a peculiar utterance, learns to form strange sounds, which a grown person is not perhaps able to do with the utmost pains and application.

(13) *Judges* xii. 6.

(14) REZAN *Dissert. de lingg. Americanis*, p. 219.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

languages were entirely different, placed next one another<sup>c</sup>. To this it may easily be answered, that there is no necessity of supposing every family had a distinct language, or that the several dialects of the mother tongues were formed at the confusion. The dispersion might at first be effected without such an absolute separation of families derived from the same stock: mankind was not then so numerous, but that it would be sufficient to cut off the communication between the three great branches and their prime families by the introduction of new tongues, which alone we contend was the work of God; for dialects we allow might, and necessarily would be formed by time.

UPON the whole, we think we may reasonably conclude, with a very learned person whose sentiments on this head we entirely approve, that upon the confusion of *Babel* there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals from which the several dialects that are, or have been, or will be spoken as long as this earth shall last (P) have arisen, and to which they may with ease be reduced<sup>d</sup>.

IN what manner these new languages were formed, is a question hard to be determined; it seems by the *Mosaic* account, which is so solemn, and represents God as coming down in person to view the work of these builders<sup>e</sup>, that it was the immediate act of God; and some have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and instantaneously infusing others into their minds, according to their several nations<sup>f</sup>. The *Jews* imagine this was done by the ministry of angels, seventy of whom descended with God, and were each of them set over a nation to which they taught a peculiar language; but *Israel* fell to the lot of his own inheritance, *the Lord's portion being his people*<sup>g</sup>, and therefore, they say, they retained the primitive tongue<sup>h</sup>. Others have supposed, that God did no more than cause them to forget their first language, leaving them to form new ones as they could<sup>i</sup>; but this must have taken up some time, and could not answer the immediate occasions of mankind. As it would be to little purpose to enquire so curiously into this matter, as some have done<sup>k</sup>, the best we can do is to conclude, that it was effected instantly, in a way and manner of which we can give no account<sup>l</sup>.

The number  
of languages  
formed at Babel;  
and the  
consequence of  
the confusion.

It would be of as little use to collect the several opinions in relation to the number of languages formed at *Babel*: we may as well allow the number of seventy, just mentioned, as any other. We only know from *Moses*, that the *Canaanitish* or *Hebrew*, the *Syriac* and *Egyptian* languages were formed so soon as the time of *Jacob*<sup>m</sup>. It is most probable that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other, and that the sub-languages or dialects within each branch, for the sake of immediate intercourse, had a mutual affinity, some more, some less, according as they settled nearer or farther from each other. And this was sufficient to bring about the designs of God to divide mankind into distinct societies, kingdoms, and commonwealths, and thereby to occasion the making of wholesome laws, the keeping of strict discipline, the encouragement of labour and industry, of liberal arts, and all social virtues, and the suppression of such vices as weaken government and introduce a corruption of morals. All which opened a new scene of providence, with a surprising variety of wisdom, in the government of the world<sup>n</sup>.

## SECTION VI.

*Of the dispersion of mankind, and the planting of nations in the two first general migrations.*

Of the dispersion.

COMING now to speak of the dispersion of mankind, which was the consequence of that confusion of tongues we considered in the last section, we beg leave to premise something as to the time, order, and other circumstances of that event.

THE primitive fathers distinguish between the division of the earth, and the dispersion of mankind, and make them two different transactions. They suppose that *Noah*,

<sup>c</sup> RELAND apud WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 61. See also STILLINGF. Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 5. § 3. <sup>d</sup> WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 29. <sup>e</sup> Genes. xi. 5, &c. <sup>f</sup> PERERUS in Genes. lib. 16. disp. 9. <sup>g</sup> Deut. xxxii. 9. <sup>h</sup> ELIEZER Pirke, c. 24. SHALSH. HAKKAB. p. 93, &c. <sup>i</sup> Vid. HEIDEG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. exerc. 21. § 19. <sup>k</sup> Vid. BUXTORF. Dissert. de Ling. Hebr. confusione & plurium lingg. origine. <sup>l</sup> MERCER. in loc. <sup>m</sup> Vid. Genes. xxxi. 47. xlii. 23. <sup>n</sup> See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 332.

(P) Perhaps we should except those languages, which, it is said, have been invented and made by mutual agreement, such as the *Chinse* and that of the *Tuca's* of *Peru*; of which more in a proper place.

- a to whom the earth was well known before the flood, as proprietor of the whole world, divided it among his three sons (A) before any of their posterity removed to *Shinaar* (B), from whence they were afterwards dispersed to take possession of their respective shares<sup>a</sup>. This *Noachical* division, as groundless as it is, was so firmly believed, that one author condemns the contrary opinion as heretical<sup>b</sup>. *Salianus*<sup>c</sup>, according to this distinction of the fathers, makes the dispersion happen about the middle of *Peleg's* life, though he places the division in his first year.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597:  
Not different from the division in the days of Peleg.

- OTHER writers have supposed a double dispersion, one at the birth of *Peleg*, and the other of the builders of *Babel*<sup>d</sup>; and an historian of some antiquity seems to have imagined, that mankind increased so very fast, that they had peopled several countries and islands, and built several towns, before they laid the foundation of *Babel*; absurdly bringing them together again at that place, on purpose to be dispersed a second time according to the *Noachical* partition<sup>e</sup>. But the more received opinion<sup>f</sup>, and the most agreeable to scripture is, that the division of the earth in the days of *Peleg*, and the dispersion of mankind at *Babel*, were one and the same transaction.

- THOSE who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, are driven to great straits to fix the time of this event. Some, in order to reconcile the sacred history with the profane, or led by some fancies of their own, hold a dispersion or plantation of countries even before the birth of *Peleg*. Sir *John Marsham* is of this number; he, to reconcile the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* chronologies, will have *Menes* to have been the same with *Ham*, who in the earliest times after the deluge, travelled, as he supposes, into *Egypt*, settled there with his children, and was the first king of that country<sup>g</sup>. Others on the contrary place the dispersion at *Babel* towards the end of *Peleg's* life; for being unable by any fair calculation to find people enough to furnish colonies for a plantation of nations at his birth, which according to the *Hebrew* falls in the year of the flood 101, they are obliged to maintain that his name was given him prophetically long before the dispersion began, in order to make it fall in such a part of his life as would allow time for propagating a sufficient number of mankind for the purpose. The *Jews* place it in the last year of his life<sup>h</sup>, wherein they are followed by *St. Jerom* and several of the christian chronologers. Others fix it at various periods towards the middle of his age<sup>i</sup>: *Petau* about his 52d year, or 153 years after the flood; *Cumberland* about his 79th year, or the 180th after the flood<sup>k</sup>; *Salianus* and *Kircher*<sup>l</sup> in the year of the flood 275; and *Usher* in one passage seems to place it after the birth of *Reu*<sup>m</sup>, which fell out in the 30th year of *Peleg's* age, or 131st of the flood, without mentioning the precise time; though elsewhere he is of opinion it ought to be referred to the time of *Peleg's* birth<sup>n</sup>. Thus those who follow the *Hebrew* account, seem to be agreed only in not connecting the dispersion of *Babel* with the birth of *Peleg*; which yet the scripture requires to be placed at that juncture<sup>o</sup>. For if by *the days of Peleg* are to be understood the whole life of the man, or the middle or the latter end of it, then *Peleg* will have nothing peculiar to deserve the name; because in that sense the division happened in the days of all his progenitors, and even of *Noah* himself: therefore it must have been peculiar to *Peleg* alone, of all the family of *Eber* or *Shem*, to be born just at the very time of the

The time of the dispersion fixed.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. t. I. Exerc. 22. § 9. <sup>b</sup> PHILASTRIUS Brixienf. Hæres. 11. 8. <sup>c</sup> Anal. Ecclef. <sup>d</sup> SPANHEIM. Hist. Ecclef. col. 291, 292. <sup>e</sup> SULPIC. SEVER. Hist. Ecclef. l. 1. Vid. HORNIIUM in eundem. <sup>f</sup> Vid. USSER. PETAV. COCCEIUM. NATAL. ALEX. &c. <sup>g</sup> MARSH. Canon. Chron. Secul. l. p. 23. <sup>h</sup> R. DAVID GANZ. ad ann. 1996. SEDER OLAM RABBA in ipso initio SHALHESEL. HAKKAB. p. 7. <sup>i</sup> CORNEL. A LAPIDE, TORNIELLUS, ABULFARAG. p. 11. <sup>k</sup> Orig. gent. ant. p. 150. <sup>l</sup> See his TURIS Babel, cap. 8. p. 20. <sup>m</sup> Ad ann. mund. 1757, & 1787. <sup>n</sup> Chronol. Sacr. part. 1. cap. 5. p. 26. <sup>o</sup> Vid. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. 1. c. 7. AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 2. MERCERUM & MUSCULUM in Genes. POSTELL. de orig. c. 20. BEROALD. PERKINS, BROUGHTON, PERER. & USSER. Chronol. Sacr. ubi sup.

(A) The opinion of *Epiphanius* (1) on this occasion is very singular. He maintained that they cast lots for their shares in the city of *Rhinocolura* or *Rhinocollura*, in the confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*. He seems to have been led into this notion by the *Septuagint* translation, where the *Hebrew* words *Nahal Mizraim* (2), which signify the torrent of *Egypt*, are rendered *Rhinocolura*, expressing (as *Jerom* observes) not so much the words of scripture, as the sense of the words. Whence he concluded *Rhinocolura* was in *Hebrew* called *Nahal*, which he interprets a *Lot*; as if that city had taken its name from *Noah's* dividing the earth by lot among his sons at that place. But he is mistaken

in the signification of that word, as a learned man has shewn (3).

(B) What gave occasion chiefly to this notion, was also a wrong understanding of the *Hebrew* text (4), which the *Septuagint*, instead of *lest we be dispersed*, have rendered *before we be dispersed*; from whence the fathers imagined that *Noah* not only gave orders to the families sprung from him to separate, but actually gave to each of them a certain portion of the earth; and that before they obeyed his commands, they undertook to build the tower of *Babel*, as a monument of their having once dwelt together.

(1) In *Ancorat.* c. 114. Hæres. 66. § 83. SYNCELL. p. 45. b. (2) *Isaiah*. xvii. 12. (3) HEIDEGG.

*Hist. Patr. tom. I. Exerc. 22. § 10.* (4) *Genes.* xi. 4.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

division or dispersion of *Babel*; from whence, with very good reason, he had that name <sup>a</sup> given him by his father <sup>p</sup>.

PERIZONIUS, who finds himself obliged, by the authority both of scripture and reason, to place the *Babylonish* dispersion at the time of *Peleg's* birth, to solve the difficulty, endeavours to prove that neither the scripture supposes any great number of people in being at that juncture, nor did the nature of the transaction require it; the first plantations being made with only a few, and those small families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of *Shinaar* <sup>q</sup>. But after all, though he thinks the *Hebrew* copy ought to be followed, yet he acknowledges that the interval between the flood and the age of *Abraham* seems to be too short according to that chronology <sup>r</sup>; and that is the only interval wherein it differs from the *Samaritan* <sup>b</sup> after the flood.

IN a word, the dispersion is the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of those who adhere to the *Hebrew* chronology; according to which, if any regard be had to profane history, that event must be carried higher than the birth of *Peleg*; and if a proper number of people be required for planting nations, it must be brought down a good way below his birth, if not to the time of his death, which happened within sixty years of the time wherein the *Samaritan* chronology places his birth (the true epocha of the dispersion): a plain demonstration of the defect of the one, and of the truth of the other computation.

HAVING settled the time of the dispersion at *Babel*, let us next enquire into the number of mankind then in the world. Some authors imagining that a greater part of <sup>c</sup> the earth was planted in this first dispersion, than we are obliged either by scripture or reason to believe, have endeavoured to swell their calculations as much as ever they can; and several as if the whole earth was to be peopled at once; whilst others would reduce the number of mankind to a smaller sum than the occasion seems to have required: but a medium is to be observed between these two extremes.

IN this enquiry no computation can be made from the number of persons mentioned in scripture as concerned in this first dispersion, which are but fifty three, excluding *Noah* and his three sons; and if we have recourse to the number of generations, we shall meet with less satisfaction still from that quarter, for they were but three at most; *Eber*, the father of *Peleg*, (who could not be a leader in the dispersion, because <sup>d</sup> it happened at his birth) being but the third from *Shem*; there are likewise only three generations mentioned in the line of *Ham*, and but two in that of *Japhet*: so that if we were to confine our calculation to that standard, it would fall vastly short. But as there were certainly many more generations procreated between the flood and the dispersion, the time that intervened ought therefore to be considered, as well as the longevity of those who lived in the first ages after the flood.

THE chronologers (who have drawn this enquiry into their own province) have suited their calculations according to their different hypotheses. Some, relying too much on the profane historians, have taken such a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies set on foot by *Ctesias* and his followers in the time of *Ninus*, whom many take to be *Nimrod*, or at least his son. But the <sup>e</sup> *Hebrew* chronology lays them under a difficulty which they cannot get over, by contracting the space between the flood and the birth of *Peleg* to 101 years; for if the calculation produces at that period such a number of men as they judge necessary, the world will be over-stocked with inhabitants, by the natural increase of the first planters, in a very few ages after; and if it be proportioned to the number of mankind in the succeeding ages, the number procreated at the dispersion must be excessive small: wherefore most of them, as has been observed, agree, contrary to the plain sense of scripture, to remove that event towards the middle or end of that patriarch's life, according as it suited their purpose.

IT is an easy thing when a man is determined upon the number, to find out a way to help himself to it. *Petau* has made a computation, which in 285 years after the flood (or within seven years of the birth of *Abraham*, according to his computation) <sup>f</sup> fills the world with above 155 times the number of inhabitants which are supposed to be at present existing in it; and yet he cannot make them rise at the birth of *Peleg* to many above 32,768 souls <sup>g</sup>. *Dr. Cumberland*, who hath also strained the calculation to an extravagant height, can yet bring little more than 30,000 men upon the stage in the year of the flood 101; though 40 years after he increases them to above 300,000; and in 40 years more to 3,000,000 <sup>h</sup>.

HOWEVER, others have been much more moderate: *Mr. Mede* allows there could not be above 7000 men, besides women and children, in the year of the flood 101 <sup>i</sup>;

<sup>p</sup> Vid. PERIZON, Orig. Babylon. cap. 14. p. 314.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 316.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 319.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. PETAVIJ doctrin. temp. lib. 9. c. 14.

<sup>h</sup> See MEDÆ's works, book 1. disc. 49.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. eund. ibid. p. 309, 310.

<sup>j</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> CUMBERLAND, Orig. gent. antiqu.

a late writer, who strenuously defends the *Hebrew* chronology, and has taken a great deal of pains in his calculations of *Noah's* issue by his three sons, cannot raise above 1416 males of 20 years old, at the birth of *Peleg*\*; and Mr. *Whiston*, whose principles seem more to be depended on than any of the others, produces by his computation about 2389, and no more, at that time\*; the largest of which numbers must be allowed to be much too small for the purpose: an evident demonstration of the inconsistency of the *Hebrew* chronology with the circumstances of this first plantation of the earth (C).

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

\* See *BEDFORD'S* Scrip. Chronol. p. 205, &c.  
the Old Testament. p. 65, &c.

\* *WHISTON'S* Short View of the Chronol. of

(C) For the readers satisfaction we shall insert tables of the gradual increase of mankind after the flood, according to the calculations of three of the abovementioned authors, with the principles on which they are framed.

kind in the times of *Ninus* and *Abraham*. The method seems plausible at first sight; but the excess of its production is a plain argument against it.

### I. The Calculation of Father PETAU (5).

### II. Bishop CUMBERLAND'S Calculation.

Years of the Flood.	Number of Sons born.
8	8
31	64
54	512
77	4,096
100	32,768
123	262,144
146	2,097,152
169	16,777,216
192	134,217,728
215	1,065,741,824
238	8,525,934,592
261	68,207,476,736
285	545,659,813,888
Total	623,612,358,728
The double	1,247,224,717,456

Years after the Flood.	Couples born in the first Vicennium after the Flood; and the couples which descended from them.
20	30
60	300
100	3,000
140	30,000
180	300,000
220	3,000,000
260	30,000,000
300	300,000,000
340	3,000,000,000
The sum	3,333,333,330

This table shews the number of the male descendants of one only of *Noah's* sons, in so many years after the flood, and is formed on the supposition that they began to generate at the age of 17, and consequently between that and 24 might each have 8 sons; so that the 8 sons which a son of *Noah* might have had by the 8th year of the flood, might by the 24th year of the flood have each 8 sons more. Thus adding continually 23 to the number of the years of the flood, and multiplying the next preceding number of sons by 8, you have the number of sons born in each interval. By this scheme one at least of the other two sons of *Noah* is to supply wives for the males. And because the parents were long-lived, and saw many generations of their own offspring, whereby an exceeding great number of persons multiplied, and were found alive together out of one stock, therefore the whole may be allowed to be cast up into one sum; and if another son of *Noah* be taken in to propagate males, the third being reserved to furnish wives for both, we shall have double the number which was found by the first calculation. This supputation was made to account for the number of man-

It must be observed that this computation exhibits not quite a tenth part of the inhabitants which are supposed to have been in the world in the 340th year of the flood, which is that of *Peleg's* death, being only the issue of the 3 sons of *Noah*, for the first of the 17 *vicennia*, or spaces of 20 years, into which that period of time is divisible (6); and is grounded on the gradual shortning of mens lives recorded in scripture, and a supposition that the male issue of those 3 brothers began to generate soon after they were 20 years old; the bishop maintaining against *Vossius*, that they were no longer in those early ages before they came to puberty, than men now are (7). But experience seems to be in favour of *Vossius* in this point; for the more robust and long-lived creatures are longest rearing; and we perceive, that generally among brutes, the time of generation is proportioned to the length of their lives; and the births of all the patriarchs before, and a good while after the flood, being much later in the fathers lives than the time in which men now a days begin to generate, is some argument that they did not propagate quite so early as they do now.

This calculation was made, like the former, to account for the founding of certain kingdoms, which according to the *Hebrew* chronology began very early after the flood. Ten times the sum in this table, gives the number of inhabitants upon earth at the birth of *Abraham* (8) viz. 33,333,333,300, which is a sum 8 times greater than its inhabitants are at present computed at.

(5) *D. Astr. tempor.* l. 9. c. 14.  
*Orig. gent. antiq.* p. 142, 154.

(6) See his  
(7) *Ibid.* p. 147.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 154.



## III. Mr. WHISTON's Calculation (9).

Number of mankind.	Years after the Flood.	Years of doubling.	Series.
16	4	4	(1)
32	9	5	(2)
64	15	6	(3)
128	23	8	(4)
256	35	12	(5)
512	50	15	(6)
1,024	70	20	(7)
2,048	95	25	(8)
4,096	125	30	(9)
8,192	160	35	(10)
16,384	200	40	(11)
32,768	245	45	(12)
65,536	295	50	(13)
131,072	350	55	(14)
262,144	410	60	(15)
524,288	475	65	(16)
1,048,576	545	70	(17)
2,097,152	620	75	(18)
4,194,304	700	80	(19)
8,388,608	800	100	(20)
16,777,216	1,000	200	(21)
33,554,432	1,300	300	(22)
67,108,864	1,700	400	(23)
134,217,728	2,100	400	(24)
268,435,456	2,500	400	(25)
536,870,912	2,900	400	(26)
1,073,741,824	3,300	400	(27)
2,147,483,648	3,700	400	(28)
4,294,967,296	4,100	400	(29)

This calculation of Mr. *Whiston*'s is less hypothetical than either of the former. It is now generally owned, that the number of souls upon the face of the whole earth, at present, does not exceed four thousand millions, though our author imagines it may come nearer to that sum than many suppose (10). It is also now generally owned, and this from good observations, that mankind do double themselves, at the longest, in four hundred years (11); which therefore is to be supposed the proportion ever since the present period of human life was fixed in the days of *David*. Mr. *Whiston* thinks it also evident, that from the deluge till the days of *David*, the lives of men were six, if not seven times as long as they have been since (though much more and less than that proportion at the earliest and latest times of that interval) whence he concludes, that the period of the doubling of mankind from the deluge till the days of *David*, in a mean, must have been, at the least, six or seven times shorter than that which has since obtained, by reason of their ancient longer lives in that proportion (though still this period of doubling must have been much shorter and longer in the earliest and latest times of the said interval.) Upon these grounds he has

composed the preceding table, taking a series of numbers beginning at eight (for so many souls survived the deluge) and doubling themselves in sixty years at a mean, from the flood till *David*, i. e. for about 1300 years according to the *Hebrew* account, and thenceforward to our own times in four hundred years, i. e. for about two thousand seven hundred years (12).

On this table Mr. *Whiston* makes an observation, of which we are concerned to take some notice. He says, "We thereby see that the number of years, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, will very naturally account for the present number of souls upon the face of the earth, and afford as many in every age preceding as any authentic accounts of ancient times do require. But if, instead of one thousand three hundred years, in the first interval, we take, with the *Septuagint*, above one thousand nine hundred, this addition of above six hundred years, at a time when mankind, at a mean, doubled in sixty years, will produce above a thousand times as many as this table, or the earth for certain does contain at present. So that if that longer chronology were allowed, the earth in all probability must have had many more inhabitants in the days of *David*, than it has in our days, contrary to the certain observations of the increase of mankind. And the like is to be said in due proportion of the *Samaritan*, or any other chronology, which lengthens the space since the deluge" (13).

However, Mr. *Whiston* having, since he wrote this, rejected the *Hebrew* chronology, and declared in favour of the *Samaritan*, it is to be presumed he has changed his opinion in this respect also, and found a way to get over the objection, though he has taken no notice of it, as it might have been expected, in a later work, where he has made a calculation of the number of inhabitants before the flood (14). We shall therefore ourselves endeavour to solve the difficulty; which we imagine may be done, by observing only, that the space of sixty years, which he takes for the mean period of mankind's doubling, from the flood to *David*, is much too short, and the least that can be allowed, even for the first 500 or 600 years after the flood, according to his own principles; the age of *Shem* himself being little more than 7 times, and that of *Peleg*, the 4th in descent from him, but 3 times as long as the present standard; whereas he reckons mens lives to be 6 or 7 times as long, quite down to the time of *David*. So that we cannot but think, that for the last 800 years at least of that interval, from the time of *Abraham* to *David*, the increase of mankind, by the table, is above twice as great as it ought to be; allowance being made for which miscalculation, we doubt not but the years added by the *Samaritan Pentateuch* will be thought requisite, instead of excessive.

That the reader may judge whether our objection to so much of Mr. *Whiston*'s calculation be well grounded or not, we shall annex his own table of the ages of all the persons which are mentioned in, or can be collected from scripture, from the flood to the death of *David* (15).

Gen. ix. 10, 11.	<i>Shem</i>	-	-	-	600
12, 13.	<i>Arphaxad</i>	-	-	-	438
14, 15.	<i>Salab</i>	-	-	-	433
16, 17.	<i>Heber</i>	-	-	-	464
Gen.					

(9) See his *Short View of the Chronol. of the Old Test.* p. 65.

(10) See Dr. NICHOLLS's *Conference*, part 1. p. 75, 76.

(11) See *before*, p. 108.

(12) WHISTON's *Chronol. of the Old*

*Test.* p. 65.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 68.

(14) See his *Theory of the Earth*, p. 249. and *this work* in the place above quoted.

(15) WHISTON's *Chronol. of the Old Test.* p. 10. and *Theory of the Earth*, p. 274.

**a** BUT if we follow the *Samaritan* computation, which allows us 300 years more in the interval between the flood and the birth of *Peleg* than the *Hebrew*, these difficulties, which are otherwise insuperable, vanish at once; and we may venture to take even the lowest calculation. According to that of the gentleman we last mentioned, the number of mankind, in the year of the flood 401, will be above 240,000; which we think may reasonably be allowed sufficient to begin the dispersion, and furnish fifty three leaders with people enough to form as many colonies.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

It is to be considered also that each of these colonies increased in proportion as they removed farther from the center of their migrations, before they arrived at the countries in which they finally settled; for the earth was not planted at once, but by degrees; so that there is the less occasion for straining to enlarge the number of mankind at the time of the dispersion, as some have done.

As to the order or method wherein these first plantations of the earth were made, some have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony settled where they did by mere chance<sup>†</sup>, every one seizing on such countries as he casually light upon<sup>‡</sup>. Yet if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confused dissipation: for first we are told, with regard to the sons of *Japhet*, the eldest branch of *Noah's* posterity, that *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations*<sup>§</sup>; in like manner **c** *Moses* concludes the account he gives us of the sons of *Ham*, the youngest branch of *Noah's* posterity, with these words: *These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, in their nations*<sup>¶</sup>; and that of the descendants of *Shem* ends thus: *These are the sons of Shem after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations*<sup>‡</sup>. From which texts may well be inferred (as the learned *Mede*<sup>§</sup> has observed) that this great division of the earth we are speaking of, was performed orderly, and was not a confused and irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he liked best<sup>¶</sup>.

Of the order  
of the first  
plantations.

We see a twofold order in these first plantations. First they were ranged according to their nations, and then every nation was ranked after their families; so that every **d** nation dwelt, and had his lot by himself, and in every nation the families also dwelt,

<sup>†</sup> HEIDECC. Hist. Patr. t. 1. Exerc. 22. § 11. <sup>‡</sup> HESTIÆUS Misc. apud Euseb. prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 15. <sup>§</sup> Genes. x. 5. <sup>¶</sup> Ibid. ver. 20. <sup>‡</sup> Ibid. ver. 31. <sup>§</sup> See his works, Book 1. Disc. 49 and 50. <sup>¶</sup> WELLS's Geog. of the Old Test. vol. 1. p. 93.

<b>Gen. xi.</b> 18, 19.	<i>Phaleg</i> - - -	239	<b>Josh. xxiv.</b> 29.	<i>Josbua</i> - - -	110
20, 21.	<i>Reu</i> - - -	239		<i>Rakab</i> about - -	135
22, 23.	<i>Serug</i> - - -	230		<i>Booz</i> about - -	125
24, 25.	<i>Nahor</i> - - -	148		<i>Obed</i> about - -	110
32.	<i>Terah</i> - - -	205	<b>1 Sam. iv.</b> 15.	<i>Eli</i> - - -	98
<b>Chap. xxv.</b> 7.	<i>Abraham</i> - -	175		<i>Jesse</i> about - -	95
xxi. 1.	<i>Sarah</i> - - -	127	<b>2 Sam. xix.</b> 32.	<i>Barzillai</i> above - -	80
xxxv. 28.	<i>Isaac</i> - - -	180	<b>(16) Chap. v.</b> 4.	<i>David</i> - - -	70
xxv. 17.	<i>Ismael</i> - - -	137			
xlvii. 28.	<i>Jacob</i> - - -	147			
l. 26.	<i>Joseph</i> - - -	110			
<b>Exod. vi.</b> 16.	<i>Levi</i> - - -	137			
18.	<i>Kohath</i> - - -	133			
<b>Job i.</b> 1—4.	<i>Hefron</i> about -	133			
with xlii. 16.	<i>Job</i> about - -	180			
	<i>Amram</i> - - -	137			
	<i>Segub</i> about -	137			
	<i>Izhar</i> about -	137			
	<i>Pallu</i> about -	137			
	<i>Jochabed</i> about -	137			
<b>Num. xxxiii.</b> 39.	<i>Miriam</i> about -	130			
<b>Deut. xxxiv.</b> 7.	<i>Aaron</i> - - -	123			
	<i>Moses</i> - - -	120			
	<i>Corah</i> about -	125			
	<i>Dathan</i> about -	125			
	<i>Abiram</i> about -	125			

Mr. *Whiston* observes from this table, that the gradual decrease of the length of mens lives did not stop, nor was the age of man reduced to the present standard of seventy or eighty years till the days of king *David*; and that the 90th psalm, where the lives of the *Israelites* seem to be stated, if it was composed by *Moses*, as the title informs us, had regard only to the shortening the lives of the murmurers in the wilderness (17), by a divine judgment (when all those were to perish in the space of forty years, who were grown men at the *Exodus*) without any respect to the common period of human life at that time. *Barzillai* in the days of *David*, is the first mentioned in scripture who was reckoned so old, as not likely to live long, at eighty years of age (18); and *David* himself is the first who is said to have died, and that in a good old age, and full of days (19), so soon as seventy years, which are the particular numbers mentioned in that psalm, and the standard of human life in all succeeding ages (20).

(16) See *USSEB. Chronol. Sacra. c. 8 and 12; 2<sup>o</sup> Annal. A. M. 2552.* (17) *Numb. xiv. 29, 35.* (18) *2 Sam. xix. 34.* (19) *1 Chron. xxix. 28.* (20) *WHISTON'S Chron. of the Old Test. p. 9 and 11.*  
S s and

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

Of the first  
plantation of  
the earth.

and had their lots by themselves; for the true import of the before-cited texts seems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family, did lie within the general lot of each nation.

THOSE who have undertaken to give an account of these first settlements of the children of *Noah*, have founded their conjectures chiefly on the similitude of names, a guide too deceitful to be trusted so far as it has been by some, who on emergencies have ransacked the whole world for names of people, countries, rivers, mountains and cities, which had but the least affinity with those of the planters they were at a loss to fix; others have therefore taken the precaution to lay down some rules for the more sure proceeding in this enquiry, and which we may reduce to two: 1. To suffer ourselves to be directed chiefly by scripture, not neglecting however the light which may be had from profane authors. 2. To seek for the original plantations within a reasonable compass of the earth, and in an orderly disposition; looking for the families where we find the nation; and for the nation where we find the families: and these rules, we think, may be admitted. But another, viz. that those nations whose families were named by *Moses*, are chiefly to be sought for in the neighbourhood of *Judea*, we conceive liable to too many exceptions to deserve the name of a rule: for it was plainly the design of that historian to give us an account of the original of all nations in the world, as far as he had knowledge of them; and not only of such as had to deal with the *Jews*, or were their neighbours.

BUT after all, this is one of those enquiries about which we ought not to be over-solicitous; for the originals of very few nations can be traced so high as the dispersion of *Babel*, much the greater part being subject to the utmost uncertainty. Since the first migrations of mankind, countries have often changed their names, and people their countries, without being observed by historians (D.) We may form conjectures, and please ourselves with the plausibleness of our schemes, but who can be sure that the principles on which they are built have any foundation? most of the arguments in enquiries of this nature, result from the identity or similitude of the names of people and countries; but, for ought we know, the nations we take to be very ancient, are modern in respect to the times next after the flood; and the names we suppose to have been retained by cities from antiquity, are of late original as well as themselves: perhaps also many of the names of people and countries mentioned in scripture were peculiar to the *Jews*, since we find them no where else. And it must be observed, that that nation, by having lost the remembrance of the greatest part of their antiquities, are become as bad guides in matters of this nature as the *Greeks*, who began too late to keep records for us to expect any great assistance from them.

WE shall from these considerations be the shorter in our account of this matter; which we shall begin, as the migrations of the colonies did from *Shinaar*; about which we find the branch of *Shem* placed, inclosed by that of *Japhet* on the north, and *Ham* on the south. And it is observable that, generally speaking, the nations and families in each of these great divisions took their stations according to seniority, the eldest remaining nearest the center, and the youngest removing outermost.

The countries  
planted by the  
descendants of  
Shem.

SEEM may be supposed for the few years, viz. eleven, which, according to the Samaritan chronology, he lived after the dispersion of mankind, to have dwelt in *Shinaar*: his descendants seem to have settled from *Media* westward to the sea-coast of *Aram*, or *Syria*. The number of chiefs of his line concerned in the dispersion were seven, *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud* and *Aram*, the sons of *Shem*; *Salah*, the son of *Arphaxad*, and *Eber*, the son of *Salah*.

Elam.

1. ELAM settled in the country of *Elam*, lying to the south-east of *Shinaar*; in the time of *Daniel Susiana*, or *Kbuzestân*, seems to have been part of it<sup>a</sup>, and before the captivity it does not appear that the *Jews* called *Persia* by any other name. *Elymæ* and *Elymais* are often mentioned by the antients: *Ptolemy*, though he makes *Elymais* a province of *Media*, yet he places the *Elymæi* (for which the maps corruptly read *Eldimæi*) in *Susiana* near the sea-coast<sup>b</sup>. *Stephanus*<sup>c</sup> takes it to be a part of *Affyria*, but *Pliny*<sup>d</sup> and *Josephus*<sup>e</sup>, more properly of *Persia*, whose inhabitants, this latter tells us, sprang from the *Elamites*<sup>f</sup>, and this seems to have been the most

<sup>a</sup> See MEDE's works, and WELLS's Geogr. of the Old Test. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> Dan. viii. 2. <sup>c</sup> Vid. Tab. 5. ALIX, & BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. <sup>d</sup> De urb. voce 'Ελυμαί. <sup>e</sup> Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 25, &c. Vid. STRAB. l. 16. <sup>f</sup> Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. l. 1. c. 7. See before, p. 126.

(D) Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, oriuntur (21).

(21) SENEC. de consol. ad Albin.

- a** easterly bounds of the posterity of *Shem*; for adjoining on the east was *Media*, supposed to be possessed by *Madia*, the third son of *Japhet*.
- 2.** As *Ashur* was the second son of *Shem*, so we find his country lying next to *Elam*'s on the west or north-west, called likewise after him *Ashur*, and by the *Greeks* *Assyria*, at present *Curdestan*, or the country of the *Curds*. *Pezron* supposes he was driven out of *Shinaar* by *Nimrod*, *Ham*'s grandson <sup>m</sup>, which indeed seems to be the case; though it may be objected, that if he had not settled there originally, he would not have found room in that part, which must have been possessed by some other family. However that be, it was *Ashur* <sup>n</sup>, and not *Nimrod*, who went out of *Shinaar* into *Assyria*, and built *Nineveh* and other cities, as *Perizonius* has clearly
- b** proved, is by that text to be understood <sup>o</sup>, and circumstances require.
- 3.** *ARPHAXAD* is placed by some in *Arrapachitis*, a province of *Assyria* towards the north part of that country; but others settle him with his family in *Chaldea*, where indeed we find his descendants till the time of *Abraham*. And could it be proved that the *Chasdim*, or *Chaldeans*, derive their name as well as descent from that patriarch, as *Josephus* affirms <sup>p</sup>, there would be no doubt of this last being the true opinion. Some who make but one and the same person of *Arphaxad* and *Cainan*, who is inserted between him and *Salah* in the *Septuagint* version, suppose him to be the founder of the monarchy of *China* <sup>q</sup>.
- WHERE *Salah*, the son of *Arphaxad*, settled, is very uncertain; some suppose it
- c** to have been in *Susiana*, or *Kbuzestan* in *Persia*, because they find a town there formerly called *Sala*; but *Morocco*, *Spain*, *Phrygia*, *Armenia*, and *Hircania* may claim this patriarch for their planter upon the same ground; having had each of them a town of the same name; and in *Colchis* we find a nation called *Sale* <sup>r</sup>, which seems to have the best pretensions to him of all, since he ought to be considered rather as the founder of a nation, than of a town. But as affinity of names weighs very little with us, except backed by some other proof, we shall not remove him out of *Chaldea*, where we suppose room enough for all his descendents in the right line till *Abraham*; for which reason we settle *Eber* also in the same country.
- 4.** WE can see no more reason than *Sir Walter Raleigh* <sup>s</sup> why *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth
- d** son, should straggle so far from his friends as *Lydia*, where *Josephus* fixes him: besides, there is a strong objection against this opinion, the *Lydians* having been first called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus*, the son of *Alys* <sup>t</sup>; except we suppose the *Greeks* were deceived, and at the name of *Mæones* ceasing, they resumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that case we ought perhaps to consider *Lydia* as possessed by the *Ludim*, or posterity of *Lud*, on a second or third remove, and to look for his first settlement nearer his brothers; but here the very similitude of names, which are generally upon these occasions ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, seem to fail us.
- 5.** *MESOPOTAMIA* and *Syria*, comprehending the countries westward of *Assyria*
- e** as far as the mediterranean sea, seem wholly (if we except *Phanicia* and *Palestine*) to have fallen to the share of *Aram*, *Shem*'s fifth and youngest son, whose name is given both to the whole and the several regions thereof in scripture.
- WITHIN or bordering on this country of *Aram*, it is likely the four sons of *Aram* settled. It is generally agreed that *Uz* the eldest built *Damascus*, and gave name to the country about that city <sup>u</sup>, which seems to be different from the land of *Uz*, where *Job* dwelt, lying towards *Edom*. **2.** *Bochart* supposes *Hul* to have settled in *Cholobetene*, a part of the greater *Armenia*, where he finds several places whose names begin with *Chol* or *Col* <sup>v</sup>. **3.** *Gether*, according to *Josephus*, was prince of the *Bactrians* <sup>w</sup>, but *Bactria* lay out of *Shem*'s lot, as well as too far for the first plantation; and if we allow him a seat about the river *Centrites*, between *Armenia* and the *Carduchi*, it is not that we think there is the least affinity in the two names to induce us to it, as *Bochart* does. **4.** *Mash* or *Mishek*, *Aram*'s fourth son, is supposed to fix in *Armenia* about the mountain *Masius*, the same with that commonly held to be *Ararat*, and called by the *Armenians*, *Masis*. The people who dwelt near this mountain are by *Stephanus* named *Masieni*. *Bochart* <sup>x</sup> refutes the notion of *Josephus* <sup>y</sup>, who derives the *Mefanzans* near the mouth of the *Tigris* from them, not considering that they took their name from their situation between the rivers. However, the *Arme-*

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.  
Athur.

Arphaxad.

Silah

Eber.  
Lud.

Aram.

Uz.

Hul.

Gether.

Mash.

<sup>m</sup> Antiquite des tems retable, p. 148.

<sup>n</sup> Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. See before, p. 127. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. 6. c. 4.

lib. 13. PLINIUS, lib. 5. cap. 29.

cap. 7. <sup>q</sup> Phaleg. lib. 2. cap. 9.

<sup>r</sup> Genes. x. 11.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. BOLDUC. de eccles. ante leg. lib. 2. cap. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Book 1. cap. 8. § 15.

<sup>u</sup> BOCHART. Geog. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 8.

<sup>v</sup> JOSEPH. ubi supr.

<sup>w</sup> Orig. Babylon. cap. 4.

<sup>x</sup> HEROD. lib. 1. STRABO,

JOSEPH. lib. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Ubi supr.

<sup>z</sup> Ubi supr.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597:  
The nations  
descended from  
Ham.

nians themselves do not lay claim to any of *Shem's* line as their progenitor, but say <sup>a</sup> they are descended from *Togarmah* of *Japhet's* posterity, as will be seen by and by.

*HAM* probably removed from *Shinaar*. Supposing him to be the *Cronus* of *Sanchoniatho* <sup>a</sup>, he reigned in *Phœnicia*. According to others, who make him to be the same with *Menes*, he must have settled in *Egypt* <sup>b</sup>, which indeed in scripture is often called the land of *Ham*; and some from the similitude of *Ammon*, and other words of the like sound, would infer that he at least dwelt there for some time; but nothing can be concluded from such weak evidence.

Cush.

1. *CUSH*, his eldest son, according to *Josephus* and the antients, was the father of the *Ethiopiæans*, who, he says, were in his time called *Cushæans*, not only by themselves, but all *Asia* over <sup>c</sup>. But it is not likely that if *Mizraim* and *Canaan* settled themselves <sup>b</sup> in the lands betwixt him and *Shinaar*, that his son *Nimrod* would be found erecting a monarchy so early in that country. It is more probable that he seated himself in the south-eastern part of *Babylonia*, and in the adjoining part of *Susiana* still called *Khu-zestan*, or the country of *Chuz*; from whence his posterity in the succeeding generations might have passed into other countries. That a part of *Arabia* near the *Red-sea* was named *Cush*, appears from scripture. *Cushan* and *Midian* are joined together as the same or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents <sup>d</sup>; and in another place <sup>e</sup> the *Arabs* are made to border on the *Cushites*, which therefore cannot be the *Ethiopiæans*; to which may be added other scriptural proofs <sup>f</sup>; in a word, by *Cush* in scripture is always to be understood *Arabia*. As for those texts that are alledged to prove *Cush* <sup>c</sup> is sometimes taken for *Ethiopia*, they may also be expounded of *Arabia* <sup>g</sup>. *Cush*, according to the *Arab* and *Persian* traditions, which name him *Cutha*, was king of the territory of *Babel*, and resided in *Erak* <sup>h</sup>, where there were two cities of his name <sup>i</sup>; from whence, among other reasons, *Dr. Hyde* is of opinion, that *Cush* reigned in *Babylonia*, and that his descendants removed into *Arabia* <sup>k</sup>, though it is hard to fix the quarters of any of them; which has given occasion to those who suppose *Cush* to be *Ethiopia*, to spread them all along the coast of *Africa* to the end of *Mauritania* <sup>l</sup>.

Seba.

Havilah.

Sabrah.

Raamah.

Sheba and  
Dedan.

Sabtecha.

Those who place them in *Arabia* are divided about their situations. To follow therefore the rules we have laid down, we will suppose, 1. That *Seba* seated himself somewhere in the south of *Chaldea* or the *Arabian Erak*; because, 2. His second brother *Havilah's* country lay thereabouts, watered by the *Pison*, as we have formerly observed. 3. *Sabrah's* seat perhaps lay more to the south, where we find a city called *Saphika* by *Ptolemy*, not far from the *Persian* gulph, and another named *Sabatba*, lower down in *Arabia Felix*, which comes much nearer *Sabrah*. 4. *Raamah* or *Rhegma* may find a place more south-ward still, about a city called *Rhegama* by *Ptolemy*, on the same gulph. Some moderns mention a city not far from it called *Dadan* <sup>m</sup>, which *Dr. Wells* does not doubt was the residence of his son *Dedan* <sup>n</sup>. Though others will have *Raamah* and both his sons, *Sheba* as well as *Dedan*, to people the parts adjacent to the *Red-sea* <sup>o</sup>. They conclude *Dedan* to have been near *Edom*, because *Ezekiel* joins them together <sup>p</sup>; as *Raamah* must <sup>q</sup> have been near *Sheba*, being mentioned as joint-traders to *Tyre* in spices by the same prophet <sup>r</sup>; and elsewhere <sup>s</sup> *Sheba* and *Seba* are joined as neighbours, though distinguished as different kingdoms: they seem to have possessed a larger part of *Arabia*, for *Pliny* observes that the *Sabæan* nations inhabited from sea to sea, that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Persian* gulph. A late writer supposes *Sheba* lived on the borders of the land of *Midian*, and gave name to the country whose queen in after-ages went to visit *Solomon* <sup>t</sup>. But the *Arabs* say the country of *Sheba* lies a great way more to the south in *Yaman*, or, as we call it, *Arabia Felix*, near the *Indian* sea; the chief city of which was formerly *Saba*, now called *Mareb* <sup>u</sup>, and founded, according to their tradition, by a descendant of *Jostan* or *Kaktan*. And it must be confessed this seems to be the country of *Sheba*, mentioned in scripture, for the frankincense grows thereabouts. 5. *Sabtecha* has puzzled all the geographers to assign his quarters. *Bochart* <sup>v</sup> not finding a place in *Arabia* which bore any resemblance to the name, passes over to *Carmania* in *Persia*, and presses the city *Samydace* into the service, observing that the *M* and *B* are often changed the one for the other by the *Arabs* and their neighbours. On

<sup>a</sup> CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 111. <sup>b</sup> MARSHAM Chron. Canon. p. 18, 23. <sup>c</sup> Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7.  
<sup>d</sup> Habak. iii. 7. <sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 16. <sup>f</sup> Ezek. xxix. 10. 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 9. <sup>g</sup> Ifi.  
xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Jerem. xiii. 23. <sup>h</sup> ALTABARI in cap. de morte SARR, apud  
HYDE de Relig. Ver. Pers. p. 40. <sup>i</sup> HYDE, ibid. p. 80, &c. <sup>j</sup> Idem ibid. p. 39, 40. <sup>k</sup> Vid. BO-  
CHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 3. <sup>l</sup> ORTELIIUS, ONOARDUS BARROZA, nella descriz. di Ormuz. <sup>m</sup> Geog.  
of the Old Test. vol. 1. p. 197. <sup>n</sup> SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the sacred and profane Hist. vol. 1. p. 173.  
<sup>o</sup> Ezek. xxv. 13. <sup>p</sup> Ibid. xxvii. 22. <sup>q</sup> Psalm lxxii. 10. <sup>r</sup> SHUCKFORD ubi supr. <sup>s</sup> Geog. Nub. p. 16  
and 52. POCOCK. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 57. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba. <sup>t</sup> Geog. Sacr.  
lib. 4. cap. 4.



a the other hand, Dr. Wells \* imagines that the *Saraceni* are the descendants of *Saltecha*, which nation being stiled at first by the *Greeks* *Saltaceni*, that name was afterwards softened into *Saraceni*; and the rather, he thinks, because alluding to the *Arabic* verb *saraka*, to *steal*, it served for a nick-name. Though indeed the word *Saraceni* is no other than *Sharkiin*, which in *Arabic* signifies *Easterlings*; as the *African* *Arabs* west of *Egypt*, are called *Mogrebins* or *Westerlings*. For our parts, being afraid to meddle in a point of so much uncertainty, we think it the safest way to pass this person by, and proceed 6. To his brother *Nimrod*, who it is agreed kept possession of *Shinar*, Nimrod. and erected a kingdom there, making *Babel* the seat of his empire †.

2. *MIZRAIM* stands in the place of the second son of *Ham*; for there is a great Mizraim. dispute, whether this is the name of a single person or of a people, as having a dual termination; though the verb in the text, where he is said to beget *Ludim*, is in the singular number, which favours the former opinion. However that be, it is plain that the names of *Ludim* and all the rest of his descendants are plurals, by what we read of the *Caphtorim*, namely, that *they came forth out of Caphtor* ‡. Nor do we see any harm in that opinion, which supposes them branches of a large body of people denoted by the name *Mizraim*, which divided between them the country called after their name by the *Hebrews* and other eastern people §.

As to the nations descended from *Mizraim*: 1. The *Ludim* are judged to be the people above *Egypt*, called by the *Greeks* *Ethiopian*s, and at present *Abyssin*s. Bochart endeavours to prove it by no less than ten arguments †. We rarely find them called otherwise in scripture than *Lud*, either from the name of their founder or their country. In one passage of scripture *Lud* are called *a mixt people* ‡: in others § they are said to be very *skilful in drawing the bow*, which the *Ethiopian*s were famous for; and in two of the abovementioned passages †, *Lud* is joined with *Cush* and *Phut*, as are the *Lubims* elsewhere with the *Egyptians* ‡; from whence it may be inferred they were all neighbouring people. 2. The *Ananim* are thought by Bochart to be the *Ammonians*, or inhabitants of that part of *Lybia* where stood the temple of *Jupiter Ammon* †, descended, according to *Herodotus*, partly from the *Egyptians*, and partly from the *Ethiopian*s. 3. The *Lehabim* are supposed to be the same with the *Lubim*, who with the *Sukkims* and *Cushites* came out of *Mizraim* or *Egypt*, with *Shishak*, to invade *Judea* †: these therefore may not improbably be judged to be the *Lybians* of *Cyrenai*ca or proper *Lybia*, near *Egypt*. 4. The *Naphtubim* are thought to have settled in *Marmarica*, adjoining to *Cyrenai*ca †. It is observed, that the *Egyptians* called all the skirts of a country and promontories washed by the sea, *Nephtys*; and Bochart places the *Naphtubim* rather on the coast of the *Mediterranean* than on that of the *Red-sea*, because the *Troglodites* and *Ichthyophagi*, who are the inhabitants of the latter, are in the scripture called *Zyrim* and *Sukkim* †. Some place the *Naphtubim* about *Neph* or *Memphis*, in *Egypt* †. 5. *Pathrusim* are evidently the inhabitants of *Pathros*, which some wrongly take for *Pelusium*; others, more justly, for *Thebais* or the upper *Egypt*, which is distinguished from the lower *Egypt* in profane history as well as sacred †. *Ezekiel* † mentions it by itself; and *Isaiah* † distinguishes it from *Egypt*; but from *Jeremiah* the country of *Pathros* appears either to be a part of that kingdom, or adjoining to it, being mentioned with *Mizdol*, *Tahpanhes*, and *Noph* †, which are known to be cities or districts of *Egypt*. 6. The *Cassubim* are supposed to have settled somewhere towards the entrance of *Egypt*, about mount *Cassius*, in that part of the lower *Egypt* called *Cassotis* by *Ptolemy* and others, which places it is thought retain some likeness of the name; but without relying on that argument, they appear to have been planted near the *Caphtorim*, because the *Philistim*, as it seems, were descended from both these people †, and consequently in *Egypt*. Bochart, misled by following the *Jewish* notion about *Caphtor*, fancies them to be the inhabitants of *Colubis* †, at present called *Mingreha*. As for the *Philistim*, who in the *Mosaic* account of the dispersion are derived from the *Cassubim* †, we shall consider their original settlement in *Egypt* before they removed into *Canaan*, when we come to their particular history. 7. *Caphtorim*, the last of the offspring of *Mizraim*, are, as Bochart † observes, by all the fathers said to be the *Cappadocians*, and *Caphtor* *Cappadocia*; as the *Septuagint* have also rendered it †. In this doubtless they follow the *Jews*, who explain those names the same way, as do the three *Chaldee* pa-

\* Geog. of the Old Test. vol. I. p. 198. † See p. 121. ‡ Deut. ii. 23. § Jost phus Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7. † Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 26. ‡ Ezek. xxx. 5. † Isaiah lxvi. 19. Jerem. xlii. 9. ‡ Ezek. xxx. 5. Jerem. lvi. 9. † 2 Chron. xii. 3. ‡ Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 20. † 2 Chron. xii. 3. ‡ Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 29. † Ibid. † Isaiah xix. 13. † Vid. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 37. † Chap. xiv. ver. 14. † Chap. xi. ver. 11. † Chap. xiv. ver. 1. † Compare Gen. x. 13. with Deut. ii. 23. Jerem. xlvii. 4. and Amos ix. 7. † Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 31. † Gen. x. 13. † Lib. 4. cap. 33. † Deut. ii. 23.

Year of the  
Flood, 421.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

raphraſts. But by *Cappadocia* in theſe writings, is not to be underſtood *Cappadocia* in *a* *Aſia minor*, as *Bochart*, and perhaps the reſt, judged; but ſome place in *Egypt*, generally ſuppoſed by the *Rabins* to be *Demyat* <sup>1</sup> or *Damietta*, commonly confounded with *Peluſium*. One would be inclined to think the *Caphtorim* derived from *Coptus*, a noted city of the ſame country (which by many is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from thence) were it not that *Caphtor* appears to have been an iſland <sup>2</sup>, and more probably ſituate either in the lake of *Tennis*, or *Tanis*, which extends from *Damietta* to *Tina*, the true *Peluſium*, or in the *Arabic gulf*, rather than *Crete*, as will be obſerved hereafter.

Phut.

3. **AUTHORS** are not agreed about the country where *Phut* the third ſon of *Ham* planted himſelf. *Bochart* endeavours to prove that *Mizraim* and he divided *Africa* between them <sup>3</sup>: what is moſt to the purpoſe is taken from *St. Jerom*, who affirms *Phut* to be *Libya*, and that in his time there was a river in *Mauritania*, with the adjacent region, named from him *Phut* <sup>4</sup>. But to this it may be objected, that *Ezekiel* <sup>5</sup> mentions *Phut* with *Cuſh* and *Perrya* as auxiliaries to the northern enemies of the *Jews*, and in the army of *Gog*; and we find *Cuſh*, *Lud*, and *Phut* among the nations, who, according to *Jeremiab*'s prophecy, were to over-run *Egypt* <sup>6</sup>, as *Nebuchadnezzar* afterwards did; which looks as if *Phut*'s quarters lay ſomewhere between *Cuſh* and *Babylon*. However, in points ſo uncertain, we will not preſume to determine any thing.

Canaan.

4. **WE** are not ſo much to ſeek for the parts planted by *Canaan* and his poſterity, viz. *Sidon*, *Heth*, the *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Girgaſhites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, *Sinites*, *Arvadites*, *Zemarites* and *Hamathites*; of whom we ſhall ſpeak more particularly when we come to treat of *Phœnicia*, and the land of *Canaan*, where they undoubtedly ſettled.

The countries  
planted by the  
deſcendants of  
Japhet.

**THE** ſcripture leaves us as much in the dark, as to the country where *Japhet* ſettled, as it does with regard to the particular reſidence of his brothers. All we can collect upon this occaſion is, that he retired from *Sbinaar* with his deſcendants, and ſettled among them to the north of the countries planted by the children of *Shem*. Some imagine him, from the affinity of names, to be the *Japetus* of the *Greeks* <sup>7</sup>; but there is no likelihood of his having ever been known to them, or that their traditions reach ſo high as this ſon of *Noah* by many ages.

Gomer.

1. **GOMER** the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, according to *Joſephus*, was the father of the *Gomerites*, called by the *Greeks* *Galatians* <sup>8</sup>, who were the *Gauls* of *Aſia minor*, inhabiting part of *Phrygia*. Of this opinion is *Bochart* <sup>9</sup>; and if it be right, thoſe who derive the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbri* from *Gomer*, have ſome grounds for it, the *Cimmerians* ſeeming to be the ſame people with the *Gauls* or *Celts* under a different name; and it is obſervable that the *Welſh*, who are deſcended from the *Gauls*, ſtill call themſelves *Kimbro* or *Cymro*, and *Cumeri*. Be that as it will, the *Chaldee* paraphraſts muſt be out in placing *Gomer* in *Africa*, ſince it is plain from *Ezekiel* <sup>10</sup> that his country lay northward of *Judea*; and that it lay alſo to the weſt or north-weſt of *Madia* or *Media*, may alſo be gathered from that prophet's making the houſe of *Togarmah* (one of *Gomer*'s ſons, and conſequently, according to our rules, ſettled in his father's lot or borders) trading to *Tyre* and *Syria*; which could not well be, in caſe they had been ſituated beyond *Media*, through which it is not likely they would have been ſuffered to paſs. We may therefore let *Gomer* reſt where the learned *Bochart* ſettles him, viz. in *Phrygia* <sup>11</sup>, without ſtraining to make that word to be the *Greek* tranſlation of his name.

Aſſkenaz.

**THE** plantations of *Gomer*'s ſons may, not without ſome ground, be preſumed to be thereabouts. 1. *Aſſkenaz*, as it ſeems, ſhould be ſeated near *Armenia* <sup>12</sup>, in the eaſtern part of *Aſia minor*; for the ſcripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to deſtroy *Babylon*, mentions *Avart*, *Minni*, and *Aſſkenaz*: but if regard be had to the footſteps found of the name, the country which he planted ſeems to have been in the north-weſt part of that continent; for in *Bitbynia* there was the *Arcaſian* <sup>13</sup> lake, and a river called *Aſcanius*, with a bay of the ſame name; and there was alſo antiently a city named *Aſcania* in leſſer *Phrygia* or *Troas*, with iſles on the coaſt called the *Aſcanian* iſlands: and it is obſerved that beſides *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the ſiege of *Troy*. And to prove that the *Aſſkenaz* mention'd by *Jeremiab* were the people of theſe parts, it is ſhewn out of *Xenophon* <sup>14</sup>, that *Hæſtaſpes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Helleſpont*, brought thence many of the horſe and other ſoldiers which *Cyrus* carried with him to the ſiege of *Babylon*. In a word, the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Asinus*, as it was firſt called by

<sup>1</sup> *RABBI SAAIDAS*, & *MAIMONIDES* apud *Lightfoot*. oper. tom. 2. p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaleg*. l. 4. cap. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *HYFRONYM* in tradit. Hebr.

<sup>4</sup> *Chap.* xxxviii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Jerem.* xlvii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Chap.* xli. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *BOCHART* *Phaleg*. l. 3. c. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Phaleg*. l. 3. c. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Chap.* 48. 6.

<sup>11</sup> In loco ſuperius citat.

<sup>12</sup> *Jeremiab* li. 27.

<sup>13</sup> *Cyropæd.* l. 7.

- a the *Greeks*, is supposed to be a corruption for *the sea of Ashkenaz* <sup>1</sup>. 2. Because *Riphab* Year of the probably settled near his brother *Ashkenaz*, we may admit the testimony of *Josephus*, Flood, 401. not always to be depended on, who says the *Paphlagemans* were originally called *Ripba-* Year before theaus from *Ripba* <sup>2</sup>. *Bochart* finds the river *Rhebas*, *Rhebaus*, or *Rhebanus* near Christ, 1697. *Paphlagonia* <sup>3</sup>; *Stephanus* mentions not only the river but also a region of the same *Riphab* name, whose inhabitants were called *Rhebei*; and *Pliny* places here a people called *Riphet*, which comes nearer the name of *Riphab*. 3. *Togarmah* the last son of *Gomer* *Togarmah* was probably seated to the east of *Riphab*; some think to the north of *Armenia*, among the *Iberians*, others in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; which opinions are not out of the way, since these countries lie contiguous to those of the rest of *Gomer's* family, and are situate conformable <sup>4</sup> to that expression of the prophet, *Gomer and all his bands, the house of Togarmah of the north quarters and all his bands* <sup>5</sup>; which seems to be spoken of their situation with respect to *Judea*. *Turcommania*, where many have placed this colony, seems too remote, because they are said to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre* <sup>6</sup>; and what they brought hither, viz. horses, horsemen and mules, confirms their settling in or about *Cappadocia*; for that country produced excellent horses and mules, which last are supposed to have come first from thence, and was famous for good horsemen, as is attested by several of the ancient profane historians <sup>7</sup>. Besides, in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi* <sup>8</sup>, *Trogmi* or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* c they are called *Trocmades* or *Trogmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or as the *Greeks* usually write it, *Thorgama*.

BUT after all, the *Armenians* give themselves out to be descended from *Togarmah* (whom they make the son of *Tiras* the son of *Gomer*) by his son *Haik*, from whom they and their country from all antiquity have born the name of *Haikb*. They say also that the name of *Armenia*, made use of by other nations, is derived from *Aram*, the seventh in descent from *Haikb*, who much enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all sides <sup>9</sup>: the *Armenians* had also numerous breeds of excellent horses, which they paid to *Cyrus* instead of tribute <sup>10</sup>; and many of those creatures, as a learned author assures us, from the testimony of credible natives, are still bred there for the use of the kings d of *Persia*, and for presents to them from the governor. Upon these considerations we must leave *Armenia* to the descendants of *Togarmah*, or *Thurgumai*, as they call him.

2. WE come now to *Magog* the second son of *Japhet*, with regard to whose settlement the learned have many different and confused opinions; *Josephus*, *Jerom*, and most of the fathers held them to be the *Scythians* about mount *Caucasus*, which name *Bochart* supposes was made by the *Greeks* out of *Gog hasan*, signifying *Gog's fort* in *Chaldec*, a dialect of which he imagines to have been in the language of the *Colchi* and *Armenians* <sup>1</sup>; but perhaps it is rather a wrong pronunciation of *Cub Kaf*, which in *Persian* signifies the mountain of *Kaf*, as the *Arabs* also call it: that his plantation adjoined upon those of *Meshech* and *Tubal* appears from *Ezekiel's* <sup>2</sup> making *Gog*, king of *Magog*, to e reign over the other two. And it is thought we should come nearer still to a discovery of his quarters, if those words, *the chief prince*, or (as it is in our marginal translation) *the prince of the chief of Meshech and Tubal* <sup>3</sup>, be rendered, according to the *Septuagint*, *the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal*, because in the isthmus or neck of land between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas there formerly dwelt two sorts of people; the one called *Rhossi*, on the river *Cyrus*, as *Joseph ben Gorion* has it, or rather on the *Ros*, *Ras*, or *Aras*, called by the *Greeks* *Araxes*; the other called *Moschici*, inhabiting a long chain of mountains, stretching, according to *Ptolemy*, along the northwest part of *Armenia*, and separating it from *Colchis* and *Iberia*. From which two people, migrating or driven over *Caucasus*, it is supposed the *Russians* and *Muscovites* are descended.

f BOCHART also thinks the name of *Magog* is preserved in a country of these parts called *Gogarene* <sup>4</sup>, according to *Strabo* and *Stephanus*; for *Gog* and *Magog* seem to be the same name, the *m* not being a radical letter. But we cannot strain the matter so far as to suppose the name of *Georgia*, a well known country in this quarter, derived thence; much less that the *Palus Meotis*, and *Comagene* in *Syria*, draw their names from *Magog* <sup>5</sup>, through such a distorted course of changes, as to repeat them would put one quite out of conceit with etymologies.

THE *Arabs*, who have borrowed the best part of their religion from the *Jews*, are acquainted with *Gog* and *Magog*, whom they call *Tajuj* and *Majuj*, and make them to

<sup>1</sup> BOCHART Phaleg. l. 3. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> BOCHART ubi supr. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. xxvii. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Vid. BOCHART ubi supr.

<sup>8</sup> PROL.

STRAB. l. 12. CICERO de divin. l. 2. &c.

<sup>9</sup> MOSES CHORENENS. Hist. Armen. l. 1. c. 4.

<sup>10</sup> XENOPH.

<sup>11</sup> SCHROEDER Dissertat. de ling. Armen. p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> BOCHART Phaleg. l. 3. c. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Chap. xxxviii. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> BOCHART ubi supr.

<sup>16</sup> Geog. of the Old Testament, vol. I. p. 164.

inhabit

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

inhabit the mountain of *Kaf* or *Caucasus*, but remove them at a great distance to a the farther end of *Tartary* towards the north or north-east \*.

WE are inclined to think the parts above mentioned, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, are most likely to be those in which *Magog* settled; however we can by no means omit this occasion of taking notice of an error which many of the modern writers have fallen into, who place *Magog* in *Syria*. *Bochart's* great judgment would not suffer him wholly to come into it, however he supposes *Magog* himself gave his name to a town there †. *Dr. Wills* more cautiously suggests that the name was long after taken from the *Scythians* when they made an excursion into *Syria* and took the city, as *Bethsan* in *Judea* was also called after them *Scythopolis* ‡. But *Mr. Shuckford* fixes *Magog* himself there, with *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *Togarmah*, and *Meshech* about him §. What gave rise to this opinion, is a passage in *Pliny* ¶, where he observes that *Bambyce*, otherwise *Hierapolis*, is called by the *Syrians* *Magog* †; but this proves to be a palpable mistake of the transcriber, who has written *Magog* instead of *Mahog*, as has been observed by *Dr. Hyde*, who wonders no body had corrected that error in *Pliny* \*. *Affemani* has taken notice of it since †; yet it still remains uncorrected in *Hardouin's* last pompous edition of that author.

Madai

3. IT is generally agreed that *Madai* planted *Media*, and the *Medes* are always called by this name in scripture \*. To this a learned author †, who makes *Macedonia* the settlement of *Madai*, objects, 1. That the *Madai* or *Medes* are not mentioned in scripture till the latter ages; but it may be answered that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion. 2. That this situation removes *Madai* too far from the rest of his brethren, and takes him out of their general lot, which were the isles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Skem*. But according to our hypothesis, their plantations hitherto have been contiguous, for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros*, or *Aras*; to which, as we have observed above, the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps those words, *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided* ‡, relate only to *Javan* and his sons, and not to *Gomer* and his sons, or to a future plantation; the passages in scripture where these last are mentioned requiring a sense which places them on the continent. 3. Several authorities are produced by this writer to shew there were a people in *Macedonia* § called *Medi* or *Medi*, and a tract called the *Medic* region in the borders of *Pæonia*; but even supposing them some later colony of *Madai*, which is the most that can be allowed, we cannot see how it tends to prove that *Macedonia* is compounded of *Madai* and *Cetim* or *Kittim*, any more than the *Æmatbia*, the ancient name of *Macedonia*, comes from *Madai*, upon the bare authority of a forced etymology.

Javan:

4. *JAVAN* may probably be supposed to have settled first near his brothers in the south-west part of the lesser *Asia*, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name.

Elisba.

HIS four children may find places correspondent with their names in the same parts. 1. The *Æoles*, who inhabited *Æolia* to the north of *Ionia*, are by *Josephus* made to descend from *Elisba*, *Javan's* eldest son; but there is a greater appearance of his name in *Hellas*, the ancient name of *Greece*; the isles of which seem to be those called the isles of *Elisba* by *Ezekiel*, and most probably supplied *Tyre* with the purple and blue, † wherewith, as *Bochart* proves at large, the coast of *Peloponnesus* and the adjacent islands abounded ‡. *Peloponnesus*, which may be well comprehended among the isles, as being almost one, contained moreover a city and province, by the name of *Elis*; and in *Attica* there was the city *Eleusis*, and the river *Elissus* or *Ilissus*.

Tarsish.

2. *Tarsish*, according to *Josephus*, gave name not only to *Tarsus* but to all *Cilicia*, of which it was the capital †: it seems also to have been the *Tarsish* to which *Jonas* thought to flee from the presence of the Lord ‡, as well as that also mentioned so often by the prophets, on account of its trading with *Tyre* §. 3. To the west of *Tarsish* it is supposed *Kittim* first planted. *Homer* mentions a people in those parts called *Ceti* † (from the river *Cetius*) which is the word by which the *Septuagint* have rendered *Kittim*. In *Ptolemy* we find two provinces in the western parts of *Cilicia*, one maritime called *Cetis*, the other towards the mountains called *Citis*. *Josephus* will have the island of *Cyprus* to be the seat of the *Kittim*, and the town called *Citium* which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them †; but in the apocrypha *Macedonia* is plainly denoted

Kittim:

\* See D'HERBELOI *Bibl. Orient. Art. Jagiouge & Magioug*, p. 470. & *Geog. Nubiens*, p. 247, 267.

† *Phaleg*. l. 1. c. 2. & l. 3. c. 13.

‡ *Geogr. of the Old Test.* ubi sup.

§ *Connect. of the*

§  *sacred and profane hist.* vol. I. p. 152.

¶ *Hist. Natur.* l. 5. c. 23.

¶ *In Notis ad Peritfol. Itiner.* p. 42.

¶ *Bibliotheca Oriental.* vol. II. *Dissert. de Monophysi ad voc. Mabug.*

¶ *Dan.* v. 28. *Ibid.*

¶ *vi.* 8, 12, 15. *Ibid.* viii. 20. *Elisb.* i. 3, 14, 18, 19. *Ibid.* x. 2. † See *MENDI's Works.* § *Gen.* x. 5.

¶ *Chap.* viii. 7.

¶ *Phaleg.* l. 3. c. 4.

¶ *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 7.

¶ *Jonas* i. 3. ¶ *Isa.* xxiii. 1, 14. *Ibid.*

ix. 19. *Ezek.* xxvii. 12, 25. *Ibid.* xxxviii. 13. ¶ *Odyss.* 11. ver. 520. *Vid.* *Strab.* l. 13. ¶ *Antiq.* l. c. 7.

- a by the land of *Chetium*, *Alexander* being mentioned as coming from thence<sup>p</sup>, and *Perseus*, king of *Macedonia*, is called king of the *Cittim*<sup>q</sup>. Nor do we see any thing amiss in supposing that country to be the original plantation of the *Kittim*, at least in the intention of *Moses*, since it comes under the general denomination of *the isles* which were to be the portion of *Japhet*, at least of the posterity of *Javan*; and their brother *Elisha* has been already placed in that neighbourhood. 4. It is not so easy to find a place for *Dodanim*, the youngest of the sons, or rather of the descendants of *Javan*, except we admit the change of the *D* into *R*, (which letters in the *Hebrew* are scarcely to be distinguished) and call him *Rodanim*, as the *Septuagint* have done, in order to settle the island of *Rhodes* upon him; which, for ought we know, is not a worse shift than to extract the name of *Doris*, and the *Dorians*, in *Peloponnesus*, from *Dodanim*.

Year of the Flood, 401.  
Year before Christ, 2597.

Dodanim.

- b As to 5. *Tubal*, and 6. *Meshech*, we have already shewn, under the article of *Magog*, that their lots lay contiguous to his; as may be gathered from the two places of *Ezekiel* there mentioned<sup>r</sup>; and that is enough, without distorting names of countries in order to provide them settlements in spite of all the rules of etymology. And, 7. That we may shorten this account, which the uncertainty of our evidence has made tedious, we shall in the last place allow *Tiras*, according to *Josephus*<sup>s</sup> and the general opinion, to have led his colony into *Thrace*.

Tubal and Meshech.

Tiras.

- Thus we have given an account of the nations concerned in the first dispersion of mankind, by which it does not appear that they migrated eastward beyond *Media*, northward beyond the mountains of *Caucasus*, southward beyond *Ethiopia* or *Habashia*, or westward beyond a part of *Lybia* and *Greece*, including *Macedonia*; tho' it is most probable the more distant parts were not planted immediately by these first colonies, but by their posterity afterwards.

It is not our design here to enter into a long detail of future migrations, in order to shew by what degrees, and in what manner the several parts of the world came to be inhabited, as some with more labour than success have attempted to do; but shall reserve what may be gathered from ancient writers in relation thereto, when we enquire into the original of each particular country.

No tracing the original of most nations.

- HOWEVER, we are obliged to say something with reference to the descendants of *Joktan*; who, if they were not concerned in the first dispersion, seem to have begun their migration sometime within *Peleg's* life; with regard to which patriarch we shall only observe here, that it is not probable the *Pelasgians* of *Greece* and *Italy* derive their original from him, as some imagine<sup>t</sup>; but it rather appears from scripture, that both he and his posterity remained in *Chaldea*, within the lot of their great ancestor *Arphaxad*, till *Terah* the father of *Abraham* left *Ur* of the *Chaldees* to remove into the land of *Canaan*.

The countries possessed by the descendants of *Joktan* in a second migration.

- MOSES* assigns the habitation of *Joktan's* sons to have been from *Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a mount of the east<sup>v</sup>. The want of knowing the situation of these places hath run authors into strange mistakes. Some suppose *Mesha* to be mount *Majus*, or *Ararat* in *Armenia* (but it seems rather to be a city) and look for mount *Sephar* beyond *Media* toward *India*. *Jerom*, after *Josephus*, would have both *Mesha* and *Sephar* to be in the *East-Indies*. In short, the antients have generally peopled all the eastern parts of *Asia* beyond *Media* with these sons of *Joktan*; which is so inconsistent that *Bochart* might well wonder so many of the moderns have been led by them<sup>x</sup>; and yet some have done worse, and peopled *America* immediately by *Joktan*, from whom *Arias Montanus* imagined the province of *Jucatan* took its name; and the same author judges mount *Sephar* to be the *Andes*, mountains of *Peru*.

- In all probability the places in question are to be looked for in *Arabia*; but we cannot agree in opinion with *Bochart*<sup>y</sup>, that *Mesha* is *Muxa* (supposed to be *Mekka*, a noted port in the *Arabian* gulf) and *Sephar* the city *Sapphar*<sup>z</sup>, any more than with the *Arab* paraphrasts, that they are *Mecca* and *Medinah*. We should chuse out of these two conjectures to form a third, and suppose *Mesha* and *Sephar* to be *Mecca* and *Sapphar*, or rather (if the *Mosaic* description would agree with it) *Dhagar*, a port in the middle of that coast of *Arabia* washed by the *Indian* sea, which would take in all the country lying beyond that of *Cush*, and which the *Arabs* allow to have been possessed by the posterity of *Yarab*, the son of *Kabtan*, or *Joktan*<sup>a</sup>. We do not indeed find *Yarab* among the sons of *Joktan* mentioned by *Moses*; but it is no difficult matter to set him there by a change of the *b* in *Jerab* (the fourth son) into *b*.

<sup>p</sup> 1 MAC. i. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. viii. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Chap. xxvii. 13. chap. xxxviii. 2, 3.

<sup>s</sup> Ubi sup.

<sup>t</sup> See CUMBERL. on Sancho. p. 268.

<sup>v</sup> Gen. x. 30.

<sup>x</sup> Phaleg. l. 2. c. 14.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> l. 2. c. 30.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. PROL. Tab. 6. ASIE.

<sup>a</sup> Mohammed ebn Yacub Shirazi apud GARR.

SIONIT. de urb. Orient. c. 1. Vid. D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba.



Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.

Hazarma-  
veth.  
Jerah.  
Hadoram.  
Uzal.

Diklah.

Obal.

Abimael.

Sheba.

Ophir.

Havilah.

WE meet with no good signs of the settlement of *Almodad* and *Skeleph*, the two first sons of *Joktan*; but the name of the third, *Hazarmaveth*, or as it is better written in the vulgat, *Hafarmoth*, is plainly found in *Hadbramaut*, a province of *Taman* or *Arabia Felix*; both having the same radicals, and signifying the court or country of death. 4. *Bochart* discovers the name of *Jerah* in the island *Hieracon* (or of hawks) in the *Arabian* gulf, and a town so called within land on the river *Lar*, near the *Omanitæ*; and, 5. That of *Hadoram* in the *Drimati* of *Pliny*, towards the *Persian* gulf<sup>b</sup>. 6. *Uzal* is the name given to *Sanaa*, the capital of *Taman*, by the *Jews* who dwelt there<sup>c</sup>; and it appears from *Pliny* to be the same city<sup>d</sup>; its port was *Ocela*, or *Ochis*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, which also bears some resemblance to the name. 7. *Diklah*, signifying in the *Chaldean* or *Syriac*, a palm-tree, or a country stored with palms, may have choice of seats in *Arabia*. 8. It is with reluctance that we must cross the sea with *Obal* from the *Arabia* to the *Avahitic* port<sup>e</sup> in the *Avahitic* or *Abahitic* bay, on the coast of *Africa*, just without the straits of *Bab-al-mandab*<sup>f</sup>, for want of a place in *Arabia* bearing some likeness to his name to settle him in. It is true there is a town called *Obollab*, towards *Basrah*, which might serve the turn, if that part had not been already disposed of by us to the family of *Ham*. Some may think the uncertainty of its antiquity might be another objection against *Obollab*; but that would be perhaps to call all that we have already done about the migrations in question. 9. We might be obliged to look for a seat on the same coast for *Abimael*, if *Theophrastus*<sup>g</sup> did not luckily furnish us with the name of a place in the aromatic quarters of *Arabia*, called *Mali*. It is true, other authors seem to write *Minci* instead of it; and *Ptolemy* mentions the *Minci* and *Manitæ*, but no *Mali*: but the authority of *Theophrastus* must go against them all, since it makes for our purpose. This is a rule which has the sanction of most authors who have wrote on this subject. 10. *Sheba* will not have the same difficulty with the rest of his brethren to find a place in *Arabia*. *Pliny* says, the *Sabaean* nations extended themselves from one sea to the other; that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Persian* gulf. Indeed there wants no proof of a people of this name possessing a large share of the south parts of *Arabia*, most authors mentioning them as very numerous, and their country excellent<sup>h</sup>, but they seem to differ in the name of their chief city; for some call it *Saba*<sup>i</sup>, others *Mariaba*, or *Maraba*<sup>k</sup>. However that causes no difficulty in the matter, since we learn from the *Arab* authors, that they are both names of the same place, and that it was the ancient regal seat, which was afterwards translated to *Sanaa*. They also tell us that *Balkis*, who visited *Solomon*, reigned there; and *CHRIST* seems to allude to this country, when he calls her the queen of the south; for *yamin* with the *Jews*, as well as *yaman* with the *Arabs*, signifies the south; and *Saba* or *Mareb* is in that part of *Arabia* called *Taman*<sup>l</sup>. 11. We are at a loss again about providing a settlement for *Ophir*; *Arabia* furnishes no place which resembles the name, except *Copar*<sup>m</sup>, a place on the *Arabian* gulf, near the northern limits of the *Cinadocolpitæ*, and *Ogyris* an island in the same sea<sup>n</sup>. *Bochart* endeavours to squeeze *Ophir* in among the *Cassanitæ* or *Gassandæ*<sup>o</sup>, probably the tribe of *Ghassan*, consulting the similitude of sense in words, when that of sound fails: and he chuses rather to be put to his shifts, than to run into the common absurdity of planting *Ophir* in *India*, where the place which bears his name (so famous in scripture for gold) is supposed to be situate. We shall speak more particularly, with reference to this land, when we come to the reign of *Solomon*; and shall only observe here that the gold of this place seeming in one passage of scripture to be called the gold of *Parvaim*<sup>p</sup>, hath occasioned two conjectures: the first, that *Ophir* is the island of *Taprobana*<sup>q</sup>; the second, that it is *Peru*<sup>r</sup> in *America*. The reader may easily see the latter name comes nearest that of *Ophir*: but to shew what an *ignis fatuus* the similitude of names is, *Peru*, as *Sir Walter Raleigh* assures, is not the true name of the country, but was given to it by the *Spaniards*, on their mistaking the answer of the natives to a question they did not understand. 12. *Havilah* is, by *Bochart*, supposed to have settled in the land of *Khaulan*<sup>s</sup>, towards *Taman*, mentioned by *Al Edrisi*<sup>t</sup>: but as there seem to be two places (as well as two persons) in scripture called by that name; one near the *Persian* gulph, possessed by *Havilah* the son of *Cush* already taken notice of, and another in the borders of the *Analekites*, towards the *Land of Promise*, the reader,

<sup>b</sup> BOCHART Phaleg. l. 2. c. 19 & 20. <sup>c</sup> ZACUT. in Juchasin. <sup>d</sup> Nat. Hist. Lib. 12. c. 19. l. 6. c. 28. l. 12. c. 14. <sup>e</sup> PTOLEMY. <sup>f</sup> Vid. BOCHART ubi sup. c. 23. <sup>g</sup> Hist. Plant. l. 9. c. 4. apud BOCHART l. 2. c. 24. <sup>h</sup> AGATHARCHIDES, STRABO, DIOD. SICUL. <sup>i</sup> AGATHARCHIDES, PHILOSTORO. l. 3. THEOPHRAST. STEPHANUS. <sup>k</sup> ERATOSTHENES apud Strab. l. 16. ARTEMIDORUS, PLINIUS, l. 12. c. 14. <sup>l</sup> Geog. Nub. p. 26 & 32. ABULFEDA Descr. Arab. <sup>m</sup> PTOL. <sup>n</sup> PLIN. l. 6. c. 28. <sup>o</sup> Phaleg. l. 2. c. 27. <sup>p</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 6. <sup>q</sup> BOCHART Geog. sacr. l. 2. c. 27. <sup>r</sup> ARIAS MONTANUS Antiquit. Judaic. Phaleg. 5. l. 1. c. 9. <sup>s</sup> Geogr. sacr. l. 2. c. 28. <sup>t</sup> Geogr. Nubicas, p. 49.

- a if he pleases, may fix this twelfth son of *Joktan* in this last country, and place his brother *Jobab*, who is the 13th and last, with him for company; unless he rather chuses to quarter him upon the *Jobarites*, near the *Sachalites*, in the south-east part of *Arabia*, upon a presumption that they should be written *Jobabites* <sup>a</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 401.  
Year before  
Christ, 2597.  
Jobab.

## S E C T. VII.

*Of the origin of civil government, and the establishment of the first kingdoms.*

- b **WE** have formerly observed, that the first form of government was certainly patriarchal <sup>a</sup>. For though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, respect and support which they indispensibly owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all estates, give the father no power of making laws, and enacting penalties on his children, nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive, how easy it was in the first ages of the world, and still is, in places where the thinness of people gives families leave to separate and plant themselves in yet vacant habitations, for the father of the family to become the prince of it. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and since without some government it would be hard for them to live together, it was likeliest it should, by the express or tacit consent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it seemed, without any change barely to continue; when indeed nothing more was required to it, than the permitting the father to exercise alone in his family that executive power of the law of nature which every freeman naturally hath, and by that permission resigning up to him a monarchical power while they remained in it. Thus it was almost natural for the children to make way for the father's authority: they had been accustomed in their childhood to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; and when they were men, who fitter to rule them? Their little properties, and less covetousness, seldom afforded greater controversies; and when they should arise, where could they have a fitter umpire than he, by whose care they had every one been sustained and brought up, and who had a tenderness for them all? The government they were under continued still to be more their protection than restraint; and they could no where find a greater security to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father.
- c **THUS** fathers of families, by an insensible change, might become politic monarchs of them too, and as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs, for several successions or otherwise, lay the foundations of hereditary or elective kingdoms, under various constitutions and manners, according as chance, contrivance, or occasions happened to mould them <sup>b</sup>.
- d **NOAH** therefore being the common parent of the new world, while he lived we may imagine all his descendants considered themselves to be in a state of dependance on him; and as he was the supreme governor of the whole race of mankind then in being, so his sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were in all probability chief governors of their respective branches in particular, as their sons again were heads or rulers of their respective families under their fathers. Each son of *Shem*, for instance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but probably gave laws to them, though his authority extended no farther; for in disputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourse to the decision of their common father *Shem*, whose authority also was limited to his proper descendants; so that in any difference between him and his brothers, *Ham* and *Japhet*, the appeal must have been to the judgment of their father *Noah*, as the only common superior.
- e **ON** *Noah's* death the unity of government was dissolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowledged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler in one of his three sons. Upon their deaths the bonds of union were again loosed, and mankind became a second time divided in their political state; so that by degrees mankind became ranged under a great number of independent chiefs; which seems to have been the state of the world for some time after the dispersion.
- f **BUT** as families increased, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, lest their different interests and inclinations might trouble the publick tran-

The first government patriarchal.

Changed into the monarchical.

The policy of the Noachides.

The establishment of kingdoms.

<sup>a</sup> BOCHART Geog. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 29. tractat. 2. c. 6. &c.

<sup>b</sup> Before, p. 108. b.

<sup>c</sup> LOCKE of Government, quality,

quility, it became necessary to trust the government of each society in the hands of a one or at least a small number of persons, who might reunite all the chiefs under one and the same authority, and execute such laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well-being of the community. The idea they still retained of the patriarchal government, and the happy experience they had had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a single person rather than many, and of such as were most conspicuous for paternal care and tenderness. Ambition and intrigue had, it is to be thought, little part in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the most worthy by his known probity and moderation <sup>c</sup>.

IN this first beginning of political societies, almost every town had its own king, who more attentive to preserve his dominions than to extend them, restrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country <sup>d</sup>, till disputes with neighbours, which were sometimes inevitable, jealousy of a more powerful prince, an enterprising genius and martial inclination, the desire of aggrandizing themselves and shewing their abilities, occasioned those wars which often ended in the absolute subjection of the vanquished; whose possessions fell to the conqueror, and by enlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to push on his fortune by new enterprizes; and thus several cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of larger or lesser extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and success.

THESE first conquerors used their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and interests. Some, looking on themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, stripped them of every thing else, and reduced them to a state of slavery, obliging them to the meanest offices and the most laborious employments; which introduced the distinction between freemen and slaves, which has since been in the world.

OTHERS brought in the custom of entirely transporting the vanquished people with their families into new countries, where they were to settle and cultivate the lands which were assigned them.

OTHERS, yet more moderate, contented themselves with obliging the conquered to purchase their liberty by a ransom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges on payment of an annual tribute; sometimes even leaving their kings on their throne, on their acknowledging the superiority of their conqueror by certain marks of homage and submission.

THE wisest and most politic gained the affections of their new subjects by admitting them to an equality with their old ones, and granting them the same liberties and privileges; by that means making them one people, and uniting their interests <sup>e</sup>.

Nimrod the first usurper on the rights of others.

IF the *Phœnician* history be to be credited, and their *Cronus* be allowed to be *Ham*, the desire of rule began to make havock in the world even during the life-time of *Noah*, who was driven out of his settlements, and at last slain by his rebellious son <sup>f</sup>. But the first act of violence and usurpation we find recorded in scripture was that of *Nimrod*, who, as it seems, dispossessed *Abur* the son of *Shem*, who had at first settled in *Shinaar*, and obliged him to remove into *Affryia*. The acquisitions he made on this occasion must be allowed to be unjust, though he might have a legal right to govern those who probably chose him for their chief, on account of his personal merit. However, it is to be presumed that this revolution, which we suppose to have happened about thirty years after the dispersion, extended only to some few of the new-planted nations. In the rest, and especially those which lay outermost, we cannot but persuade ourselves that a simplicity of manners continued several ages, and that wars did not arise in the world till the colonies, which were at first separated, by the increase of their numbers began to press upon one another, and grow uneasy for want of room; which inconvenience must have affected those most who were settled nearest the center: and accordingly the first warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of *Shinaar* and *Elam* <sup>g</sup>.

Great empires not soon formed.

IT is very difficult to settle the rise of the first empires, but it is scarcely possible they should begin so early as historians have represented them. That the first kings were kings of single cities, not of many, much less of large countries, is evident from what we find in history relating to the early state of nations. How long was *Greece* divided into little states? how many ages did they continue jarring and contending for the mastery? By what slow degrees did *Rome* enlarge its territories and rise up to empire? and how many centuries passed before it subdued the neighbouring cities which surrounded it? The *Israelites* found *Canaan* in the same condition that *Italy* was, in the

<sup>c</sup> JUSTIN. L. I. c. I. before, p. 131, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Idem, ibid. <sup>e</sup> Gen. xiv. 1.

<sup>f</sup> ROLLIN. Hist. ancienne, &c. p. 3, &c.

<sup>g</sup> See

a time of *Romulus*, and notwithstanding the great success of *Joshua*, were above four hundred years in reducing the petty monarchies under their dominion.

THE uniting therefore of many smaller states into one body by force, being apparently a work of time, those authors who place the rise of several great monarchies within two or three ages next after the flood, must be greatly deceived, either by following authors who have attributed too great antiquity to such events, or by adhering to a system of chronology which is too short; and of the two evils this last is the worst. How unfit the *Hebrew* computation is for adjusting the times of profane history, will partly be seen in that of *Egypt*, which we are now going to enter upon; we shall only add here, that the first appearance we find of a potent and extensive monarchy is in that of *Elam*, whose king *Chedorlaomer*, in the time of *Abraham*, over-run *Canaan* and the neighbouring countries as far as the borders of *Egypt* <sup>a</sup>, some hundreds of years before we hear any thing of an *Assyrian* monarchy; which could not have had a beginning any number of years before *Menahem*, when its kings first began to pass the *Euphrates* at the instigation of that prince <sup>1</sup>.

THOUGH *Noah* and his sons had doubtless some knowledge of the inventions of the antediluvians, and probably acquainted their descendants with such of them as were most obvious and useful in common life, yet it is not to be imagined that any of the more curious arts or speculative sciences were improved in any degree, supposing them to have been known or invented, till some considerable time after the dispersion. On the contrary, one consequence of that event seems to have been, that several inventions known to their ancestors were lost, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till ease and plenty had given them leisure again to polish their manners, and apply themselves to those arts which are seldom brought to perfection under other circumstances. For on their settling in any country, they found it employment sufficient to cultivate the land (which yet for want of separate property and security in their possessions, in those early times, they improved no farther than barely to supply present necessities) and to provide themselves habitations and necessaries for their mutual comfort and subsistence <sup>b</sup>. Besides this, they were often obliged to remove from one place to another, where they could more conveniently reside; and it was a great while before they came to embody themselves together in towns and cities, and from thence to spread into provinces, and to settle the bounds and extent of their territories <sup>1</sup>. Two or three ages at least must have been spent in this manner; and it is not very likely they should amuse themselves with celestial observations in particular, when they had so many more pressing affairs to mind. So that the astronomical observations of the *Babylonians*, of which *Calisthenes* sent an account to his master *Aristotle* <sup>c</sup>, if they reached so far backwards as we are told, viz. 1903 years, are a further proof of the insufficiency of the *Hebrew* chronology, according to which those observations must have been made little more than 100 years after the flood.

COMMERCE was in all probability carried on with greater ease before the flood, when there was, as it seems, but one and the same language in the world; yet it was not so necessary then as it is become since, not only because mens wants have been encreased by the ill effects of the deluge on the earth and its productions <sup>a</sup>, but because they dwelt more together, and might supply their occasions by bartering with their nearest neighbours, without being obliged to extend their dealings much farther. And that they had no ships to carry on a traffic to remote parts, seems evident; for if navigation had been then found out, some others might have saved themselves from the flood as well as *Noah* and his family. But after that destruction, and the dispersion of mankind, as it became more difficult to trade with nations who spake different languages, so their necessities were encreased by this division; the colonies who planted new countries, not only perceiving their own wants by the conveniences they had left behind them, but finding something useful in their settlements, which were before unknown to them or their founders. This engaged them to fetch what they wanted from the parts where they had formerly dwelt, and in exchange to carry what they had discovered thither; which seems to have given the first rise to foreign trade, the gradual advances whereof we may occasionally mention hereafter. The invention of shipping was certainly the greatest step to its improvement, which made the sea, before the greatest obstacle to commerce, of the greatest advantage to it <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xiv. 5, &c.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xv. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. THUCYD. l. 1. sub initio.

<sup>d</sup> STILLINGF.

Orig. Sacr. book I. c. 1. § 16.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. SIMPLIC. de celo, l. 1.

<sup>f</sup> See before, p. 108, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. HURT Hist. du commerce & de la navig. des anciens, c. 2 & 3.

## C H A P. III.

*The History of Egypt to the time of Alexander the Great.*

## S E C T. I.

*A description of Egypt.**Its names.*

**E**GYPT, called by its antient inhabitants *Chemia*<sup>a</sup>, and by the *Copts* at present<sup>a</sup> *Chemî*, was so named, as is supposed, from *Ham* the son of *Noah*, being more than once stiled in the book of *Psalms*, *the land of Ham*. But the name by which it is generally denoted in scripture, is the land of *Mizraim*, from whence the *Arabians* and other oriental nations still call it *Misr*, which the *Greeks* write *Mesre* and *Mestrawa*. We have already observed that *Mizraim* is a word of a dual termination<sup>b</sup>, and is by some thought to have been used in that number, because of the twofold division of *Egypt* hereafter mentioned, and thence given to its first planter, the son of *Ham*<sup>c</sup>: the singular *Misr* signifies a *fortress*, and, according to some, is also used in scripture as a proper name of that country<sup>d</sup>; though others, and our version in particular, translate the word as an appellative. *Bochart* is of opinion *Egypt* received this name from the natural strength of its situation<sup>e</sup>.

THIS country is best known to us by its *Greek* name *Egypt*, the original of which is variously accounted for by authors. Some say it was so called from one of its kings named *Ægyptus*<sup>f</sup>; but the contrary seem to have been the case, not only the country, but its famous river *Nile* also, being antiently called by the same name. Others say it signifies no more than the *land of the Copts*<sup>g</sup>, the word *Aia* being *Greek* for a *country*, and *Ægyptos* easily softened into *Ægyptus*: yet this derivation seems as ill-grounded as the former; the city of *Coptus*, whence the remains of the antient *Egyptians* are still called *Copts*, being situate far up in the higher *Egypt*, and in all likelihood utterly unknown to the *Greeks* till long after the name was in use among them. The most probable opinion therefore, to omit some other conjectures still more groundless, is, that this region was so called from the blackness of its soil, and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, attested by all relations. For such a blackish colour is called by the *Greeks* *ægyptios*, from *gyps*, and *ægypt*, a *vultur*, a bird of that hue; and by the *Latins*, *fulvulturinus*. And for the same reason other names of the same import have been given to this country by the *Greeks*, such as *Aeria*, and *Melambolus*. The river itself was also called *Melo* or *Melas*; by the *Hebrews* *Shikor*, and by the *Ethiopian*s *Siris*<sup>h</sup>; all which names signify *black*: and *Plutarch* seems to intimate, the inhabitants therefore called their country *Chemia*, because its soil was very black, like the sight of the eye<sup>i</sup>.

*Situation and extent.*

**E**GYPT is situate between the 48th and 53d degrees of longitude, and the 24th and 33d degrees of north latitude. Its length from north to south about 600 miles, and the breadth of its coast on the *Mediterranean*, from east to west near 300 miles; but above the division of the *Nile* it grows much narrower, so that in some places the two chains of mountains which rise on each side of that river, leave a plain between them of less than a day's journey to cross<sup>k</sup>. It is bounded on the south by the kingdom of *Sennar*, which is tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, and the cataracts of the *Nile*; on the north by the *Mediterranean* sea; on the east by the *Arabian* gulph or *Red-sea*, and the isthmus of *Suez*; on the west by a region of *Libya* called *Marmarica*.

THE old geographers differ as to the antient bounds of this country; some have thought that the *Delta* only, or that part encompassed by the arms of the *Nile*,<sup>c</sup> was properly to be called *Egypt*<sup>l</sup>; others make it reach westward to the greater *Catabathmus*<sup>m</sup>, or valley which divides it from *Cyrenaica*; but this would give it too great an extent, and include *Marmarica* and *Ainacensis*, which are generally agreed to be no part of *Egypt*. The true limits on that side therefore, seem rather to be taken from *Phanthine*, a town beyond the lake *Mariotis*, and to extend eastward as far as the lake *Serlonis*<sup>n</sup>, or more exactly to *Ostracine* on the *Mediterranean* sea, and *Heropolis* at the

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. p. 364. <sup>b</sup> Before, p. 165. b. <sup>c</sup> Vid. PERIZON. orig. Ægypt. p. 6.  
<sup>d</sup> 2 Kings xix. 24. Isai. xix. 6. Micah vii. 12. <sup>e</sup> Phaleg. l. 4. c. 24. <sup>f</sup> DIODOR. SIC. LIB. II. &c.  
<sup>g</sup> See WELLS's Geog. of the Old Test. vol. II. p. 5. <sup>h</sup> Vid. PERIZON. ubi sup. p. 13. <sup>i</sup> Ubi  
sup. <sup>j</sup> Vid. LUCAS, Voyages, tom. II. p. 195. <sup>k</sup> GOT. in Alfrag. p. 100. <sup>l</sup> JONES apud  
HERODOT. l. 2. c. 15. <sup>m</sup> STRABO. l. 17. <sup>n</sup> Vid. HEROD. ubi sup.



a head of the *Arabian* gulph. The southern bounds were *Syene*, a city situate almost under the tropic of *Cancer*, and *Elephantine* and *Phila*, two others which lie something farther \*.

As the antients differ likewise in settling the limits of *Asia* and *Africa*, some, who make the *Nile* the boundary of those two parts of the world<sup>p</sup>, place so much of *Egypt* as lies east of that river in *Asia*; but others place it entirely in that part, by removing the limits of *Asia* so far as *Alexandria*<sup>q</sup>, or the *Catabathmus*<sup>r</sup>. But we think the common opinion the most natural, which divides *Asia* from *Africa* by the *Arabian* gulph and the isthmus of *Suez*. However, we hope the former authorities will excuse our including the *Egyptians* among the *Asiatic* nations, whose histories we give in this

b book; which we have done merely for convenience.

ANTIENT *Egypt* is divided by some into two parts, the upper and the lower *Egypt*; *its division*. by others into three, the upper *Egypt*, properly so called, or *Thebais*; the middle *Egypt* or *Heptanomis*; and the lower *Egypt*, the best part of which was the *Delta*.

THEBAIS, which was so named by the *Greeks* from its principal city *Thebes*, is in the scripture called *Patros*, and at present *al Said*. It is the most southerly part of *Egypt* next to *Ethiopia*, and is near as big as all the rest, including the country on both sides the *Nile* down to the *Heptanomis*; its last city, according to the antients, being *Lycopolis* on the western, and *Antaeopolis* on the eastern side of the river; which agrees pretty exactly with the present extent of *al Said*, the most northern city of which

Thebais.

c is *Manfalut*<sup>s</sup>.

THERE were formerly in this part of *Egypt* a very great number of large and magnificent cities, with temples dedicated to several deities, and the tombs of their ancient princes; and it is said, there are not only several obelisks and colosses still remaining there, more beautiful than those to be seen in the lower *Egypt*, but also some pyramids higher than those near *al Kahira* (commonly called *Carro*) with other stupendous works; some of which we may take notice of hereafter.

ITS metropolis *Thebes*, called afterwards *Diospolis* or the city of *Jupiter*, was situate on the *Nile*, and deservedly reckoned one of the finest cities in the world. Its hundred gates are mentioned by *Homer*, whence it had the surname of *Hecatompyles* (A). It was so

d incredibly populous, that it is said it could send out of each gate at one and the same time 200 chariots<sup>t</sup>, and 10,000 fighting men, if the numbers are true. Its length in

*Strabo's* time was 80 furlongs<sup>u</sup>, or 10 miles: but this was nothing in comparison of its ancient extent before it was ruined by *Cambyfes*; which, we are told, was no less than 420 stadia, or 52 miles and a half<sup>v</sup> (B). The riches of this city were so very great, that after it had been plundered by the *Persians*, what was found on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to above 300 talents of gold, and 2300 talents of silver<sup>x</sup>. Who was the first founder of this city is uncertain: some say it was built by *Osiris*, who gave it first the name of his mother<sup>y</sup>; but others make it the work of a second *Bufris*<sup>z</sup>. It may not be amiss to observe, that formerly the name of *Thebes* was given to all

e *Egypt*<sup>a</sup>, which makes what is said above of its great power more credible.

THE other ancient cities of great note in *Thebais*, were the lesser *Diospolis*, *This*, *Aby-*

*dus*, *Tentyris*, *Hermontbis*, *Latopolis*, *Syene*, *Coptus*, and several others, all which are

now either quite ruined, or become small towns and villages. The last deserves parti-

cular mention, not only as being a very ancient city, but for having been the chief re-

sidence of the native *Egyptians* for many ages, since their country has been subject to

a foreign power, and whence they received their present name of *Copts*.

HEPTANOMIS, or the middle *Egypt*, was so called from the seven names or præ-

fectures into which it was divided, though *Strabo* says it contained sixteen<sup>b</sup>; which

f comprized, as were in particular those of *Oasis*, of which name there were two cities,

not properly in *Egypt*, but on the borders of *Libya*. The *Heptanomis* comprehended

Heptanomia.

\* Vid. CELLAR. Geogr. Ant. l. 4. c. 1.    <sup>p</sup> STRABO. l. 11. DIONYS. Perieg. ver. 18. PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 3. c. 1.    <sup>q</sup> HIRTIUS de bello Alex. c. 14.    <sup>r</sup> SALLUST. de bello Jugurth. c. 17. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 8.    <sup>s</sup> LUCAS, Voy. tom. IX. p. 209.    <sup>t</sup> HOMER. Il. 10. ver. 387. DION. SIC. l. 1. p. 43. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 9.    <sup>u</sup> STRABO. l. 17. p. 1170.    <sup>v</sup> EUSTATH. ad DIONYS. &c.    <sup>x</sup> DION. SIC. ubi sup.    <sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. p. 18.    <sup>z</sup> Ibid. 42.    <sup>a</sup> HEROD. l. 11. ARISTOT. Meteor. 1.    <sup>b</sup> STRABO. l. 16.

(A) Others say this is not the number of the gates of the city itself; but the temples within it having many large porches, the city had thence the name, expressing a definite for an indefinite number (1).

(B) Yet it contained but 1700 *aruras* (a measure of 100 cubits square); for which reason it is supposed its length much exceeded its breadth, being probably built chiefly on the banks of the Nile (2).

(1) DIONOR. SIC. ubi sup. p. 43.

(2) Vid. VOSSII in Mehem. p. 371.

all the country on each side of the *Nile* from *Thebais* to the point of the *Delta*, where <sup>a</sup> that river divides itself into those branches by which it enters the sea. Some of the ancients make this tract a part of the *Thebais*; and some of the eastern geographers also give the same extent to *al Said* <sup>c</sup>.

THIS part of *Egypt* was also in old times very full of large and noble cities, the principal of which was *Memphis*, built by *Menes* their first king, and for many ages the capital of the whole kingdom. Here also were the lake of *Maris*, the labyrinths, and the pyramids so celebrated by antiquity, of which we shall give some description hereafter.

*Lower Egypt.* THE lower *Egypt*, reaching from *Heptanomis* to the *Mediterranean* sea, contained not only that part which is encompassed by the arms of the *Nile*, and from its triangular figure named *Delta*; but also *Mareotis*, and *Alexandria* with its dependencies, to <sup>b</sup> the west; and *Casiotis*, and *Augustamnica*, with some other territories towards *Arabia*, to the east.

SOME have imagined the *Delta*, or the greater part of it, to have been an accession of land to *Egypt*; and that the plains between the mountains beyond *Memphis* were formerly a bay of the sea, which was at length filled up by the soil brought down by the *Nile* <sup>d</sup>. But this opinion seems very groundless, considering the little alteration which has been in this part of *Egypt* for above 2000 years past, and the time allowed for this effect by *Herodotus*, which is no less than 20,000 years, a much longer space than the world has lasted. Some *Arabs* divide the *Delta* into two parts, *al Rif*, and *al Babriya*. The former being the western part, is supposed by *Bochart* to be the *Rabab* <sup>c</sup> of the scriptures <sup>e</sup>, and was so called because of its form resembling a pear, which the *Egyptians* call *rib* or *ribi* <sup>f</sup>. *Al Babriya* is the eastern part of the *Delta*, according to several <sup>g</sup>; though a late traveller more truly places *al Babriya*, or as he writes it *Bebeire*, beyond the western branch of the *Nile* <sup>h</sup>. The chief cities of the lower *Egypt* were *Tanis*, *Sais*, and *Xois*, famous for being the seats of several races of princes; and in later times *Alexandria*, which was the metropolis of the whole kingdom while in the possession of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

*Its division into nomes.*

BESIDES this larger division, *Egypt* was also distributed into several governments or præfectures, called by the *Egyptians* *Tabir*, and by the *Greeks* *Nomes*; whence that passage of scripture <sup>i</sup> which our version renders, *I will set the Egyptians against the* <sup>d</sup> *Egyptians, and they shall fight kingdom against kingdom*, the *Septuagint* have rightly translated, *nome against nome*. The number of these are uncertain, being, according to the pleasure of the prince, sometimes more and sometimes less; for which reason ancient authors differ in their accounts of them: but they were about thirty six, and generally named from the chief city of each nome. This division is attributed to *Sesostris* <sup>k</sup>.

IT is not our purpose here to enter into a particular detail of the cities of *Egypt*, or any geographical disquisitions as to their ancient and modern states, names, and situations; but we shall in the course of this work occasionally make such observations in relation thereto, as we shall judge curious or necessary.

*Climate.*

THE climate of *Egypt* must needs be very warm, from its near situation to the tropic, though the air is generally dry, yet there fall great dews after the swelling of the *Nile*, which continue for several months; in the lower *Egypt* it often rains in the winter, notwithstanding what some of the ancients say to the contrary <sup>l</sup>; and even snow has been observed to fall at *Alexandria*, contrary to the express assertion of *Seneca* <sup>m</sup>. In the upper *Egypt* indeed, towards the catadupes or cataracts of *Nile*, it rains very seldom <sup>n</sup>. The first summer (for they reckon two in *Egypt*) which is in *March*, *April*, and *May*, is the most inconvenient and sickly season, because of the unequal weather, excessive heats, and hot winds which reign at that time, and cause several distempers: but in return, in their second summer, in *June*, *July*, and *August*, and in their autumn and winter, one breathes a much cooler air, the weather is more constant, and it <sup>e</sup> is then most delightful living in this country. Though the cold is seldom felt there, except only for about seven days, which the *Arabs* call *Berd al ajuz*, the old woman's cold, from the 7th to the 14th of *February*, yet those who are tolerably rich wear furs, because of the uncertainty of the season <sup>o</sup>.

*Fertility.*

THE fertility of *Egypt*, and the excellence of its productions and fruits, are greatly celebrated by ancient writers, and by *Moses* himself <sup>p</sup>, who must needs have been well acquainted with this country. It abounds in grain of all sorts, but particularly rice; inasmuch

<sup>c</sup> Vid. GOLLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 100. <sup>d</sup> DIOD. SIC. lib. I. p. 30. HÆROD. l. 2. c. 5. <sup>e</sup> PGI. lxxxvii. 4. and lxxxix 10. Ifa. li. 9. <sup>f</sup> BOCHART Geogr. Sacr. l. 4. c. 24. <sup>g</sup> KIRCHER. Oedip. Egypt. tom. I. p. 8. LUCAS, Voy. tom. II. p. 195. <sup>h</sup> Essai d'une carte d'Égypte par SICARD. <sup>i</sup> Ifa. xx 2. <sup>k</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. I. p. 50. <sup>l</sup> PLATO in Tim. POMPE. MELA: <sup>m</sup> Nat. quæst. l. 4. <sup>n</sup> Vid. GREAVES's Descrip. of the pyramids, p. 74, &c. RAY's Collect. of Travels, tom. II. p. 92. <sup>o</sup> Ibid. & LUCAS, Voy. tom. II. p. 239. <sup>p</sup> Genes. xiii. 10.

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a that as it was formerly the granary of *Rome*, while subject to the *Roman* empire, it is now the principal country which supplies *Constantinople*.

THE most plentiful parts of *Egypt* are the *Delta*, and that province which is now called *al Feyyum*, supposed to be the ancient *Heracleotic* nome<sup>a</sup>; the capital of which bearing the same name, is thought to have been either *Heracleopolis*, *Nilopolis*, or *Arfinoe*, and is said by the natives to have been built by *Joseph*, to whom they own themselves oblig'd for the improvements of this territory; which being much the lowest part of *Egypt*, was before nothing but a standing pool, till that patriarch, by cutting canals, and particularly the great one which reaches from the *Nile* to the lake *Meris*, drained it of the water, and clearing it of the rushes and marshy weeds, rendered it fit for tillage. It is now the most fertile and best cultivated land in the whole kingdom, containing above 360 villages, and yields linen, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing, even in those years when the *Nile's* not rising to its usual height occasions a scarcity in the other parts of *Egypt*<sup>c</sup>.

HAVING spoken of the plenty of *Egypt*, it would be an unpardonable omission not to say something of the river *Nile*, to which this country is indebted for all its fertility and happiness. The sources or springs of this river were so absolutely unknown to the ancients, that they thought it even impossible to discover them; they are now well known to be in *Ethiopia*, though modern travellers differ in their accounts of them, as will be seen when we come to describe them in a more proper place. The *Nile* enters *Egypt* almost under the tropic of *Cancer*, violently pouring itself, as it passes, down no less than seven cataracts or falls, from a very considerable height, between ragged rocks and precipices, with so great a noise that it may be heard several miles off. The people of those parts used formerly to entertain strangers with a surprizing spectacle, which some modern travellers say is still continued: two of them get into a small boat, one to guide it, and the other to keep it clear of water; after having born the violence of the agitated waves for some time, they dexterously steer their boat through the narrow channels, thereby avoiding the rocks, and letting themselves be carried down by the falling river, direct their little vessel with their hands, and rushing headlong, to the great terror of the spectators, who think them utterly lost and swallowed up, they appear again on the water, far from the place from which they fell, as if they had been shot out of an engine<sup>d</sup>. The *Nile*, having passed through the upper and middle *Egypt*, a little below the ancient *Memphis* divided itself into two large arms, which afterwards forming seven channels, emptied themselves into the sea by as many mouths. These seven mouths of the *Nile*, much spoken of by the ancient writers, were, to begin from the west, the *Canopic*, the *Heracleotic*, the *Bollitic*, the *Sebennytic*, the *Phatmic* or *Pathmetic*, the *Mendesian*, the *Tanitic* or *Saitic*, and the *Pelusian*; which had their names from so many cities standing on their several branches. Besides these, there were the two *Pseudestomata* or false mouths, as they called them, of *Pineptimi* and *Diolcos*, which were too small to carry larger vessels. But the greater part of these mouths have been since stopped up, and others formed, so that there are now reckon'd to be above thirty channels which carry the waters of the *Nile* into the sea, especially at the time of its overflowing, the greater part of them becoming dry when the waters retire<sup>e</sup>; the two chief, and indeed only considerable arms of that river at present, being that of *Rosetta* or *Rashid* to the west, and that of *Damietta*, or *Dimyat*, to the east.

THE annual inundation of the *Nile*, on which the fertility of *Egypt* depends, is one of the greatest wonders of that country. The ancient writers tell us, that it begins to rise in *Egypt* about the summer solstice, and continues so to do till after the autumnal equinox, for about the space of one hundred days; and then it gradually decreases for as many days, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till the next year. If the river did not rise to the height of sixteen cubits, or fifteen at least, the country was not covered with water, and a dearth ensued<sup>f</sup>. This account comes very near to those given by modern travellers. Though the river begins to swell in *May*, yet no publick notice is taken of it till the 28th or 29th of *June*, by which time it is usually risen to the height of six or eight pikes (a *Turkish* measure of about twenty six inches) and then the publick criers proclaim it through the capital and other cities, and continue in the same manner to publish how much the river increases every day, till it rises to sixteen pikes, and then they cut down the dam of the *Kbahi* or great canal at *Bulak*, which passes through the midst of *al Kabira*, and let in the water on their

Of the river  
N.le.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. STRABON. l. 17.

LUCAS, ubi. sup. p. 205.

<sup>b</sup> HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1.

<sup>c</sup> GOLLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 157, &c.

<sup>d</sup> SENECA. Nat. quæst. l. 4. c. 2.

Vid. PLIN. l. 5. c. 9.

KIRCHER Oedip. vol. I. p. 8.

<sup>e</sup> LUCAS, ubi. sup. p. 313.

lands, by an artifice we shall mention by and by. If the river want but an inch of this height, they will not cut the dam, because in such case no tribute is due to the prince for the lands which should be water'd by them, the produce being then scarce sufficient to maintain the tillers. And therefore at present, if the *Basha* or governor of *Egypt* cut this dam before the river rise to that determinate height, he is answerable for the consequence, and must pay the *Turkish* emperor his tribute whether the year be plentiful or no. If the water encrease to the height of twenty three or twenty four pikes, it is judged most favourable; but if it exceed that, it does a great deal of mischief, not only by overthrowing houses, and drowning cattle, but also by engendering a great number of insects which destroy the fruits of the earth \*.

THE *Khalis* abovementioned is always opened with great solemnity in the presence b of the *Basha*, accompanied by all his great officers, and attended by an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the greatest festivals in *Egypt* \*; and in former times, we are told, the *Egyptians* used annually at this ceremony to sacrifice a girl, or as others say, a boy and a girl, to the *Nile*, as a tribute paid to that river for all the benefits they received from it. And this inhuman custom continued, it is said, till the *Turks* made themselves masters of *Egypt* (C); the first governor under whom resolved to abolish it, and by his prudent remonstrances prevailed on the *Egyptians* to omit it; but the river unfortunately did not rise that year to the accustomed height. The year following it was still worse, so that the people, apprehending a famine, began to murmur: whereupon the governor led all the inhabitants of the city, *Turks*, *Jews* and c *Christians*, to a mountain on the east of *al Kahira*, and after a pathetic exhortation, he obliged all that were present to offer up their prayers to God for the obtaining his mercy; in which exercise they passed all the rest of that day, and the following night. The next morning before day, some women came, with great joy, to acquaint the governor that the *Nile* had risen in the night no less than twelve pikes; whereupon nothing was heard but the praises of God and acclamations of the people. Coming d down from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal ten foot high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive, which last, as they say, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to God than the former innocent victim; and they continue still to erect such an altar every year, and when they break d down the dam, and the water enters the *Khalis*, it carries down the altar and flowers with it. The year when this event happened the *Nile* rose two pikes higher than it used to do, and there was very great plenty; since which time, a final stop being put to the abovementioned superstitious practice, whenever the waters fail of their accustomed height, they have recourse to prayers on the same mountain \*.

Of the Nilometers.

THAT they may the better judge of the daily encrease of the water, and the consequent plenty or scarcity of the ensuing year, the gradual rise of the river is very exactly measured either by wells sunk, or pillars erected and divided for that purpose. There was one of the former, we are told, on the bank of the *Nile*, in the upper *Egypt* near *Syene* \*; and one of the latter was set up in *Memphis* \*. A very ancient column, which served for the same use, is also yet to be seen in the castle of old *Kahira*, e said to be erected in the time of the emperor *Heraclius*. The present Nilometer (D) or *Mykias*, as the *Arabs* call it, is in the same castle; it is a large square reservoir, round which runs a handsome gallery, sustained by twelve marble pillars, which form arches, with a balustrade to lean on when one looks into the water. In the midst of this basin, through which passes a canal drawn from the *Nile*, is an octagonal pillar of white

\* LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 327, &c. Vid. THEVENOT, Voy. part. I. c. 22, 45, 46, &c. \* Vid: eosd. ubi sup. \* LUCAS, ubi sup. Vid. THEVENOT, ubi sup. \* STRABO, l. 17. p. 817.

\* DIODOR, Sic. l. 1. p. 33.

(C) It seems very strange that such a practice should be suffered, not only during the time *Egypt* was subject to the christian emperors of *Constantinople*, but while the *Arabs* were masters of it. *Amasis*, one of the ancient *Egyptian* kings, is said to have abolished the human sacrifices offered to *Juno*, as will be observed hereafter; and it might be reasonably supposed he would also have put a stop to those offered to the *Nile*. Perhaps we may set this matter in a clearer light, when we come to the *Arabian* and *Turkish* history.

(D) This Nilometer is different from that built in an island of the *Nile*, between *Fizah* and *al Fostat*

(which from its pleasant situation and being planted with several sorts of fruit-trees, is much celebrated by the oriental writers, and called *al Rowd.t*, or the Garden) by *Awnab bin Yazid* (3), collector of the tribute in *Egypt*, in the reign of the *Khalifah* *Soleyman bin Abd'almalik*. Some years after the *Khalifah* *al Mamun* ordered it to be pulled down, on account of some defect therein, and a new one to be built in its room, which was at last finished in a magnificent manner by *al Motawakkel* (4). The eastern histories mention several other structures of this sort, built or repaired by the *Khalifas*, while masters of *Egypt*.

(3) ELMACIN, in vita *Soleyman*. (4) Vid. COLIN Nod. ad *Afrag*. p. 156. & D'HERBELOT

a marble, divided into twenty two equal parts ; the first is again divided into twenty four inches, but the second is not ; however, the others are all marked to the top of the column. They are very careful, during the time of the inundation, to observe the height of the water by the measure ; and every day proclaim it in the city. This work is so exactly finished and nicely levelled, that the water in the reservoir is neither higher nor lower than that in the river <sup>b</sup>.

As these *Nilometers* served to measure the overflowing of the river, the *Sphinxes*, of which there were also a great many in several places, shewed the beginning of the waters rising ; being a symbolic representation or figure, with the head of a woman and the body of a lion, signifying that the *Nile* began to swell in the months of *July* and *August*, when the sun passes thro' the signs of *Leo* and *Virgo* <sup>c</sup>. There are several of these *Sphinxes* still to be seen ; one in particular near the pyramids much spoken of by the antients, being of a prodigious size, and cut out of the rock itself : the head and neck only appear at present, the rest of the body being hid in the sand. It is, according to *Thevenot* <sup>d</sup>, twenty six foot high, and fifteen foot from the ear to the chin ; but *Pliny* assures us, the head was no less than one hundred and two foot about, and sixty two foot high from the belly, and that the body was one hundred and forty three foot long, and was thought to be the sepulchre of king *Amasis* <sup>e</sup>. There is another also at the end of the lake of *al Matariya*, which lies on its side, the head being separated from the body <sup>f</sup>.

Of the Sphinx.

c As it may easily be conceived this river could not of itself overflow the lands every where in the necessary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with infinite labour, to cut a vast number of canals and trenches from one end of *Egypt* to the other, to convey the water to every part ; so that each town and village has its canal, which is opened at the proper time, and the water successively conducted to the most distant places. These canals or trenches are not permitted to be opened till the river has rose to a certain height, nor yet all at once, because in such case some lands would have too much water, and others too little ; but they begin to open them first in the upper *Egypt*, and then gradually lower, according to a publick regulation of the measures made for that purpose. By this means the water is so carefully husbanded, that if it rises to twenty four pikes, it suffices the whole country ; which is so large, and the canals so numerous, that it is thought scarce a tenth part of the waters of the *Nile* enter the sea for the first three months of its overflowing. However, as some places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raise the waters to cover them by engines. Formerly they made use of *Archimedes's* screw, thence named the *Egyptian* pump <sup>g</sup> ; but they now generally use wheels, which carry a rope or chain of earthen pots, holding about seven or eight quarts apiece, and draw the water from the canals. There are besides a vast number of wells in *Egypt*, from which the water is drawn in the same manner to water the gardens and fruit-trees, so that it is no exaggeration of the matter to say, that there are in *Egypt* above two hundred thousand oxen daily employed in this labour, without reckoning the men who draw water in wicker baskets, so close and well made, that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little square beds, which are all surrounded with trenches higher than the level of the gardens ; so that when they want to water one of these beds, they open one of the trenches, which immediately furnishes as much water as is necessary ; after which they stop it up again, and thus they manage the rest, by which means they have the finest and most fertile gardens in the world. Pomgranates, oranges, lemons, and several other sorts of trees, afford a shade and coolness, which, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. When a tree is wanting in any place, they only cut down a branch, which they plant by the side of a little trench, and in two or three years it grows to be a tree big enough to transplant.

The manner of conveying the water on their lands.

f THE *Nile*, differing in this from other rivers, which generally carry off the heart of the land they overflow, by the mud or slime it brings down with it, fattens the earth and makes it exceeding fruitful, without any other manure. The *Egyptians* have not the laborious task of plowing, digging, or breaking the clods ; but when the river is retired they have no more to do, than to mingle a little sand with the earth to abate its strength ; after which they sow with little pains, and almost without charge. Antiently, we are told, they used to put in their hogs to tread the seed into the ground, expecting the harvest without any further care ; and when that season came, they let in the hogs again to shake the grain out of the ear, and had no other trouble than to gather and lay up their corn <sup>h</sup>. They sow ordinarily in *October* and *November*, as the

The fecundity occasioned by the Nile.

<sup>b</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 313, 321, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 323.

<sup>d</sup> THEVENOT Voy. part. 1. c. 5.

<sup>e</sup> PLIN. Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 12.

<sup>f</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 30, & l. 5.

<sup>h</sup> p. 313.

<sup>i</sup> HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 32.



waters fall: within two months the ground is covered with all sorts of grain and pulse; <sup>a</sup> and their harvest is in *March* and *April*. The same piece of ground produces the same year three or four different sorts of fruits and garden stuff: first they sow lettuce and cucumbers, then corn; and after harvest, melons, and those sorts of pulse which are peculiar to *Egypt*.

WHAT is most extraordinary is, that this surprizing fecundity, caused by the inundation of the *Nile*, reaches not only to the earth, but also to mankind and animals <sup>b</sup>. It is found by constant experience, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bathe in them, or only drink them: they usually conceive in *July* and *August*, and are delivered in *April* and *May*. As to the cattle, the cows almost always bring two calves at a time; the sheep year twice a year, having two lambs the first time, and but one the second; and a goat is often seen followed by four kids, which she has brought in six months: the pastures of *Egypt* are most excellent, the grals generally growing to the height of the cattle: on this they feed in winter, during which season great numbers are driven thither from about the *Euphrates*; in summer, the grounds being either burnt up by the sun, or overflowed by the *Nile*, they are taken up, and fed with hay, beans, and barley.

Two different  
appearances of  
Egypt in two  
seasons.

THERE is not a more pleasant sight in the world than *Egypt* in two seasons of the year; for if you ascend some mountains, or one of the great pyramids of *al Kahira*, about the months of *July* and *August*, you see a wide sea, out of which there arise a vast number of villages, turrets and spires, appearing like the isles in the *Ægean* sea <sup>c</sup>, with some causeways for communication, intermixed with groves and a great number of fruit-trees, whose tops only are seen; all which afford a most enchanting prospect. This view is terminated by mountains and woods, which at a distance forms the most agreeable perspective in the world. On the other hand, in the winter, that is, about *January* and *February*, all the country is like a fine meadow, whose verdure, enameled with flowers, charms the sight. You see on every side herds and flocks of cattle scattered over the plain, with an infinite number of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then embalmed by the prodigious quantity of flowers, furnished by the oranges, lemons, and other trees; and is so pure, that a man cannot breath one more wholesome or agreeable: so that nature, which is then as it were dead in so many other climates, <sup>d</sup> seems to revive only for the sake of so delightful an abode. If there be any places left which are not quite dried, they are covered with water-fowl in great plenty, which afford diversion to the sportsmen, who kill as many of them as they please.

THE cities, towns, and villages in *Egypt*, to secure them from the inundation of the *Nile*, are all built either on some rising ground formed by nature, or else, which is generally the case, on mounts raised by infinite labour; the communication between one town and another, while the country is under water, being carried on either by the causeways abovementioned, or boats. When the river is retired within its banks, the canals serve for the same purpose, and to furnish the inhabitants and cattle with water, which the maidens are continually to be seen fetching thence, according to the ancient custom so often taken notice of in scripture <sup>e</sup>.

The cause of  
the inundation  
of the Nile.

As the antients were ignorant of the true cause of the inundation of the *Nile*, which seemed the more unaccountable to them, because, contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in the summer, and was lowest in winter, they made several subtle conjectures to explain this phenomenon <sup>m</sup>. But it has been long since well known to be occasioned by the great rains which fall in *Ethiopia*, about the springs of the *Nile*, and swell that river into a sea, which first lays *Ethiopia* almost intirely under water, as it afterwards does *Egypt*. *Agatharchides* of *Guidos* <sup>n</sup>, and some others, guessed this to be the cause, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye-witnesses; *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a very inquisitive prince, having sent some persons on purpose to examine into the matter. It has been thought that this piece of natural history was not unknown to *Homer* himself, and that he alludes to it when he says <sup>o</sup>, that the *Nile* came down from heaven <sup>p</sup>. These rains constantly fall in *Ethiopia*, during the months of *April* and *May* <sup>q</sup>; at which time it also rains with the same regularity in the *Indies*, causing the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to overflow their banks in the same manner as the *Nile* does <sup>r</sup>.

THE divine providence has been justly admired, in sending the rains in *Ethiopia* so very punctually for the supply of *Egypt*, where it rains so seldom, and thereby rendering a most dry and sandy soil, one of the most fruitful in the universe. Nor is it

<sup>a</sup> Vid. DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. HEROD. & DIODOR. SIC. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. LUCAS,

ubi sup. p. 328, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 33, &c.

<sup>n</sup> DIOD. SIC. ibid.

p. 39.

<sup>o</sup> HOM. Odyss. 4. vtr. 581.

<sup>p</sup> STRABO. l. 17. p. 1137.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. LUCAS, ubi sup.

p. 321.

<sup>r</sup> BARNIER, Voyage de Cachemire, p. 343, &c.

- a to be omitted, that in the beginning of *June* and the four following months, the *Etesian* winds (which some formerly imagined to be the great cause of the inundation<sup>1</sup>) constantly blow from the north-east, and keep back the water from flowing down and emptying itself into the sea too fast<sup>2</sup>. As the fertility of the land of *Canaan* was owing to a very different method of providence, that is, to the *former and latter rains*, which regularly fell at two appointed seasons of the year, while the children of *Israel* continued in their duty, *Moses* thought proper to acquaint them before-hand with so material a difference between the promised land and that they had lately left; *The land whither thou goest in to possess it, says that lawgiver, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but*  
 b *the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year*<sup>3</sup>.

LET us now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of *Egypt*. The crocodile, and hippopotamus or river-horse, are, it is to be presumed, too well known to the reader, to need a particular description here<sup>4</sup>: they are both inhabitants of the *Nile*. The crocodiles are often killed by the natives. One way of taking them is, by a piece of flesh stuck on an iron hook, and let down into the river by a rope, the other end of which is fastened to a stake: when the crocodile has seized the bait, he is drawn to land, and knocked on the head<sup>5</sup>. *Herodotus* describes this manner with very little variation<sup>6</sup>. Another more dangerous way is sometimes practised, by striking them, as they sleep, under the belly, with a stake armed with a bearded point of iron, and also fastened to a rope<sup>7</sup>. A more extraordinary method still was made use of to catch one of these creatures that had done much mischief: the person who undertook it for a reward, bound his son, a young lad, to a stake in the place where the crocodile used to come, and laid himself flat on his belly with two short clubs in his hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of coarse thread dipped in pitch, and so waited for the crocodile; who coming out of the river and smelling the boy, made directly towards him; but as he opened his mouth to seize him, the father thrust the staff with the pitched ball into his jaws, which sticking in his teeth and entangling them as he bit it, the man broke his back, and killed him with the other<sup>8</sup>. The inhabitants of *Tentyris* are reported to have been very bold and dexterous in hunting these creatures, and that they would even leap on their backs in the water, and clapping a stick across their mouths, as they opened them to bite, manage them as with a bridle, and bring them to land; so that these creatures were terrified even by their voice and smell<sup>9</sup>. The flesh of a crocodile is white and fat, and is a delicious dish when young; the *Arabs* of the upper *Egypt* are very fond of it<sup>10</sup>, and formerly the inhabitants of *Elephantis* used also to eat these animals<sup>11</sup>.

THE hippopotami are common in the upper *Egypt*, especially near the cataracts, but are scarce to be met with in any part of the lower *Egypt*. These creatures never go in herds, and it is rare to see two of them together. They are so distrustful, and fly with that swiftness from their pursuers, that they are very seldom taken<sup>12</sup>.

BESIDES wild and tame oxen, camels, asses, goats and sheep, of which there is great plenty in *Egypt*, and the flesh of the last very delicate food, there are a vast number of antelopes, and a large kind of ape, with a head somewhat like a dog, whence it was called *cynocephalus*: the *Egyptians* often used the figure of this beast as a hieroglyphic. The camelion is also common in the hedges near *al Kabira*.

THE animal called the little, or land crocodile (which we take to be the *scincus* of *Pliny*<sup>13</sup>) is about the bigness of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with scales. It is found near the *Nile* and the red sea, and usually feeds on the most odoriferous flowers: the flesh is of use in physic, great numbers of them being for that reason carried to *Venice* and other places.

THE *Egyptian* rat, called by the antients *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow and ash colour; its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth: it has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, camelions, rats, and other animals; and is of great service in *Egypt*, by its natural instinct hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itself in

Of the animals of Egypt

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> LE BRUN. Voyag. tom. II.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xi. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Vid.

HEROD. l. 2. DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 32. STRABO. l. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Lettre du P. SICARD, dans les Mem.

des Missions, tom. VI. p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> Ubi sup.

<sup>7</sup> SICARD, ubi sup.

<sup>8</sup> LUCAN, ubi sup.

tom. I. p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> PLIN. Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 25.

<sup>10</sup> SICARD, ubi sup.

<sup>11</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>12</sup> SICARD, ubi sup. p. 251.

<sup>13</sup> Nat. hist. ubi sup.

mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way a out again<sup>f</sup>. This animal is easily tamed, but must not be kept where cats are, with which they are at perpetual enmity<sup>g</sup>.

Of birds there are also great numbers in *Egypt*, particularly ostriches, eagles, hawks, and a prodigious number of water-fowl, as pelicans, flamingo's or *phanicopteri*, wild geese, herons, ducks, and various other sorts. Those which are proper to the *Nile*, are the *ibis*, the goose with golden feathers, the rice-hen, or hen of *Dimyat*, and the *saksak*; which last is the *trackilus* of the antients<sup>h</sup>, observed by them to be the only creature with which the crocodile is in friendship, because this bird picks and clears his mouth of the leaches which infest it<sup>i</sup>. The *ibis* deserves particular notice; not only because it is so peculiar to *Egypt*, that it pines away and dies if carried elsewhere, but for the great use it is of in that country, by destroying the flying serpents, which the south winds bring from the deserts of *Libya*, and are shaped as the water-snakes, with wings like a bat. In the proper season of the year, these birds in vast numbers, by a peculiar instinct, go and wait on the frontiers for these serpents, and devour them as they fly, before they enter *Egypt*. There are two kinds of the *ibis*: One is of a deep black, and about the bigness of a heron; this is the *ibis* which kills the serpents, and is seldom found except only in the lower *Egypt*: the other is white, but has the head, neck, and ends of the wings, and tail, as black as the former; and are so common, that one often sees vast numbers of them. The bill and legs of this bird resemble those of a stork; its usual food (besides the serpents abovementioned) are snails, locusts and other insects<sup>k</sup>.

BESIDES the lakes which are in other parts of *Egypt*, those in the *Delta*, near the sea, of which there are three pretty large ones between *Alexandria* and *Tinab*<sup>l</sup>, the ancient *Pelafium*, afford great numbers of fish, though not of above seven or eight sorts; two of which they salt, and send large quantities to *Syria*, *Cyprus* and *Constantinople*. The revenues of one of these lakes alone, called *Manzalah*, bring into the *Turkish* emperor's treasury no less than forty thousand crowns a year. Those who live near these lakes eat a great deal of fresh fish, and very cheap, as the *Israelites* formerly did<sup>m</sup>; but the heat of the climate will not suffer them to be carried far; for which reason the inhabitants of *al Kabira* are obliged to content themselves with the fish which the *Nile* d affords them. The bed of that river being very full of mud and slime, communicates a muddy taste to all the fish that are fed in it, except four sorts, which are very excellent. These are the *kesher* or *lates*, the *latos* of the antients, which is often so large as to weigh two or three hundred pounds; the *casbouc*, formerly called the *oxyrinchus*, from the sharpness of its nose; the *bonni*, which weigh sometimes twenty or thirty pounds, and is the *lepidotus* so much esteemed by the old *Egyptians*; and the *karmud*, known in ancient writers by the name of *phagrus*: this last is black, grows to the same size as the *bonni*, and is a very voracious fish. What makes these fish the more serviceable to the inhabitants of *al Kabira*, is, that they are to be found in the *Nile* at all seasons of the year, and are very easily taken<sup>n</sup>.

Of the vegetables of Egypt.

THOUGH woods are very rare in *Egypt*, yet there are some forests of palm-trees towards the deserts of *Libya*; and near *Dandera*, the ancient *Tentyra*, there is one of *doms*, or wild date-trees<sup>o</sup>, whose fruits is excessive hard, but much admired by those of the country. Palm-trees are the most common of all others in this country; besides which there are several sorts of fruit-trees, and also some cedars, though not so large, or so frequently to be seen as in *Syria*; and a great thorny tree called *al bilaji*, out of which perhaps the ancient *Egyptians* made those boats mentioned by *Herodotus*<sup>p</sup>. However *Egypt* is not a country proper for trees, which thrive not there without great care and cultivation. As to plants, the case is very different; the kinds are so very various, that we shall mention only a few, and chiefly those which may give some light into ancient history<sup>q</sup>.

THE first I shall take notice of is the reed *papyrus* or *byblus*, called at present by the natives *al berdi*. It grows on the banks of the *Nile*, and shoots out a stalk of nine or ten foot high; the trunk is composed of a great number of long strait fibres, which produce small flowers; the leaves are like the blade of a sword, and they make use of them to keep wounds open; the ashes of the stalk also cure those that are not inveterate. This is the plant whereof the antients made their writing-paper, which thence took its name. The way of making it was, by taking out the pith of the stalk, which they worked into a white paste or glew, and of that made the paper, almost in

<sup>f</sup> Vid. DIODOR. SIC. p. 32, 78. tom. VI. p. 249.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 245.

<sup>h</sup> SICARD Mem. des Mill.

<sup>i</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. HEROD. ibid.

<sup>l</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 246

<sup>m</sup> SICARD, ubi sup. p. 233, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Numb. xi. 5.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 245, &c.

<sup>p</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 242.

<sup>q</sup> SICARD, ubi sup. p. 157.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. 2.

a the same manner as we do with our linen rags; but others say it was made of the inner rind of the plant. Before agriculture was improved in *Egypt*, this reed was of great service; for they did not only use it as food, but made clothes, boats, and domestic utensils of it; and also crowns for their gods, and shoes for their priests. But more useful inventions have set all this aside, and the plant is now entirely neglected<sup>1</sup>.

THE flax of *Egypt*, especially one sort of it, was so exceeding fine, and they dressed and spun it so curiously, that the threads could scarce be seen<sup>2</sup>. It grew in so great plenty, that they had not only enough to cloath their priests (who wore nothing else) and people of condition<sup>3</sup>, and to make shrouds for their dead, but to drive a very great trade with it into foreign parts. The fine linen of *Egypt* was in great request b over all the east<sup>4</sup>; that superfine sort of it, called *byssus*, was often dyed in purple, and was so dear, that none but rich people could afford to wear it.

THE *lotus*, which grows plentifully in the lower *Egypt*, especially near *Rashid* or *Rosetta*, is called by the inhabitants *al basbun*, and is a species of *nenuphar*, *nymphaea*, or *water-lily*. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the surface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. The antient *Egyptians* made bread of the middle or pulp of this plant dried, which resembled that of a poppy; and the root of it, which is round, and as big as an apple, was also eaten by them<sup>5</sup>. This *lotus* is different from that fruit of the same name whereon the *Lotophagi* lived<sup>6</sup>. The *Arabs* at this day make a drink of the *Egyptian lotus*, c which is very good for inward heat; and they eat the stalk and heads of them raw, which are very moist and cooling<sup>7</sup>.

THE *benna*, called *alcanna* by the botanist, is a shrub which shoots forth a great many branches. Its leaves are like that of an olive-tree, but shorter, broader, and of a more pleasant green. The flowers, which are set like those of the elder, have an agreeable smell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths<sup>8</sup>. The women dye their nails and other parts with a reddish colour extracted from this plant, by way of ornament.

OTHER plants, the fruits and roots of which are eaten by the inhabitants, are in so great abundance, and so excellent in their kind, that they are almost sufficient to maintain them without the use of corn<sup>9</sup>; and formerly the labouring people scarce lived d on any thing else. It is not therefore so surprising, that the *Israhelites* in the wilderness regretted the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick<sup>10</sup>, which they used to eat so freely in *Egypt*.

THE buildings and other works of the antient *Egyptians*, which have raised the admiration of all succeeding ages, deserve a more particular view.

THE first enquiry generally made by those who would be acquainted with this country, is concerning the pyramids, those stupendous structures, which were deservedly reckoned by the antients among the wonders of the world. Of the artificial rarities of Egypt. The pyramids.

THERE are many of them in several parts of *Egypt*, and particularly in the upper e *Egypt*, as we have already observed; but those which have been chiefly taken notice of and described by travellers, stand on the west side of the *Nile*, not far from *Fyzah*, which succeeded the antient *Memphis*. The number of these pyramids is about twenty, of which three, standing pretty near together, are most remarkable, and are those which have been so often described. The other lie far scattered in the *Libyan* desert, and are lesser models of the other, though some of them are very considerable, particularly one, which stands south-and-by-west from them, at about twenty miles distance more within the desert, and has been undeservedly neglected both by antient and modern writers, though it be as worthy of memory, and as near a miracle as any of the former three.

f IT is the common opinion, that the word *pyramid* is derived from the Greek *pyr* or *W hence so pyr*, fire; and that these structures were so called from their shape, ascending from named. a broad base, and ending in a point like a flame of fire. Others, whose opinion *Vossius*<sup>11</sup> seems to approve, say they took the name from *pyros*, which in the same language signifies *wheat*, because they will have them to be the granaries of the antient *Egyptian* kings; but a late writer, versed in the *Coptic* tongue, has given us another etymology from that language, wherein *puoro* signifies a king, and *nusi*, a race or generation: and the reason why the pyramids had this name given them was, as he tells us, because they were erected to preserve the memory of those princes and their families; and that those

<sup>1</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 249, &c. Vid. ROLLIN. Hist. anc. vol. I. p. 106. Vid. PLIN. l. 13. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. PLIN. Nat. Hist. l. 19. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Genes. iv. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. vii. 16. Ezek. xxvii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> HEROD. l. 4.

<sup>7</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup. p. 257.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>9</sup> PLIN. l. 21. c. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Numb. xi. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Etymol. ling. Lat. voce Pyramid.

Vid. STEPH. de urb. voce Πυραμίδες.

who were descended from them, had therefore recourse to those pillars to prove their pedigree<sup>b</sup> (E).

By custom  
built.

Who were the builders of these pyramids has been matter of much dispute. *Josephus*<sup>c</sup>, followed by some modern writers<sup>d</sup>, supposed they were erected by the *Israelites* during their heavy pressure under the tyranny of the *Pharaohs*. The scriptures however seem to be against this opinion, for they expressly make the slavish employment of that people to have been the making of bricks, whereas all these pyramids are of stone. Others pretend they were built by the patriarch *Joseph*, for granaries to lay up the corn of the seven plentiful years<sup>e</sup>; and to support this imagination, alledge the abovementioned derivation from *pyros*, *wheat*: but this opinion is much more groundless than the former; for besides that their figure is the least capacious of any regular mathematical body, and therefore improper for such a purpose, the straightness and tenuity of the rooms within (the rest being a solid fabric of stone) do utterly overthrow such a conjecture.

*HERODOTUS* says, the first or greatest of the three most remarkable pyramids was built by *Cheops*, whom *Diodorus* names *Ckemmis*; for that they were the same person will appear hereafter. The second, both those historians agree to have been erected by *Cephren*, brother and successor to the former prince. And the third was the work of *Mycerinus*, the son of *Cheops*<sup>f</sup>. This last, some of the *Greeks* pretended was built by *Rhodopis*<sup>g</sup> or *Rhodope*, a courtesan whom *Sappho* called *Doricka*, mistress to her brother *Charaxus*<sup>h</sup>. But this is very improbable, if we consider either her condition or the vastness of the expence; though some, to mend the story, say several governors of provinces, who were in love with her, built it for her by contribution<sup>i</sup>: besides *Herodotus* has shewn that she lived long after these pyramids were in being<sup>k</sup>. Yet, after all, *Diodorus* confesses that there is little agreement as to these pyramids, either among the natives or historians; some saying that the largest was built by *Armaeus*, the second by *Amasis*, and the third by *Inaron*<sup>l</sup>; and this uncertainty *Pliny* mentions as a just reward of the vanity of the undertakers<sup>m</sup>.

THE *Arab* writers assign other founders of these three pyramids different from those mentioned by the *Greeks*. To omit the fancy of those who thought them built by *Jan ebn Jan*, universal monarch of the whole world before *Adam*<sup>n</sup>, and the abovementioned opinion, which attributes them to *Joseph*; some say they were erected by *Nimrod*; some by queen *Daluka*; and others, by the *Egyptians* before the flood. The *Copts* report, that the east pyramid is the sepulchre of king *Saurid*, the western of his brother *Hujib*, and the coloured pyramid of *Fazfarsim* the son of *Hujib*. The *Sabians* pretend that one of them is the sepulchre of *Seth*, the second of *Hermes* (or *Enoch*) and the third of *Sabir*, from whom this sect say they are denominated: it is also said they go in pilgrimage thither, and sacrifice at them a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense<sup>o</sup>. But the general opinion is, that they were built by *Saurid* before the flood; and the *Copts* mention an inscription engraven on them to this effect: *I Saurid, the king, built the pyramids in such and such a time, and finished them in six years: let that comes after me, and says he is equal to me, let him destroy them in six hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is easier to pluck down than to build; and when I had finished them I covered them with satten, and let him cover them with mats*<sup>p</sup>.

As the antients have omitted speaking of several pyramids still remaining in the *Lybian* desert, so have they on the other hand mentioned the names and founders of

<sup>b</sup> WILKINS Dissert. de ling. Copt. p. 108.

fact. l. 1. c. 6. PERIZON. Orig. Egypt. p. 387, &c.

NONNUS, &c. apud Greaves, ubi infra.

ubi sup.

ubi sup.

<sup>o</sup> MFRAT ALZEMAN. apud Greaves, ubi infra.

AL HORM.

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> SPONDANUS de creat.

<sup>e</sup> STAPH. de urb. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. HEROD. l. 2. DIODOR. Sic. l. 1.

<sup>g</sup> HEROD.

<sup>h</sup> HEROD.

<sup>i</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>j</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>k</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>l</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>m</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>n</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>o</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>p</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>q</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>r</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>s</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>t</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>u</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>v</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>w</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>x</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>y</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>z</sup> DIODOR.

(E) This gentleman endeavours to support his assertion by the authority of *Herodotus*, as if he affirmed that the *Egyptians* preserved their genealogies on pillars, and that those pillars were called pyramids; but we do not remember any such thing in that author. The passage quoted is no more than this; that when *Hecataeus* the historian acquainted the priest of *Jupiter* with his genealogy, and derived himself from no less than sixteen gods, the priests would by no means admit that a man could be begotten by a god, but shewed him three hundred and forty

five large wooden images of their high priests in a spacious edifice, which stood in regular order, the son being placed after the father; and told him, that none of them had been reputed either a god or a hero; but that each image which he saw represented a *piromis* begotten by another *piromis*; the word *piromis* signifying no more in their language, than an honest man. (1). It may be observed, that *romi*, and, with the article, *piromi*, signifies a man in the present *Coptic*.

(1) HEROD. l. 2.

some



- a some others, not much inferior to these three in magnitude, which have been long since ruined and defaced by time. *Herodotus* says there was one of forty fathoms, or two hundred and forty feet, which stood at the end of the labyrinth, with large figures of animals in sculpture, and a subterraneous passage to it <sup>a</sup>. This seems to be that pyramid wherein *Strabo* tells us *Imandes*, or, as *Diodorus* names him, *Osymanduas* was buried, and therefore probably built by him; though he differs from *Herodotus* as to the dimensions, making each side of it to be four hundred feet, and the height as much <sup>a</sup>. *Pliny*, who agrees with *Herodotus* in this last particular, mentions several pyramids built near the labyrinth, but if his expression <sup>a</sup> be not mistaken, describes them to be sexangular. *Meris*, who lived after *Osymanduas*, but long before *Cheops*, also built two pyramids, one for himself, and the other for his wife, in the midst of a lake which he dug, and which we shall take notice of by and by. These pyramids were each a furlong in height, and stood one half above the water, and the other half under the water; and on the top of each there was placed a marble statue or colossus sitting on a throne <sup>a</sup>. It is said that *Cheops*, having exhausted his treasures in building the first and largest pyramid, prostituted his own daughter, commanding her to get as much money as she could; and that she, at the same time she obeyed her father, contrived to leave a monument of herself also, and asked every one that came to her to give her a stone towards the structure she designed: by which means she built a pyramid, which stood in the midst of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extended to the length of a plethron and a half (or about one hundred and fifty foot) on every side of the basis <sup>a</sup>. This story has some resemblance to that of *Rhodopis* abovementioned, and might perhaps have given occasion to it. After all these, *Alychis*, the successor of *Mycerinus*, built a pyramid of brick, with this inscription cut in stone: *Compare me not with the pyramids of stone, for I as far excel them as Jupiter does the other gods: for, striking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which stuck to them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner* <sup>a</sup>. *Diodorus* mentions three other pyramids, each side of which contained two hundred feet, and says that *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus* were reputed to have erected them for their wives <sup>a</sup>. These likewise are not now to be seen, unless they should be some of those in the desert, which well answer the measure assigned by *Diodorus*; but if those princes built them for their queens, it may be wondered why they placed them so remote from their own sepulchres, or at such large and unequal distances of several miles from one another <sup>a</sup>.

SINCE it is uncertain who were the founders of the pyramids that are now standing, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were built. The ages of the several princes to whom they have been attributed, will best appear when we discourse of the *Egyptian* chronology: in the mean time, we shall observe, that the least antiquity which can be allowed these structures, seems to be near three thousand years; since *Herodotus*, who lived two thousand two hundred years ago, was able to find so little satisfaction in his enquiries after them; and *Diodorus*, who lived before the birth of our Saviour, supposes the great pyramid to have been built at least one thousand years before his time <sup>a</sup>.

NOT to mention a second time the improbability of their conjecture, who imagine these buildings were designed for granaries, it is the constant opinion of most authors who have wrote on this subject, that they were intended for sepulchres and monuments of the dead. *Diodorus* expressly tells us, that *Chemmis* and *Cephren* designed those built by them for their sepulchres, though it happened that neither of them were buried in them <sup>a</sup>; and *Strabo* judges all those near *Memphis* to have been royal sepulchres <sup>a</sup>: to which the writings of the *Arabs* are consonant, as has been observed above. And if none of these authors were extant, the tomb which stands at this day in the first pyramid, puts it out of controversy.

WHY the *Egyptian* kings should have been at so vast an expence in building of these pyramids, is an enquiry of a higher nature. *Aristotle* makes them to have been the works of tyranny <sup>a</sup>: and *Pliny* conjectures that they built them partly out of ostentation, and partly out of state-policy, to divert the people, by this employment, from mutinies and rebellions <sup>a</sup>. But the true reason depends on higher considerations, and sprang from the theology of the *Egyptians*; who not only believed the resurrection, but that as long as the body endured, so long the soul continued with it; which last was also the opinion of the *Stoics* <sup>a</sup>. And hence it was, that this nation took that ex-

The time when the pyramids were built.

The end for which they were erected.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. l. 2.    <sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 44.    <sup>a</sup> STRABO, l. 17.    <sup>a</sup> Senas radicem oras obtinentes. PLIN. l. 36. c. 13.    <sup>a</sup> HEROD. & DIOD. ubi sup.    <sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.    <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. p.    <sup>a</sup> GREAVES descr. of the pyramids, p. 113.    <sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 47.    <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. p. 58.    <sup>a</sup> STRABO, l. 17.    <sup>a</sup> ARISTOT. pol. l. 3.    <sup>a</sup> PLIN. l. 36. c. 12.    <sup>a</sup> Vid. SERVIVM in Virgil. Æn. 3.

cessive care to preserve the corps from corruption, and were at so great costs in raising a monuments for them, as will be specified hereafter.

THE reason why they frequently made use of the pyramidal figure for these monuments (for they were not always of that shape) to omit several philosophical fancies of little solidity<sup>a</sup>, seems to have been, because it is the most permanent form of structure; for by reason of the gradual contracting and lessening of it at the top, it is neither overpressed with its own weight, nor is subject to the sinking in of rain, as other buildings: or else they might thereby intend to represent some of their gods; pyramids and obelisks, which are but a lesser sort of pyramids, being both by them and other heathens, antiently made use of and worshipped as images of several deities<sup>c</sup>.

THIS practice of the Egyptians of erecting pyramids, or columns of that shape, b for sepulchres, was also sometimes, though not very frequently, imitated by other nations. That of *Porfena*, king of *Etruria*, built by him near *Clusium* in *Italy*, was accounted almost miraculous; though it was more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the pyramids, which were fourteen, than for any excessive magnitude<sup>e</sup>. The tomb of *C. Cæstius*, now standing at *Rome* near the *mons testaceus*, or *il Dolio*, is built after the model of those of *Egypt*, but is much less.

Their description.

THE dimensions and descriptions of the three greatest of the pyramids of *Memphis* have been given by several writers, both antient historians and modern travellers. They differ pretty much from one another as to the dimensions. A countryman of our own, who measured them with great care, and wanted not ability to do it with the greatest accuracy, seems to have been the most exact; for which reason we shall chiefly adhere to his observations.

The dimensions of the first pyramid.

THE first and fairest of these three pyramids is situated on a rocky hill, in the sandy desert of *Lybia*, about a quarter of a mile from the plains of *Egypt*; above which the rock rises 100 feet, or better, with a gentle and easy ascent. Upon this advantageous rise and solid foundation is the pyramid erected; the height of the situation adding to the beauty of the work, and the solidity of the rock affording it a stable support. The north side, near the basis, being measured by a radius of 10 feet in length, taking two several stations, was found by our author to be 693 *English* feet. The other sides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient distance to place the instruments. The altitude, if measured by its perpendicular, is 481 feet; but if it be taken as the pyramid ascends inclining, then is it equal, in respect of the lines subtending the several angles, to the latitude of the basis (F). Whereby it appears that though several of the antients have excessively magnified the height of these pyramids, yet the biggest of them falls short of the height of *St. Paul's* church in *London*; which from the ground to the top of the lanthorn only, is no less than 470 feet. If we imagine on the sides of the basis, which is frequently square, four equilateral triangles

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Auctor. anonym. ad calcem Hieroglyph. PIERIJ.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. GREAVES, ubi sup. p. 62.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. eund. ibid. p. 64.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. SOLIN. Polyhist. c. 45. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 23.

(F) According to *Herodotus*, each face of this pyramid contains 8 plethra, or 800 *Grecian* feet, in length (1). *Diodorus Siculus* (who comes nearest the truth) makes this dimension but 7 plethra, or 700 feet (2); and *Strabo*, less than a furlong (3); that is, less than 600 *Grecian*, or 625 *Roman* feet. Whereas *Pliny* equals it to 883 (4). As to the height, *Herodotus* says, it is equal to the breadth of one of its sides; which is true, if taken for the inclining, and not the perpendicular altitude. By *Strabo's* computation, the height exceeds the breadth: but *Diodorus* rightly acknowledges it to be something less. The altitude of this pyramid was taken by *Tales*, the *Milesian*; but his admeasurement is not preserved. The method proposed by him to do it, must be very uncertain; for it was by observing the hour when the shadow of the body is equal to its height (5).

Of the modern travellers, *Belon*, or rather *Gyllius* (for the other it is said was a plagiarism, and published the observations of *Gyllius* in his own name) (6) makes the breadth of each side 324 paces; and

(1) HEROD. l. 2.

(2.) DIOD. SIC. l. 1.

p. 37. (3) STRABO, l. 17. p. 1161. (4) PLIN. l. 36. c. 12.

(5) PLIN. ibid. Vid. DIOD.

LAERT. in vita *Talesis*. (6) Vid. THUAN. Hist. l. 16.

(7) BELON. Observ. l. 2. c. 44.

(8) Apud Kircher. Oedip. vol. III. p. 294. (9) RAD-

the height 250 steps, each step being 45 inches high (7). *Marcus Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, and afterwards cardinal, computes it to be 270 paces broad, and as much in height (8). Prince *Radzevil* says, it is reported to be 300 cubits every way (9). *Della Valle* sets down nothing precisely, but acquiesces in the measures of *Belon* (10). *Thevenot* tells us it is 320 feet high, on a square base of 682 feet (11). And *Le Bruyn* calculates the height to be 112 fathom, which, at 5 feet and a half to the fathom, is 616 feet; and the breadth 300 paces, or 128 fathom; that is, according to the same proportion, 704 feet (12). *Wansleb* says, the sides of the pyramids are not equal; it being visible in the largest, and so in the others, that the north side is longer than that which stretches from east to west; (which expression perhaps the reader may understand, but we do not;) the dimensions he gives us, are those of *Thevenot* (13). The *Arab* writers make the perpendicular height 317 cubits, and the breadth of each side 460 (14).

ZIVIL. Ierosol. peregr. p. 161.

(10) DELLA

VALLI, Lett. II. p. 359.

(11) THEVEN.

Voy. l. 1. c. 5.

(12) LE BRUYN. Voy.

(13) WANSLEB, apud Ray, Collection of travels, vol. II. p. 137, 138.

(14) Vid. KIRCHER.

ubi sup. p. 300.

mutually

a mutually inclining till they meet in a point (for so the top seems to those who stand below) then we shall have a just idea of the true dimensions and figure of this pyramid; the area of whose basis contains 480,249 square feet, or something more than eleven *English* acres of ground; a proportion so monstrous, that did not the antients attest as much, and some of them more (G), it might appear incredible.

THE ascent to the top of the pyramid is contrived by degrees, or steps, the lowest of which is near 4 feet in height, and 3 in breadth; and running about the pyramid in a level, made a narrow walk, when the stones were entire, on every side. The second degree is like the first, benching in near 3 feet. In the same manner is the third row placed on the second; and the rest in order, like so many stairs rising one above another to the top; which ends not in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat, or square of 13,280 *English* feet broad, and consisting of 9 stones, besides two which are wanting at the corners (H). This pyramid, by reason of the stones being worn by the weather, cannot be conveniently ascended, except on the south side, or at the north-east angle. The steps are made of massy and polished stones, said to have been hewn out of the *Arabian* mountains<sup>a</sup>, which bound the upper *Egypt* on the east; and are so vast, that the breadth and depth of every step is one single stone. *Herodotus* makes the least stone to be 30 feet<sup>a</sup>; and this may be granted in some, but not in all, unless his words be understood of cubical feet; which dimension, or a greater in the exterior ones, may, without difficulty, be admitted. It is also to be observed, that the steps are not all of equal depth; for some are near 4 feet, and others want of 3, diminishing the higher one ascends; and the breadth of them is proportionable to their depth; so that a right line, extended from the basis to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. The number of these steps is not mentioned by any of the antients; but modern travellers differ very much in their computaion (I). Our author and two others counted them very carefully, and found them to be 207; though one of them in descending reckoned 208.

HENCE it may be considered, how far we may credit what some say, viz. that an arrow shot from the top of this pyramid cannot fly beyond the basis, but will fall on some of the steps; it being certain, that an indifferent arm can easily shoot an arrow much further than one half of the breadth of this pyramid: it is confessed, however, that a man, unless he be very strong, cannot throw a stone from the top, so as to make it fall beyond the steps<sup>c</sup>. Some of the antients have reported, that these pyramids cast no shadow<sup>b</sup>; which if taken strictly, must be also a mistake: it is true, for almost three quarters of the year they cast no shadow at noon; but in winter they certainly do.

As to the inside of this pyramid, the antients are altogether silent; except only that *Herodotus* says, there were subterraneous vaults built within the hill on which it stands; and that the founder of it conveyed the water of the *Nile* thither by a trench, and formed a little island in the midst of the water, designing to place his sepulchre on that ground<sup>d</sup>. *Strabo* also mentions an oblique entrance into this pyramid, to be seen on removing a stone which covered it; and *Pliny* takes notice of a well of 86

The outside of the pyramid.

The inside of it.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. & DIOD. ubi sup.  
Voy. Yet see LUCAS, tom. I. p. 45.  
L 22. CASSIODOR. var. 7. form. 15.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi sup. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 9. <sup>b</sup> LE BRUYN.  
<sup>c</sup> SOLIN. Polyhist. c. 45. AUSON. Idyll. 3. ANN. MARCELL.  
<sup>d</sup> HEROD. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> STRAB. ubi sup.

(G) The area, according to *Herodotus*, must be 640,000; and according to *Diodorus* 490,000 square feet. *Pliny* assigns the basis to be but 8 *Roman jugera*, which is probably a mistake of the transcriber; for the square of the side, by his admeasurement, must be no less than 779,689 *Roman* feet, almost equal to 28 *jugera* (1).

(H) *Herodotus* gives no dimensions of this flat; *Diodorus* says, it is 9 feet (2); but *Pliny* seems to make it 25 feet, if we rightly understand the passage of that author; for *Hardouin* is surely mistaken, in supposing him to mean that the pyramid was 25,000 feet high (3). *Belon* says, the diameter is 2 paces (4), *Radzivil* 10 cubits (5), and *Thevenot* about 16 feet and 2 thirds (6). They differ also in the number of stones which cover it: one will have it a single stone (7); another counts 3 (8); and a third 11 or 12 (9).

(1) Vid. PLIN. l. 16. c. 32. (2) DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 57. (3) PLIN. ubi sup. Vid. HARDUIN. in loc. (4) BELON, ubi sup. (5) RADZIVIL. Itrof. peregr. p. 162. (6) THEV. ubi sup. (7) Voy. de VILLAMONT. (8) SANDYS Trav. p. 100.

On this platform *Proclus* supposed the *Egyptian* priests made their astronomical observations (10); but it is far from being probable, that these structures were designed for observatories. And it is scarce to be conceived, that the priests would take the pains to ascend so high, when they might make the same observations with more ease, and as much certainty, below; having as free and open a prospect of the heavens, and over the plains of *Egypt*, from the rock itself as from the tops of the pyramids (11).

(1) *Belon* counts 250, *Sandys* 255, *Leuvenstein* 260; *Helfricus* 230, *Grimani* and *Le Bruyn* 110, *Lucas* 243, and *Thevenot* 208 (12). This last author observes, it is very difficult to count them exactly; not only because a man may miscount, but because several of the lower steps are, in some places, covered with sand.

(9) THEVEN. ubi sup. (10) PROCL. in Tim. (11) GREAVES, ubi supr. p. 73. Vid. CICERO. de divinat. l. 1. (12) See the places quoted above, and LUCAS, Voy. tom. I. p. 45.

cubits in depth, into which he supposes the water of the *Nile* was brought by some a secret aqueduct\*. What the *Arabs* relate of the inner parts of these buildings, is no better than a romance; for which reason we shall proceed to those accounts that may be better depended on.

THE entrance into the pyramid is by a square narrow passage, which opens in the midst of the north-side on the 16th step, or ascending 38 feet (K), on an artificial bank of earth. The stone that is over it is very big, being near 12 feet long, and above 8 feet wide. This entry goes declining with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in breadth exactly 3,463 *English* feet, and in length 92 feet and a half. The structure of it has been the labour of an exquisite hand, as appears by the smoothness and evenness of the work, and close knitting of the joints, a property long since observed by *Diodorus* to b have run through the whole fabric of this pyramid. At the end of this passage there is another like the former, but goes a little rising: at the meeting of these two passages, the one descending, and the other ascending, the lowermost stone of the roof, perpendicular to it, forms a sharp ridge, between which and the sand there is sometimes not a foot space to pass through; so that a man must slide on his belly close to the ground, and yet grate his back against the abovementioned stone, unless he be very slender. However, this difficulty is occasioned chiefly by the sand which the wind drives into this place; for if the passage be cleared, it is of the same dimensions there as at the entrance. There being no window, or other opening in this pyramid to admit the light, it may easily be conceived, that those who would view the inside c must carry lights with them.

HAVING passed this streight, on the right hand there is an ugly broken hole of about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy consideration: whether this part be decayed by time, or has been dug away for curiosity, or hopes of discovering some hidden treasure, is uncertain. On the left hand, adjoining to the narrow entrance, climbing up a steep and massy stone, 8 or 9 feet in height, one enters on the lower end of the first gallery; the pavement of which rises with a gentle acclivity, consisting of smooth polished marble, and where not smeared with dust and filth, appearing of a white and alabaster colour; the sides and roof of unpolished stone, not so hard and compact as that of the pavement; the breadth of this gallery d is almost 5 feet, the height about as much, and the length 110 feet. At the end of it there are two passages, one low and horizontal, or level with the ground, and the other high and rising like the former. At the entry of the lower passage, on the right hand, is the well mentioned by *Pliny*, which is circular, and a little above 3 foot diameter: the sides are lined with white marble, and the descent is by fixing the hands and feet in little open spaces cut in the sides within, opposite and answering to one another in a perpendicular; which is the contrivance for descending into most of the wells and cisterns at *Alexandria*. This well might lead to the vault abovementioned; but it is almost now stopped up with rubbish, and not above 20 feet deep.

LEAVING the well, and going strait on the distance of 15 feet, one enters another e passage opening against the former, and of the same dimensions, the stones of which are very massy, and exquisitely joined. This passage runs in a level 110 feet, and leads to an arched vault or chamber, standing due east and west, of a grave-like smell, and half full of rubbish; its length not quite 20 feet, the breadth about 17, and the height less than 15; the walls are entire, and plaistered over with lime; the roof is covered with large smooth stones, not lying flat but shelving, and meeting above in an angle. On the east side of this room, in the middle of it, *Greaves* says there seems to have been a passage leading to some other place; but neither *Thevenot* nor *Le Bruyn* could discover any such.

RETURNING back through the narrow horizontal passage, you climb over it, and f enter into the other, or second gallery, on the left, divided from the first gallery by the wall, in which is the entrance to the last-mentioned passage. This second gallery is a very stately piece of work, and not inferior, either in curiosity of art or richness of materials, to the most sumptuous and magnificent buildings: it rises with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in length 154 feet from the well below; but if measured on the pavement, somewhat less, by reason of a little vacuity of about 15 feet, before described, between the well and the square hole: the height of it is 26 feet, and the breadth 6,870 feet, of which one half is to be allowed for the way in the midst,

\* *PLIN.* ubi sup.

(K) In the following description we have only given the measures of *Greaves*, though other travellers vary both from him and one another therein.

But we did not think those variations considerable enough to be particularly set down.

- a there being a stone bench on each side of the wall, a little more than a foot in breadth, and as much in depth. On the top of these benches, near the angle where they close with the wall, are little spaces, cut in right angled parallel figures, set in each side opposite to one another; intended, no question, for some other end than ornament. The stone of which this gallery is built, is a white and polished marble, very evenly cut in large tables; and the joints are so close, that they are scarce discernable by a curious eye: but what adds grace to the whole structure, though it makes the passage the more slippery and difficult, is the acclivity and rising of the ascent. However, the going up is not a little facilitated by certain holes made in the floor, about six hands breadth from one another, into which a man may set his feet, while he holds by the
- b bench with one hand. In the ranging of the marble tables, in both the side walls, there is one piece of architecture very graceful; and that is, that all the courses, which are but seven, do set and flag over one another about three inches, the bottom of the upper course oversetting the higher part of the next below it, in order as they descend.

HAVING passed this admirable gallery, one enters another square hole, of the same dimensions with the former, which leads into two small antichambers, or closets, lined with a rich and speckled kind of *Thebaic* marble. The first of these is almost equal to the second, which is of an oblong figure, one side containing 7 feet, and the other 3 and a half: the height is 10 feet, and the floor level. On the east and west sides, within 2 feet and an half of the top, which is somewhat larger than the bottom, are three semicircular cavities, or little seats.

THE inner antichamber is separated from the former by a stone of red speckled marble, which hangs in two mortices (like the leaf of a sluice) between two walls, more than 3 feet above the pavement, and wanting 2 of the roof. From this second closet you enter another square hole, over which are five lines cut parallel and perpendicular; besides which, no other sculptures or engravings are observed in the whole pyramid (L). This square passage is of the same wideness as the rest, and in length near 9 feet, being all of *Thebaic* marble most exquisitely cut, and landing you at the north end of a very sumptuous and well proportioned room. The distance from

d the end of the second gallery to this entry, running upon the same level, is 24 feet.

THIS magnificent and spacious chamber, in which art may seem to have contended with nature, the curious work being not inferior to the rich materials, stands as it were in the heart and centre of the pyramid, equidistant from all the sides, and almost in the midst between the basis and the top. The floor, the sides, and the roof of it are all made of vast and exquisite tables of *Thebaic* marble, which, if they were not obscured by the steam of torches, would appear glittering and shining. From the top of it descending to the bottom there are about six ranges of stone, all which being respectively sized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the same altitude run round the room. The stones which cover this chamber are of a stupendous length, like so many

e huge beams lying flat and traversing the room, and withal supporting that infinite mass and weight of the pyramid above. Of these there are nine which cover the roof; two of them are less by half in breadth than the rest, the one at the east end, and the other at the west. The length of the chamber on the south side, most accurately taken at the joint or line where the first and second row of stones meet, is 34,380 *English* feet; the breadth of the west side, at the joint or line where the first and second row of stones meet, is 17,190 feet; and the height 19 feet and a half.

WITHIN this glorious room stands the monument of *Cbeops* or *Ckemmis*, of one piece of marble, hollow within, uncovered at the top, and sounding like a bell; which last particular is mentioned not as a rarity, but because some authors have taken notice

f of it as such. Some write that the body has been removed hence; but it has been already observed that the founder was not buried in it. This monument is of the same kind of stone with which the whole room is lined, being a speckled marble, with black, white and red spots, as it were equally mixed, which some call *Thebaic* marble; but Mr. *Greaves* rather conceives it to be that sort of porphyry which *Pliny* calls *Leucostictos*, of which there were, and still are an infinite number of columns in *Egypt*; though *Burretini*, who accompanied him, imagined this kind of marble came from mount *Sinai*, where he affirmed the rocks to be of the same colours, and that he

(L) It may therefore be justly wondered whence the *Arabians* borrowed those vain traditions, that all sciences are inscribed within the pyramids in hieroglyphics; and also upon what authority *Cornelius* (or rather *Ælius*) *Gallus* is said to have therein engraven his victories (1).

(1) XIPHIL. in *Cæs. Aug.*



had seen among them a great column of the same marble left imperfect, almost as big a as that called *Pompey's pillar*, near *Alexandria*.

THE figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely set together; it is cut smooth and plain, without any sculpture or engraving. The outward superficies is in length 7 feet 3 inches and a half, and in depth 3 feet 3 inches and 3 quarters. The hollow inside is in length on the west side 6,488 feet, in breadth at the north end 2,218 feet, and in depth 2,860 feet. As this monument could not have been brought hither thro' the abovementioned narrow passages, it is supposed to have been raised and placed there before the roof of the chamber was closed. It stands exactly in the meridian, or due north and south, and as it were equidistant from all sides of the chamber, except the east, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the west. Under it there is a little hollow space dug away, and a large stone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining to it, which *Sandys* imagined to be a passage into some other apartment, but more probably done in hopes of finding some treasure hidden there; it being a superstitious prodigality practised by the antients, and continued to this day in the *East-Indies*, to conceal money in their sepulchres. In the south and north sides of the chamber there are two inlets opposite to one another, seven tenths of a foot broad, four tenths of a foot deep, evenly cut, and running in a straight line 6 feet and farther into the thickness of the wall: that on the south side is larger and somewhat round, not so long as the former, and by the blackness within seems to have been made use of for setting of lamps in.

THIS is all that is to be seen within this first pyramid; but there is one thing more to be observed, and that is a very surprizing echo, which *Plutarch* takes notice of, and says, that it answers four or five times<sup>a</sup>; but a late traveller assures us, that it repeats no less than ten or twelve times very distinctly<sup>b</sup>. If we consider the narrow entrance of the pyramid, and the length of the two galleries, which all lie as it were in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we need not be at a loss to account for this effect; for the sound being shut in, and carried in those smooth passages, as in so many pipes or trunks, finding no issue out, reflects on itself, and causes a circulation of the air, which by degrees vanishes as the motion ceases<sup>c</sup>.

The second pyramid.

SCARCE the flight of an arrow distant from the first, toward the south, stands the second pyramid, of which, besides the miracle, both antient and modern writers have delivered very little. *Herodotus* says it falls short of the other in magnitude, he having measured them both, but he does not give the dimensions: he adds, that it has no subterraneous chambers, neither is the *Nile* conveyed into it by a channel, as into the former, but that it is of equal altitude<sup>d</sup>. *Diodorus* is somewhat more particular, and tells us, that for the architecture it is like the former, but much inferior to it in respect of magnitude, each side of the basis containing a stadium, or 600 *Grecian* feet, in length<sup>e</sup>; so that, by his computation, each side should want 100 *Grecian* feet of the former pyramid. *Pliny* makes the difference to be greater by 46 feet<sup>f</sup>. Most of the modern travellers do also agree this pyramid to be less than the other<sup>g</sup>. *Thevenot* makes it but 631 feet square<sup>h</sup>. However *Strabo* supposes these pyramids to be equal<sup>i</sup>; and *Mr. Greaves*, on the credit of a person who measured the second with a line, assures us the bases of both are alike; and that the height taken by a deliberate conjecture (which it is easy to do by reason of the nearness of this and the former, and their standing on the same plain) is not inferior to that of the first. This pyramid has no entrance, and is built of white stones, not near so vast as those of the first; the sides rise not with degrees like that, but are smooth and equal; the whole fabric (except where it is opposed to the south) seeming very entire, free from any deformed breaches<sup>j</sup>.

The priests lodgings near it.

ON the north and west sides of this second pyramid are two very stately and elaborate pieces about 30 feet in depth, and above 1400 in length, cut out of the rock in a perpendicular, and squared by the chissel; being designed, as is supposed, for lodgings of the *Egyptian* priests. They run parallel to the two sides of the pyramid, at a convenient distance from it, and meeting in a right angle make a very fair prospect. The entrance is by square openings hewn out of the rock, much of the same size with the narrow passages of the first pyramid, each leading into a square chamber, arched above with the natural rock. In most of them was a passage opening into some other apartments, but dark, and full of rubbish. On the north side without, there is a line engraven in sacred *Egyptian* characters<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. de placitis Philos. l. 4. c. 20.

<sup>b</sup> LUCAS, ubi sup. tom. I. p. 43.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. GREAVES;

ubi sup. p. 67—101. THEVENOT, part. 1. c. 5. LE BRUYN, tom. II. DELLA VALLE, lit. 11. p. 359, &c.

<sup>d</sup> HEROD. l. 2.

<sup>e</sup> DIODOR. SIC. l. 1.

<sup>f</sup> PLIN. l. 36. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> RADZIVIL. p. 163. LUCAS,

ubi sup. p. 46. SANDYS, p. 102, &c.

<sup>h</sup> THEVEN. ubi sup.

<sup>i</sup> STRABO, l. 17.

<sup>j</sup> GREAVES,

ubi sup. p. 103, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid p. 106, &c.

- a** The third pyramid stands at the distance of about a furlong from the second, on *The third pyramid.* an advantageous rising of the rock, whereby afar off it seems equal to the former, though the pile be much less and lower. *Herodotus* says it is 300 feet on every side (M), and to the middle built of *Ethiopic* marble<sup>1</sup>. *Diodorus* gives the same dimensions of the basis, and adds, that the walls were raised fifteen stories with black stone, like *Thebaic* marble, and the rest finished with such materials as the other pyramids are built with; that this piece of work, though it be exceeded by the two former in magnitude, yet for the structure, art, and magnificence of the marble, it far excels them; and that in the side towards the north, the name of *Mycerinus*, the founder, is engraved. *Pliny* writes to the same effect, except only that he makes this pyramid 363 feet between the angles<sup>2</sup>. *Belon* tells us, that it is but a third part greater than that of *Cæsius* at Rome; and that it is still perfect, and no more decayed than if it had been newly built, consisting of a kind of *Ethiopic* marble called *Basaltis*, harder than iron itself<sup>3</sup>. The descriptions of others of the moderns agree with this in substance, only differing as to some circumstances; so that they all seem to have copied *Herodotus*, or one another, and surfeited with the view of the two other pyramids, not to have been near this, since they so constantly agree in what is most evidently false; for they have mistaken both the quality of the stone, and the colour of the pyramid, the whole appearing to be of a clear and white stone, somewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the two other pyramids: there are indeed the ruins of a pile of buildings on the east side of it, of a sad and dusky colour, which might be the occasion of the error. But *Belon*, and those who follow him, are more inexcusable in making this pyramid but a third part greater than that of *Cæsius*, which exactly measured, on that side which stands within the city, is completely 78 *English* feet in breadth, to which if we add a third part, the result will be 104, which should be equal to this *Egyptian* pyramid. An unpardonable oversight, of no less than 200 feet in a very little more than 300. For so much, besides the authority of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, Mr. *Greaves* takes the side of this pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the same proportion. The name of *Mycerinus* is not now to be seen on it, the engraving having been defaced by time<sup>4</sup>.
- d** To the descriptions of these three pyramids, we shall add that of a fourth, which *A fourth pyramid.* stands near the *mummies*, and which we take to be that remarkable one mentioned above. This pyramid would fall nothing short of the beauty of the first, if it had been finished: it has 148 steps of large stones like the first pyramid; the platform of it is not even, the stones being set together without order, which shews that it has not been finished, and yet it is much more antient than the other; as is evident by the stones which are all worn out and crumbled into sand. It is 643 feet square, and has its entry at the fourth part of its height on the north side, as the former, being distant from the east side 316 feet, and by consequence 327 from the west. There is but one passage into it, 3 feet and a half broad, and 4 feet high, which reaching 267 feet downwards, ends in a hall with a sharp arched roof 25 feet and a half in length, and 11 in breadth. In the corner of the hall there is another passage or gallery parallel to the horizon, 3 feet square within, and 9 feet and a half long, which leads to another chamber, 21 feet in length and 11 in breadth, with a very high arched roof also, having at the west end a square window raised 24 feet and two thirds from the floor, by which one enters into a passage, indifferent broad, and of a man's height, parallel to the horizon, and reaching in length 13 feet and 2 inches. There is a great room or hall at the end of this passage, with an arched roof, containing in length 26 feet 8 inches, and in breadth 24 feet and one inch: the floor of it is the natural rock, which on all sides is rough and unequal, leaving only a little smooth and even space in the middle, encompassed round with the rock, and much lower than the entry into the room or the foundation of the wall<sup>5</sup>.

In what manner these wonderful structures were erected, and by what contrivance the stones, especially those vast ones in the first, were raised to that height, has been the subject of much speculation. *Herodotus*, whose expressions are not very clear, supposes, that when they had laid the first range, they raised other stones thither from the

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 57. Vid. STRAB. ubi supr.

<sup>3</sup> PLIN. ubi supr.

<sup>4</sup> BELON. Observ. l. 2. c. 44. part 1. c. 6.

<sup>5</sup> GREAVES, ubi supr. p. 108, &c.

<sup>6</sup> THEVENOT. Voy.

(M) Yet he tells us that it wants but 20 feet on each side of the first pyramid, which must be a mistake; unless we charge it rather on the copies, and instead of 20 read 500 feet. Mr. *Littlebury*,

in his translation of *Herodotus*, supposes the meaning to be, that this pyramid was 20 feet lower than the former. As great a mistake as the other.

ground, by short engines made of wood; that when the stone was lodged on this row a it was put into another engine standing on the first step, from whence it was drawn up to the second row by another, there being as many engines as orders of stone; or else there might be but one engine, which they might remove as there was occasion. He says also, that the highest parts were first finished, and the rest in order, but last of all those that are lowest and next the ground<sup>m</sup>. *Diodorus* imagines the work was erected by the help of mounds, which he says the *Egyptians* pretended were raised of salt and nitre, and that they were dissolved and washed away by letting in the river<sup>n</sup>. With this writer *Pliny* agrees, adding, that others were of opinion that bridges were made of bricks, which, the work being ended, were distributed into private houses; conceiving that the *Nile* being much lower, could not come to wash them away<sup>o</sup>. *Greaves* b thinks it was done none of these ways; but that they first built a large tower in the midst reaching to the top; to the sides of which he conceives the rest of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like so many buttresses, still lessening in height, till at last they came to the lowermost degree. A difficult piece of building taken in the easiest projection.

If what the antients deliver be true, that the stones made use of in the building of these pyramids, were fetched either from the quarries in the *Aralian* mountains, *Thebais*, or *Ethiopia*, we need not be surprized when we are told, that *Cheops* employed 100,000 men in this labour, 10,000 every three months<sup>p</sup>. But some modern travellers observing that these structures are built not with marble, but with a white sandy stone, and very hard, rather believe it was dug out of the rock whereon they stand<sup>q</sup>. We think a middle opinion the most probable; that the aforesaid rock indeed supplied them with great part of the materials, but that the marble of the inner rooms and passages was brought thither from some other place. *Wansleb* imagines the greatest pyramid to be nothing but a rock cut in that shape, and covered with a wall of stone<sup>r</sup>; a piece of work to our apprehension full as difficult as erecting a like mass of stones from the quarry.

*Diodorus* makes the number of men employed in building the first pyramid 360,000, and *Pliny* 366,000. It is agreed that twenty years were spent in the work: and *Herodotus* adds, that there was in his time an inscription on the pyramid, though it be since worn out, declaring how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlic for the workmen, which his interpreter told him amounted to no less than 1600 talents of silver, or about 413,333 *l. 6s. 8d.* sterling<sup>s</sup>. d

SOME late writers think there is no beauty in these structures, except their prodigious size<sup>t</sup>, though they might formerly be reckoned among the wonders of the world, when they were, as is supposed, cased with marble, before the latter kings of *Egypt* took it away to adorn their palaces<sup>u</sup>; which is a piece of history we cannot warrant. However, a very intelligent traveller judges them, in their present condition, worthy the magnificence of the old *Egyptian* kings; adding, that no prince now in the world (without disparagement to any) is able to raise such a pile of building<sup>v</sup>: and antient writers say, that they were magnificent beyond expression, and singly comparable to many of the greatest structures in *Greece* considered together; that they exceeded all other works in *Egypt*, not only in the massiness of the building, and in the expence, but also in the industry and skill of the workmen; the *Egyptians* themselves, thinking (very justly) that the architects were more to be admired than the kings who were at the expence; for the former erected them by their own abilities and contrivance, the latter by their wealth received by inheritance, and the labours of others<sup>w</sup>. e

ONE thing more remarkable in the first pyramid is, that the sides of it do stand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and consequently mark the true meridian of the place (N); which precise position could not well have been owing to chance, but was in all probability the effect of art and design; and that it was really f so, is confirmed by the same position of the tomb within. A permanent proof of the early progress made by the *Egyptians* in astronomy<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> HEROD. l. 2.

<sup>n</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 57.

<sup>o</sup> PLIN. ubi supr.

<sup>p</sup> HEROD. l. 2.

<sup>q</sup> THEVENOT, part I. c. 5. WANSLEB, ubi supr.

<sup>r</sup> WANSLEB, ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. HEROD.

DIODOR. & PLIN. ubi supr.

<sup>t</sup> FIGUEROA Emb. di Persia. SICARD Mem. des. Mus. tom. II.

p. 281.

<sup>u</sup> SICARD, ibid.

<sup>v</sup> THEVENOT, ubi supr.

<sup>w</sup> HEROD. & DIODOR.

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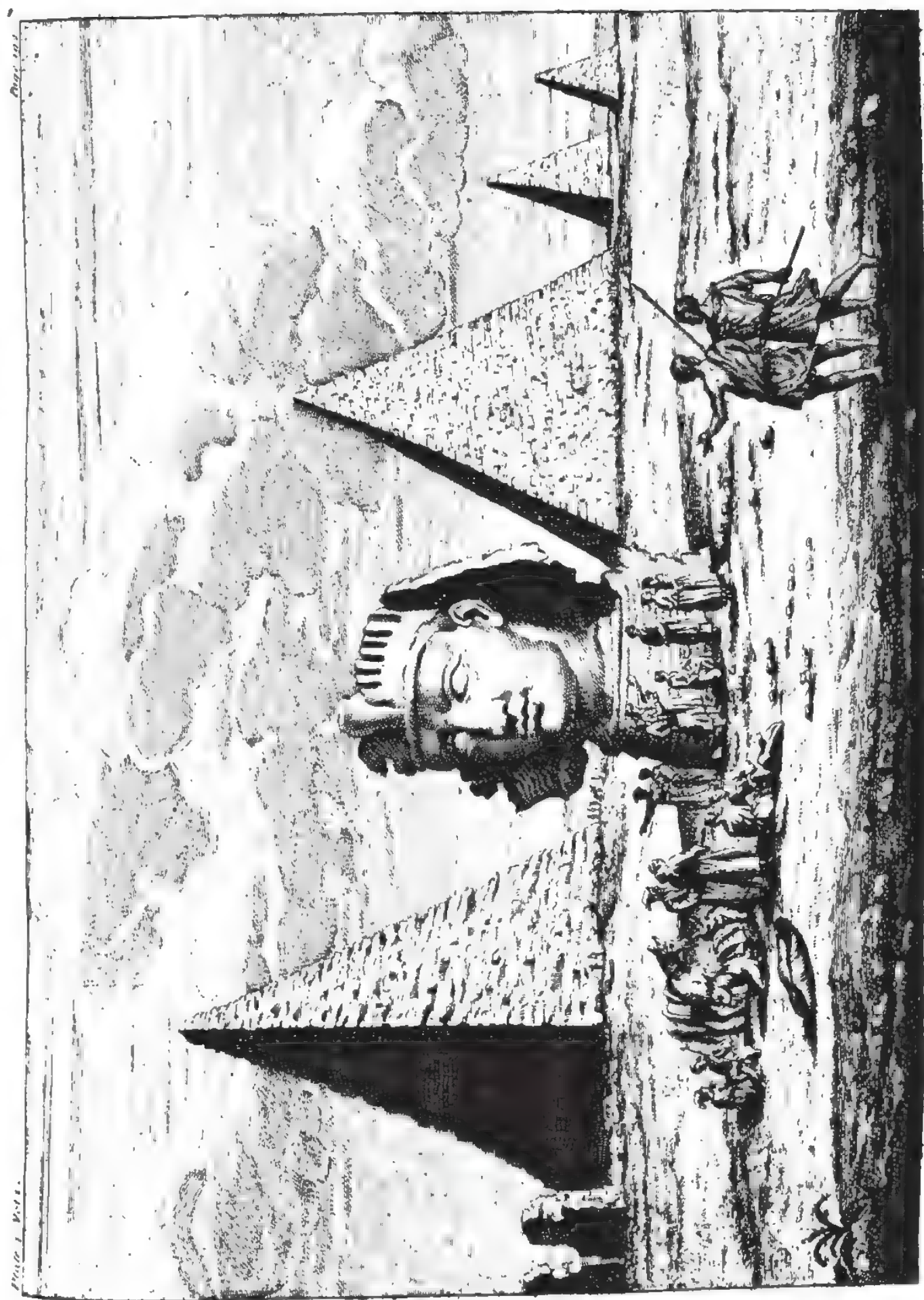
<sup>x</sup> Vid. FONTENELLE, Elog. de M. DE CHAZELLES, p. 91. LUCAS, tom. I. p. 336

(N) M. de Chazelles, who made this observation, and was on the spot in the year 1693, being an excellent mathematician, we shall here set down the dimensions of this pyramid as taken by him, and the rather, because they come the nearest to

those of Mr. Greaves. The side of the base is, according to this gentleman, 110 toises, which is, as we compute, 704,880 *English* feet; and the perpendicular height 77 toises and 3 quarters, or 498,122 *English* feet (1).

(1) Vid. ROLLIN. Hist. anc. tom. I. p. 20.

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J. Clark sculp. 1775.





<sup>a</sup> HERODOTUS mentions a bridge near this pyramid, and little less considerable than the pyramid itself: but there are now no remains of it to be seen. It was 40 stadia, or about 5 miles in length, 60 feet broad, and in the highest part 80 feet in altitude; all of polished stones, and carved with the figures of various animals. This was the work of ten years<sup>1</sup>.

HAVING been so diffusive in the description of the pyramids of *Memphis*, we may be excused taking notice of those which are to be seen in other parts of *Egypt*; <sup>Other pyra- mids.</sup> observing only that they are not all of the same form, some being round and almost like a sugar-loaf, and others rising with a lesser inclination, and not so pointed at the top<sup>2</sup>. *Lucas* assures us, that there are no less than twelve pyramids near the cataracts, <sup>Of the laby- rinth.</sup> and two in *al Fezzum*, nothing inferior to those of *al Kabira*<sup>3</sup>.

THE *Egyptian* labyrinth, from whence *Dædalus* is supposed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in *Crete*, though he therein imitated but the hundredth part of it<sup>4</sup>, was a celebrated structure; and yet *Herodotus*, who saw it, says that it far surpassed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids<sup>5</sup>. As there were at least three buildings of this kind, ancient writers not distinguishing them, generally speak of but one, and consequently with great confusion and disagreement.

THEY tell us it stood in the *Heracleotic* nome, near the city of *Crocadiles*, or *Arfinoe*, a little above the lake *Maris*<sup>6</sup>. *Pliny* says it was built by *Petefuccus*, or *Tithoes*, one of the demigods, 4600 years before his time; but that *Demoteles* would have it to be the place of *Motherudes*; *Lyceas* the sepulchre of *Maris*; and others the temple of the sun<sup>7</sup>. It is recorded by *Manetho*, that *Lachares* or *Labares*, the successor of *Sesoftris*, provided a labyrinth for his monument<sup>8</sup>. And *Diodorus* writes, that *Mendes* or *Mauris* also built one for the same purpose, which was not so considerable on account of its magnitude, as for the artificial contrivance of it<sup>9</sup>: but this seems to be a different building from that described by him a little after, which is in all probability the same with the labyrinth of *Herodotus*; for they both agree in the situation, that it was the work of twelve kings, among whom *Egypt* was at one time divided; and that they built it at their common charge, as a publick monument of their reign, and were <sup>d</sup> buried there<sup>10</sup>.

THIS structure seems to have been designed as a *pantheon*, or universal temple of all the *Egyptian* deities, which were separately worshipped in the provinces. It was also the place of the general assembly of the magistracy of the whole nation, those of all the provinces or *nomes* meeting here to feast and sacrifice, and to judge causes of great consequence<sup>11</sup>. And for this reason every *nome* had a hall or place appropriate to it; the whole edifice containing, according to *Herodotus*, twelve; *Egypt* being then divided into so many kingdoms. But *Pliny* makes the number of these palaces sixteen, and *Strabo*, as it seems, twenty seven<sup>12</sup>. The first of these writers tells us, that the halls were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors opposite to one another, six opening to the north, and six to the south, all encompassed by the same wall; that there were three thousand chambers in this edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper part, and as many under ground; and that he viewed every room in the upper part, but was not permitted by those who kept the palace, to go into the subterraneous parts, because the sepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of the kings who built the labyrinth were there. He reports, that what he saw seemed to surpass the art of man: so many ways out by various passages, and infinite returns, afforded a thousand occasions of wonder, as he passed from the spacious hall to a chamber; from thence to a private cabinet; then again into other passages out of the cabinets, and out of the chambers into the more spacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within were incrusted with marble; but <sup>f</sup> the walls farther adorned with figures of sculpture. The halls were surrounded with pillars of white stone finely polished; and at the angle where the labyrinth ends, stood the pyramid formerly mentioned<sup>13</sup>, which *Strabo* will have to be the sepulchre of the prince who built the labyrinth<sup>14</sup>.

To this description of *Herodotus* others add, that it stood in the midst of an immense square, surrounded with buildings at a great distance; that the porch was of *Parian* marble, and all the other pillars of marble of *Cyene*; that within it were the temples of their several deities, and galleries, to which one ascended by 90 steps, adorned with many columns of porphyry, images of their gods, and statues of their kings,

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> LUCAS, Voy. tom. II. p. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, tom. I. p. 99, and II. p. 75.

<sup>d</sup> DIODOR. SIC. l. I. p. 55.

<sup>e</sup> HEROD. l. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>g</sup> PLIN. l. 36. c. 13.

<sup>h</sup> PLIN.

<sup>i</sup> SYMCELL. Chronogr. p. 59, 60.

<sup>j</sup> DIOD. ubi sup.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 59. HEROD.

<sup>l</sup> ubi sup.

<sup>m</sup> STRABO, l. 17. p. 1165.

<sup>n</sup> See the places above quoted.

<sup>o</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>p</sup> See before, p. 185 a.

<sup>q</sup> STRAB. ubi sup.

of monstrous size; that the whole edifice consisted of stone, the floors being laid with a vast tables, and the roof appearing like a field of stone; that the passages met, and crossed each other with so much intricacy, that it was impossible for a stranger to find his way either in or out, without a guide; and that several of the apartments were so contrived, that on opening of the doors, there was heard within a terrible noise of thunder<sup>a</sup>.

WE shall subjoin part of the description given by *Diodorus* of a fabric, which though he does not call it a labyrinth, but a sepulchre, yet it appears to be the same we are now speaking of. He says it was of a square form, each side being a furlong in length, built of most beautiful stone, the sculpture and other work of which posterity could not exceed; that when one had passed the outer enclosure, a building presented itself b to view surrounded by a piazza, every side consisting of 400 pillars; and that it contained the ensigns or memorials of the country of each king; and was in all respects a work so sumptuous, and of such vast dimensions, that if the twelve princes who began it, had not been dethroned before it was finished, the magnificence of it could never have been surpassed. Whence it seems, that *Pjammetichus*, one of the twelve, who, expelling his associates, made himself master of all *Egypt*, finished the design, but not with a grandeur answerable to the rest of the structure; though *Mela* attributes the glory of the whole to that king<sup>c</sup>.

THE solidity of this wonderful building was such, that it withstood for many ages not only the rage of time, but that of the inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who worshipp- c ing the *ichneumon*, the mortal enemy of the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of *Arfinoe*, bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *labyrinth*, which served also for a sepulchre to the sacred crocodiles, and therefore assisted to demolish it. *Pliny* says it was remaining in his days, and that about 500 years before *Alexander*, *Circummon*, eunuch to king *Nectabis*, was reported to have bestowed some small reparations on it, supporting the building with beams of *Acacia*, or the *Ægyptian* thorn boiled in oil; while the arches of square stone were erecting<sup>d</sup>.

THOUGH the *Arabs* have also, since the days of *Pliny*, helped to ruin this structure, yet a considerable part of it is still standing almost at the south end of the lake *Marris*, a little to the east, and about ten leagues from the ruins of *Arfinoe*. The people of the d country call it the place of *Charon*, of whom we shall say something by and by.

THE remains we speak of retain yet some marks of the antient splendor of the whole. The first thing one sees is a large portico of marble, facing the rising sun, and sustained by four great pillars of marble also, but composed of several pieces: three of these pillars are still standing, and one of the two middle ones is half fallen. In the middle is a door, whose sides and entablature are very massy; and above is a frieze, whereon is represented a head with wings stretched out along the frieze, and several hieroglyphics underneath. This head is covered with a kind of vail, and surrounded with four points of marble, like rays; over this first entablature runs a frieze, the stones e of which are cut into the figures of serpents, very big below the head, but growing insensibly less to the tail. On this frieze are the ruins of several doors, in different stories, by which probably they entered into the apartments that were above, but they are at present entirely ruined: on each side of that in the middle there is an *Anubis* full of hieroglyphics.

THIS edifice resembles none of the four orders of architecture which we received from the antients. Having passed through the portico, one enters into a fine large hall, all of marble, the roof consisting of twelve tables of marble, exquisitely joined, each 25 feet long and three broad, which cross the room from one end to the other. The roof, being not arched (as *Herodotus* says) but flat, strikes one with admiration at the boldness of its architecture; it being scarce conceivable, how it could continue so f many ages in a position so improper to support so prodigious a weight. This hall is at present 40 feet high, without making any allowance for the dust and rubbish with which the floor is covered. At the end of this hall, over against the first door, there is a second portico, with the same ornaments as the first, but less, by which one enters into a second hall, not so big as the first, which is covered with eight stones. At the end of this room, strait forwards, there is a third portico, still less than the second, as well as the hall into which it leads, though it has thirteen stones to roof it. At the end of this third hall there is a fourth portico, set against the wall, and placed there for symmetry only, to answer the rest. The length of these three halls is the whole depth of the building in its present condition: it was on the two sides, and especially g

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. & STRABO, ubi sup.<sup>b</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. p. 59, 60:<sup>c</sup> POMPE. MELA. l. 1. c. 9.<sup>d</sup> PLIN. ubi sup. Vid. STRABO, p. 1166.

a under ground, that the prodigious number of rooms and avenues, mentioned by the antients, were built; the halls we have described having several openings made in them, through which one may go into other rooms on the same level, from whence there are stair-cases to go up into those above, and down into those under ground. Our author having first taken the precaution which *Ariadne* taught *Theseus*, and provided himself with above 2000 fathom of thread, and some chopped straw to strew in his way, went into above 150 of these chambers, and was often obliged either to creep on his belly, or to remove the rubbish which choaked up the passages; but with all his endeavours he was not able to go very far.

b To have a perfect idea of the construction of this edifice, you must imagine that you go from one chamber into another, sometimes into an alley, which has apertures in several places answering to other avenues, from which often, without perceiving it, you may come to the place from whence you set out. All these chambers and passages, where a perfect obscurity reigns, are not of equal dimensions, nor of the same figure; some being long, some square, and others triangular.

c THE disagreement which may be found between this relation and the accounts of the antients, and even among the several descriptions of the antients themselves, in a building of so great variety and extent, need not be wondered at. What is now remaining of it, seems to be no more than a fourth part of the inner edifice, which, in all probability, had four fronts, and twelve halls answering to them; the rest being decayed by time, or demolished by design, as appears from the prodigious ruins which are to be seen all round it.

How admirable soever the labyrinth was, yet the lake *Maris*, by which that monument stood, is said to be yet more wonderful. The antients make it no less than 3600 stadia in circumference\*, which is somewhat incredible (O); but later relations assure us, that it is not above half a league broad and a day's journey in length, being in circuit about 12 or 15 leagues<sup>†</sup>: which is prodigious enough, if we consider that it was the work of mens hands, as appeared from the two pyramids built in the midst of it, which were standing in the time of *Herodotus*. In the deepest parts it has 50 fathom of water. This lake stretches from north to south, and is not fed by the sea, d the adjacent country being excessively dry, but by water derived from the *Nile*, by a channel cut for that purpose, 80 stadia long and 300 feet broad, through which the water flowed into the lake six months of the year, and back again to the river the other six months: yet we are told, by a modern traveller, that there are two considerable springs in the lake, which keep it from becoming ever quite dry; though in those years that the *Nile* encreases but little, it has not much water, and then several fine ruins are discovered, which at other times are not to be seen<sup>‡</sup>.

e THIS lake was dug by a king of *Egypt*, called by *Herodotus* *Maris*, and by *Diodorus* *Myris*, whose name it afterwards received, to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*, by receiving the superfluous waters when that river rose too high, and thereby preventing their stagnation in other places to the detriment of the land, and by supplying water for the lands when the river failed; which was effected by many canals and ditches cut from the main channel<sup>§</sup>. These canals are still subsisting, and almost entire at this day, their number and structure being worthy admiration. And as they were of the greatest benefit to the antient inhabitants, so are they no less serviceable to the present, who, as has been observed, attribute these works, and indeed almost all other ancient works of public utility, to *Joseph*<sup>¶</sup>.

f THE canal of communication between the *Nile* and the lake, had antiently large sluices to let the water in or out as occasion required; and whenever they were either to be opened or shut, the charge of doing it was no less than 50 talents, or about 12,916 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* On the other hand, the lake brought in a very considerable revenue to the prince; the fishery, during the six months of the river's retreat, yielding a talent of silver, or about 258 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* every day to the royal treasury; and the rest

\* *LUCAS*, Voy. tom. II. p. 18, &c.

† *HEROD.* ubi sup. *DIODOR.* Sic. l. I. p. 49.

‡ *LUCAS*

Voy. tom. III. p. 63.

§ *LUCAS*, ubi sup. p. 53.

¶ *DIODOR.* ubi sup.

‡ *LUCAS*, ubi sup.

See before, p. 179, 2.

(O) *Pomponius Mela* makes the circuit of this lake no more than 20 miles; which being so very dissimilar from what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have delivered, the critics will have it to be a mistake in *Mela's* copy, and have corrected it by those authors (1); but, as we imagine, without reason:

though we must not dissemble the tradition of the people of the country, who say the lake was formerly much larger than it is now, and one place in particular, which the water has left, is become a dangerous quicksand, wherein men and cattle are sometimes lost (2).

(1) *Vid. VOSSIIUM & alios in Melam*, l. I. c. 9.

(2) *LUCAS*, ubi sup. p. 64, 71.

of the time 20 *mine*, or a fourth part of that sum; there being twenty two sorts of <sup>a</sup> fish in this lake, and in such plenty, that though a great number of people were employed in salting them, yet there wanted hands for the work. *Maris*, it is said, gave these revenues to his wife, to buy her ointments, or, as we express it, for pin-money. The earth dug for the making of the lake, was, as the *Egyptians* told *Herodotus*, carried to the *Nile*, and dispersed by the current of that river <sup>b</sup>.

THERE is an isle in the middle of the lake *Maris*, of about a league in circumference: but nothing is now to be seen of the two pyramids which were built here, though they say there are several ruins of temples and tombs in the isle, with large figures of men and animals. On the farther side of the lake there are some little <sup>c</sup> mountains with grottos in them, which were formerly made use of for sepulchres <sup>d</sup>.

THE inhabitants, at present, call this lake, *the lake of Charon*, concerning whom they tell the following story; that being a person of mean extraction, and resolved to get money by any means, he planted himself by this lake, and exacted of every corps that was ferried over to be interred a certain sum: though he did this without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the imposition for several years, till refusing passage to the dead body of the king's son, unless the usual sum were paid him, the cheat was discovered: however, he made the king so sensible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal authority, that he ordered it to be constantly paid for the future, appointing *Charon* his first minister, and confirming him in his old employment, which he made the first post in the kingdom. And *Charon* got such vast riches in it, that he became powerful enough to assassinate the king, and mount the throne in his stead <sup>e</sup>. There is so much correspondence between this fable and what the antients say of *Charon*, that we could not omit it.

TIME would fail us if we should go through an exact description of the other buildings and admirable works of the antient *Egyptians*, though perhaps they deserve it equally with what we have already mentioned; the very spoils of them making at this day the principle ornament of *Rome*; where is scarce a column or an obelisk worthy of note, but what has been formerly brought thither out of *Egypt*. We may, however, have an opportunity in the progress of this work to speak of what we here omit; and shall only take notice, as briefly as we can, of two or three things more, <sup>d</sup> which we judge extraordinary, and for which, we apprehend, we may not hereafter find a more proper place.

*A palace near  
the Cataracts.*

ONE is a most magnificent palace in the upper *Egypt*, not far from *Aswan*, the antient *Syene*; the ruins whereof are enough to strike a spectator with astonishment. It is as large as a little city, having four avenues of columns, leading to as many *porticos*. At each gate, between two pillars of porphyry, there stand two gigantic figures of fine black marble, armed with maces. The avenues consist of columns, set three and three together in a triangle on one pedestal; on the chapter of each triangle is placed a *Sphinx* and a tomb alternately. Every column is 70 feet high, all of one stone. There are in the whole, in all the four avenues, above five or six thousand of these <sup>e</sup> columns, a great many of which are fallen down.

THE first hall of this palace is painted with fine pieces of history, and it seems as if the painting had not been long finished. In some places they have represented the hunting of antelopes, in others feasts, and a great many young children playing with all kinds of animals. From hence you go into other apartments, encrusted with marble, the roofs being supported by pillars of porphyry and black marble. Notwithstanding the vast quantity of rubbish, our author made shift to get up to the top of this building, from whence he had a prospect of the ruins of the greatest city that had ever been, as he thought, in the world. He supposes it might be the antient *Thebes* <sup>f</sup>, though that city probably stood much lower.

*Grots near  
Osyut.*

THE grots near *Osyut* ought not to be omitted. One of them is large enough to contain above 600 horse in battle array: it is cut out of the rock by the chisel, and supported by vast square pillars of the same rock. In this grotto several little seats are made to rest on; and it seems, by some footsteps which still remain of them, that formerly the figures of several deities were painted there; but they are now almost entirely defaced. There are a great many other grots in the same mountain, more beautiful than this. They are ranged in order, with doors answering one another, on which there are several images of the antient gods of *Egypt* in *basso relievo*; some having a staff in their hand, as if they guarded the entrance. In these grottos various apartments have been made, and some well sunk; but, what is most wonderful of all, <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi supr.  
p. 98, &c.

<sup>b</sup> LUCAS, ubi supr.

<sup>c</sup> Idem.

<sup>d</sup> Idem. tom. I.

a at the farther end there are *catacombs* hollowed in the rock, where there are a great number of *mummies*, and tombs adorned with sculptures in *basso relievo*, which have been almost all disfigured by the *Arabs*. Our author went into above two hundred of these grotts, each of them more singular than the other; and he assures us there are above a thousand of them. It is surprizing to consider the time and number of men that must have been employed in a work of such difficulty; there being scarce a monument in any other part of the world, which carries such evidence of the power of those who executed it; for which reason the people of the country believe these grotts the work of *dæmons*, who have hid immense treasures in them. As to the time when they were cut, and for what purpose, it is in vain to expect any light from history<sup>d</sup>.

b AMONG the antiquities of *Dandera*, the antient *Tentyra*, there is standing part of a temple, or palace, of surprizing height and dimensions. The back-part of this structure is a vast wall, without any windows, built of large stones of greyish granite, covered with *basso relievo's* bigger than the life, representing the antient *Egyptian* deities, with all their attributes in different attitudes. Two lions of white marble, as big as horses, stand above half the length of their bodies out of the wall. The side is about 300 paces long, fill'd also with sculptures of the same kind, and has three lions jutting out, of the same size with the former. The front of this glorious edifice exposes to view, in the midst, a porch, sustained by square pilasters of a prodigious size; a large piazza supported by three rows of columns, one of which eight men can hardly fathom, extends itself on each side the porch, and bears up a flat roof, made of stones of 6 or 7 feet broad, and of an extraordinary length. This roof appears to have been formerly painted, and some colours, which time has spared, are still to be perceived. The columns, made of great stones of granite, and full of hieroglyphics in relief, have each, on their cornish, a capital composed of four womens heads, with their head-dress, set back to back, and appearing like the faces of a double *Janus*: these heads are of a proportion suitable to the columns: there is above them an *abacus* of a square stone, of about six feet high, somewhat longer than it is broad, which supports the roof. A kind of cornish, of a singular construction, runs all round this piazza; and in the middle, over the porch, there are two great serpents interwoven, whose heads rest on two large wings extended on each side. Though these columns are above half buried in the ruins, yet one may judge of their height by their circumference; and according to the proportions of architecture, they ought to be, at least, 44 or 45 feet high, and 120 including the basis with the capital. From this porch one enters directly into a large square hall, where there are three doors, opening into different apartments which lead still into others, supported also by a great many fine columns, though dark and full of rubbish.

A magnificent structure at Dandera.

As this edifice is almost entirely buried on one side under the ruins and heaps of stones, which have formed a kind of mountain, one may easily get up to the top; and to give some idea of its dimensions, it is sufficient to say that the *Arabs* had formerly built a very large town upon it, the ruins of which are still to be seen. At some distance from the front, there is a large arch of a beautiful order of architecture, and above 40 feet high, which seems to have been the first gate.

c THE tradition of the country is, that this was a temple of *Serapis*; which seems to be confirmed by a *Greek* inscription on the frize, wherein the name of that deity appears: but the whole is so imperfectly taken, that there is no making any certain judgment of it. They also pretend, that this temple had as many windows as there are days in the year, and that those windows were so disposed, that each answering to one of the degrees of the ecliptic, the sun every day saluted the deity who presided there, through them in order, one after another\*.

f WE shall conclude this section, which perhaps is already too long, with a reflexion made on occasion of this structure: That if in such cities as *Tentyra*, and some others of inferior note, there are found monuments of such exquisite beauty and grandeur, what ought we to think of those erected in the principal cities, which were the ordinary residence of the kings; as *Thebes*, *Memphis*, and *Alexandria*? and how great an idea ought we to entertain of the power and magnificence of the antient inhabitants of *Egypt*?

<sup>d</sup> *LUCAS*, ubi sup. tom. II. p. 76, &c.  
tom. II. p. 133, &c.

\* *SICARD*, Mem. des missions, tom. II. p. 158. *LUCAS*,  
<sup>f</sup> *LUCAS*, ibid. p. 139.



## S E C T. II.

*Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the antient Egyptians.*

*The antiquity of the Egyptians.*

THERE are few nations in the world which can pretend to an equal antiquity with the *Egyptians*. Their country is the only one in the world which has born the name of a son of *Noah*; though it be uncertain whether *Ham* himself made any settlement there. However, his son *Mizraim* certainly peopled *Egypt* with his own issue, which inhabited several parts of it, under the names of *Mizraim*, *Patrusim*, *Casluhim*, and *Caphthorim*.

AND yet the *Egyptians* themselves, being ignorant of their true descent, pretended even to a greater antiquity than this, asserting themselves to have been the first men in the world, which, (as well as animals) they imagined must have been originally produced in their country, rather than in any other part of the world, because of the benign temperature of the air, the natural fecundity of the *Nile*, and its spontaneous bringing forth several kind of vegetables, as proper food for the newly-produced men and animals. And to support this opinion by fact, they instanced in the great numbers of mice which were every year bred out of the mud left by the *Nile* on its retreat, some of them, as they say, appearing alive, and formed so far as the fore-part of the body only, the other part being inanimate and without motion, as having not yet quite put off the nature of earth<sup>b</sup>. That the concurrence of proper causes, in certain seasons, will occasion a prodigious encrease of those vermin, is observed in other countries; but as to the other part of the relation, it is not improbable, that the mice which are generated at that season in *Egypt*, are of the same kind with those mentioned by antient authors to breed in that country, and some other parts which have but two legs<sup>c</sup>, and which an incurious spectator might therefore easily take to be imperfect animals, and but half formed. On this mistaken notion of their original, the *Egyptians* built their history, reckoning an extravagant number of years, during which they pretended they had the most flourishing kingdom in the world, under the administration of their own native kings. However, we are told, that in the time of *Pjammethicus* they acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more antient, yielding that nation the priority, and challenging only the second rank to themselves<sup>d</sup>.

*Their government and laws.*

THE *Egyptians* are said to have been the first who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life easy, and a people happy; the true end of politicks. Their laws and institutions were not only highly revered by those who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the *Greeks*, whose first sages and law-givers travelled into this country to acquaint themselves therewith, and borrowed thence the best part of those which they afterwards established at home.

*Their king's manner of life.*

THE crown of *Egypt* was hereditary; their first kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleasure, subject to the controul of none; but they were obliged to conform themselves to the established laws of the land, not only in the management of publick affairs, but even in their private way of life. No slave bought with money, or servant born in their own house, was admitted into their service; but they were attended by the sons of the priests of most distinguished birth; who, after having had a suitable education, were at the age of twenty placed about the king's person; that being waited on both day and night by men of such extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majesty, and be in the less danger of falling into any vicious excess; which princes seldom do, unless they find, among those who approach their persons, encouragers of their debauchery, and ministers of their passions.

THERE were stated hours of night as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indispensably obliged to give attention to business and serious employment. When he arose early in the morning, the first thing he did was to peruse the publick dispatches and letters which came from several parts of his dominions, that so he might be well acquainted with the state and affairs of his kingdom. Then bathing himself, and putting on splendid attire, and assuming the ensigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to sacrifice, the victims being brought to the altar,

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 9.

<sup>c</sup> THEOPHRAST. in fragm. de animalibus.

PLIN. nat. hist. l. 10. c. 65. HEROD. l. 4.

<sup>d</sup> HEROD. l. 2. sub. init. See before p. 151. not. U.

a the chief priest, in the presence of the king and the assistants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and prosperity of the king, who governed according to justice and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occasion he enlarged on his royal virtues, observing that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, just, magnanimous, of strict veracity, liberal, master of himself, punishing below, and rewarding above desert. He then spake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed thro' surprize or ignorance; but withal absolving him, and laying the guilt on his ministers and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of virtue; not by sharp admonitions, but by the pleasing praises due to good actions. The sacrifices being duly performed, the scribe read out of b the sacred records such of the counsels and actions of the most famous men as might be of use in life and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby be instructed to govern his state by their maxims, and regulate his administration, in every respect, according to the established laws.

Now was the king obliged to this exactness in public affairs only; but he was so little master of himself in private, that he could not take the air, lie with his queen, bathe, or do the most indifferent thing, but at certain times, which were particularly appointed and set apart for this or that purpose. He was not permitted to chuse what he would eat, but his table was furnished with the most simple food, generally veal or goose; and he was allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink. And this regulation was so moderate, that it seemed not to have been the institution of a legislator, but the prescription of an experienced physician for the preservation of health; c to which it was so conducive, that one of the kings of *Egypt*, named *Tachos*, who had the best of constitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retiring into *Persia*, soon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation\*. It is said, that there was, in a certain temple in *Thebes*, a pillar, with an inscription on it, containing imprecations against a king, who had first introduced luxury among the *Egyptians*†.

So great a restraint laid on the prince in matters seemingly of little consequence, is indeed extraordinary; but what deserves greater admiration is, that it was not in his d power to satisfy more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppressing the subject; for he could not punish any person out of passion or caprice, nor give judgment in any case otherwise than as the laws ordained. And all this was so far from being thought hard or dishonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they esteemed it a singular blessing, that while other men were subject to the ill consequences of indulging their natural passions, themselves were exempt from such dangers, by living up to a rule of life approved by the most prudent persons. While the princes behaved themselves with this justice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people; not only the colleges of priests, but the whole *Egyptian* nation, being more solicitous for the king's safety, than that of their wives, children, or possessions. Wherefore, so long as e these laws were observed, their state was flourishing, and the people happy; they extended their dominions by the conquest of several nations, became exceeding rich and populous, and enabled to adorn the several provinces of the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence‡.

THE affection of the *Egyptians* to their king appeared in nothing more than in *The Honours* the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them when dead; for upon the death of any of their kings, the whole kingdom went into mourning, rendering their garments, shutting up their temples, and putting a stop to all sacrifices, feasts, and solemnities, for the space of seventy two days. Companies of 200 or 300, both men and women, having thrown dirt on their heads, and being girt with linen f girdles, marched solemnly in procession twice a day, singing his praise in mournful dirges, calling on the virtue of the deceased. All this while they abstained from flesh and wheat, as also from wine and all delicacies; they neither bathed nor anointed themselves, nor slept in their beds, nor used the company of their wives; but every one mourned both night and day, as for the loss of a beloved son. In the mean time, the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the last day, the body was exposed in a coffin at the entrance of the sepulchre, where, in pursuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at free liberty to accuse him. The priests pronounced his elogy; and if it so happened that the deceased had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude assembled on the occasion, seconded the applause of the priest; but if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expressed their

\* *ÆLIAN*. var. hist. l. 5. c. 1.  
Sic. l. 1. p. 63, &c.

† *PLUTARCH* de Isid. & Oirid. p. 345.

‡ *DIODOR.*

disapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceased prince should be honoured with a solemn burial, which through their dislike was denied to several. Upon which account (among others) and lest their dead bodies should be abused, and their memory blasted with eternal infamy, they did their utmost to deserve the good opinion of their subjects by an unblamable conduct.

The political  
division of the  
kingdom.

As to the administration of public affairs, each *nome* or province had its peculiar governor, who ordered and took care of every thing within his jurisdiction. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted to the priests, and the revenues thereof were employed not only for the maintenance of them and their families, but for the providing sacrifices and all other expences of public worship. The second belonged to the king, and was appropriated to defray the charges of his wars, and for the support of the regal dignity with splendor. By such an abundant provision, he was enabled liberally to reward men of distinguished merit; and had no occasion to lay any burdensome taxes on his people. The third part was the soldiers, who having so handsome a maintenance, were thereby encouraged to venture their lives in defence of their country: for they thought it absurd to trust the safety of the whole nation in the hands of those who had nothing dear or valuable at home to fight for.<sup>a</sup>

HERODOTUS says the *Egyptians* were distinguished into seven orders of men; priests, soldiers, herdsmen, hogherds, traders, interpreters, and seamen; who took their names from the professions they exercised.<sup>b</sup> But *Diodorus* mentions no more than five; priests, soldiers, shepherds, husbandmen, and artificers, including probably some of the former denominations under some of these.

Of the prie?<sup>ts</sup>.

THE king, priests, and soldiery made as it were the three estates of the kingdom. The priests were held in great reverence and esteem, not only for their attendance on the worship of their gods, but because by their learning and prudence they were of great service to the state; being for that reason always near the king's person, as the chief of his council, to assist him with their advice, to give their judgment as to the event of any enterprize, by their skill in astrology, and in divination by inspection of the sacrifices; and to read useful points of history out of the sacred commentaries. These were exempt from all taxes, and were the next in power and dignity to the king.<sup>c</sup>

THE priests wore linen garments and shoes, being not permitted to dress in any other manner; they took particular care to wash them often, and have them always clean: and for greater neatness, they shaved all parts of their bodies once in three days, and bathed constantly twice by day, and twice by night in cold water, with a great deal of superstition. The service of every god was performed, not by one, but by many priests; and they had a chief-priest over them, in whose room, when he died, his son was substituted. The priesthood enjoyed very great advantages, being never disturbed with domestic cares; for they eat the consecrated bread, and were daily furnished with beef and geese in abundance, and had also an allowance of wine; but they might not taste of fish. Beans, which were never eaten by the other *Egyptians*, the priests abhorred the sight of, accounting them impure and abominable: whence *Pythagoras* took the aversion he had to that kind of pulse.

Of the soldiery.

THE military men were called *Calasirians*, or *Hermotyrians*, according to the different *nomes* they inhabited. Those of the latter were the *nomes* of *Bufris*, *Sais*, *Chemmis*, *Papremis*, and one half of the island *Prosopis*, from whence 160,000 men might be drawn, when they were most numerous. The *nomes* of the *Calasirians* were those of *Thebes*, *Bubastis*, *Aphthis*, *Tanis*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, *Atkribis*, *Pharbatbus*, *Thmuis*, *Onuphis*, *Anytis* and *Myecphoris*; which last was situate in an island over-against the city of *Bubastis*. And these *nomes* of the *Calasirians* might furnish 250,000 men at the most. The soldiers of both denominations were not permitted to learn or exercise any mechanical art, but were obliged, from father to son, to apply themselves to the art of war only<sup>d</sup>; wherein it may be supposed they therefore made a more than ordinary proficiency: But their great excellency seems to have been in horsemanship, and the skill of guiding chariots; for which they were particularly and early famous, as appears from scripture.<sup>e</sup> For neglect of duty, flying in battle, or cowardice, they were punished only by marks of infamy; it being thought more advisable to keep them in order by the motive of honour, than the fear of chastisement.<sup>f</sup>

THE lands conferred on the militia were exempted from publick taxes, as well as those of the priests. The portion assigned to each man was 12 *arura*, every one con-

<sup>a</sup> DIONOR. ubi sup. p. 66.  
ubi sup.    <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.  
l. 1. p. 70.

<sup>c</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.    <sup>d</sup> DIONOR. ubi sup.  
<sup>e</sup> Exod. xiv. 7, &c. Cant. i. 9. Isa. xxxviii. 9.

<sup>f</sup> HEROD.  
<sup>g</sup> DIONOR:

a taining a square of 100 *Egyptian* cubits (A). The king's guard consisted of 1000 *Hermotybians*, and as many *Calasirians*, who were changed every year, that they might all have that honour and advantage in their turn. For besides the revenues of their lands, those that were on duty at court had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and two pints of wine. This liberal provision for the militia, was also an encouragement for them to marry, helping to people the country, and leaving behind them a succession of troops sufficient for the defence of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

But after all, the *Egyptians* cannot be said to have been a warlike nation; it being real and not imaginary combats that form a soldier. They rather extended their dominions by sending out colonies, than by their arms: however, we shall find some b conquerors of great fame among their kings.

We had almost forgot to observe, that if the *Egyptians* at any time created a new king by election (which sometimes happened) he was always chosen either out of the priests, or the soldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of priests, and initiated in their learning and mysteries<sup>2</sup>.

THE husbandmen taking the lands from the king, priests, and soldiers, at an easy rent, and employing themselves wholly in their tillage, and the son continually succeeding the father in the same occupation, they became the most expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The shepherds, in like manner, were always shepherds from generation to generation; and, by the observation of their fore-fathers, and their own experience, arrived at great skill in their way; endeavouring to vie with one another in contrivances to encrease the breed of the animals they fed. One thing in particular deserves to be mentioned, which was practised by those who fed hens and geese. For not contented with the ordinary way of natural encrease, they did not suffer them to sit, but themselves hatched the eggs by an artificial fecundation; and by that means raised prodigious flocks of those fowls<sup>3</sup>. The method was most probably by ovens, which are still used in *Egypt* for the same purpose, and much spoken of by travellers (B).

Of the inferior classes.

P HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi sup. / 2 PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 354. / 3 DIODOR. SIC. ubi sup.

(A) The *Egyptian Arura* must therefore have been somewhat more than three quarters of an *English* acre.

(B) It may not be amiss to give a short account of this method; which perhaps might be practicable in other countries as well as *Egypt*.

The houses built for this use have a long entry, on each side of which are fourteen ovens on the ground (some places have more, and some less;) the bottoms and sides of which are all of sun-dried bricks; upon them they put mats, and on the mats eggs. The tops of these ovens are flat, and covered with sticks, except two long channels or hearths of sun-dried bricks, three or four inches deep, wherein the fires are made, to heat the eggs lying under them in the lower ovens.

Above these lower ovens are so many other, also of sun-dried bricks, and arched at the top; where are some holes, which are stopped, or left open, as they please, to govern the heat in the ovens below. These upper ovens have not only mouths opening into the long entry, but mouths of communication with each other, and every one of them has two of the abovementioned hearths. The depth of the lower oven is about two feet and a half *English*; that of the upper above four.

They begin to heat the ovens in the middle of *January*, burning every morning one hundred *kintars* (or hundred weight) of camels or buffaloes dung, and the like proportion at night, till the middle of *February*; about which time the ovens are so hot, that one cannot well endure to lay his hand upon the walls.

After this they put the eggs into the ovens to hatch the chickens; which they continue successively to the end of *May*. The eggs are at first put on mats in the lower ovens, seven or eight thousand eggs in number, and laid only double, one upon another. In the upper ovens the fire is made in the long channels or hearths, from whence the

heat is conveyed into the lower ovens. The eggs which are directly under these hearths, lie treble one upon another; the rest, as was said, only double.

At night, when they make new fires in the hearths, they remove the eggs that were directly under them, and lay treble into the place of those which lay on the sides, and double only; and these being now removed lie treble under the hearth, because the heat is greater there than on the sides.

These eggs continue in the lower ovens fourteen days and nights; afterwards they remove them into the upper ovens, which are just over the lower. In those (there being now no more fire used) they turn all the eggs four times every twenty four hours. The twenty first, or twenty second day, the chickens are hatched; which the first day eat not; the second day they are fetched away and fed.

The master of the oven has a third part of the eggs for his cost and pains; out of which he is to make good unto the owners (who have two thirds in chickens for their eggs) if any happen to be spoiled or miscarry.

The fire in the upper ovens, when the eggs are placed in the lower, is thus proportioned. The first day the greatest fire; the second less than the first; the fourth less than the third; the fifth less; the sixth more than the fifth; the seventh less; the eighth more; the ninth without fire, the tenth a little fire in the morning; the eleventh they stop all the holes with flax or straw, making no more fire; for if they should, the eggs would break. They take care that the eggs be no hotter than the eye of a man, when they are laid upon it, can well endure.

When the chickens are hatched, they put them into the lower ovens, which are covered with mats. Under these mats is bran to dry them: and upon the mats straw for them to stand on.

(1) GREAVES'S *Manner of hatching chickens at Cairo*. Phil. Transf. N<sup>o</sup> 137. *Id.* LUCAS *Toy.* Vol. I. p. 279, &c.

THE law which obliged the son of the husbandman and shepherd to follow the a vocation of his father, extended to all arts and trades: for amongst the *Egyptians* a man was under an indispensable necessity of taking up his father's employment, and of applying himself wholly to that, without meddling with any other. Thus being cut off from all hopes of rising to the magistracy, and having no room left for popular ambition, they stuck closely to what they professed. They were never permitted to concern themselves with civil affairs; and if they happened to attempt it, or undertook any business that did not belong to their hereditary profession, they were severely punished.

Of their courts  
of justice.

THE *Egyptians* were very careful in the administration of justice; for they rightly b judged the sentences pronounced from the tribunals, to be of the greatest consequence to the public; and that as nothing could conduce more to the reformation of mens manners, than the punishment of offenders, and the relieving the oppressed; so nothing could be more destructive of society, or a greater cause of confusion, than the suffering of bribery or favour in such cases. For this reason, they were very scrupulous in the choice of their judges; who were men of the best reputation, and taken from the three chief cities, *Helopolis*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*, ten from each; so that their whole number was thirty. This tribunal was thought to be inferior neither to that of the *Areopagus* at *Athens*, nor to the *Lacedæmonian* senate.

THIS venerable assembly chose a president out of their own number, whose place, c as an inferior judge, was upon his election supplied by the city that sent him. Their salaries were paid by the king, who allowed the president a stipend proportioned to his superior rank; and that he might be more visibly distinguished from his brethren, he wore a chain of gold about his neck, from which hung an image of precious stones, which they called *truth*. Whenever the president assumed this ensign of his office, it signified that he was prepared to hear causes. The court being seated, and the eight books which contained all the laws, laid before them, the plaintiff preferred his complaint clearly and distinctly set forth in writing; a copy of which being granted to the defendant, he gave in his answer. To this the plaintiff replied, and then the defendant rejoined. Each party having given in two writings, the court took them in- d to consideration; and after consulting together, proceeded to sentence; and the president turned the effigies of *truth* towards the party in whose favour judgment was given. All this was done without the clamorous harangues of lawyers, who are too apt to disguise truth, or falsehood, to serve their turn, and pervert judgment by their specious rhetoric. The *Egyptians* therefore, sensible of the falacies of oratory, and the evil arts of public pleaders, banished them from the tribunal; nor would they even suffer a man to speak in his own cause, well knowing the advantage one person might have over another by more artful speaking, or greater confidence; but contented themselves with a simple and intelligible state of the case in writing, which being readily understood, was as readily decided. By which means every man stood upon the level with his antagonist, and nothing but the merits had any weight in the determination e of a cause.

Their remarkable  
laws.

HAVING spoken of their courts of judicature, it may not be amiss briefly to mention such of their laws as are most remarkable for their antiquity or use.

I. PERJURY was punished with death; it being looked on as sinful in the sight of the gods, and destructive of human society.

II. HE that saw a man killed, or violently assaulted on the highway, and did not endeavour to rescue him if he could, was punished with death. If it appeared that he was unable to give assistance, he was nevertheless obliged to discover and prosecute the offenders according to law; which if he neglected, he received a certain number f of stripes, and was kept without food for three days.

III. FALSE accusers underwent the same punishment as the accused should have undergone in case of conviction.

IV. EVERY *Egyptian* was enjoined to give in his name, and by what means he gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province where he lived. But if it could be proved that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living in an unlawful way, he was punished with death. This law was made by *Amasis*, and *Solon* is said to have introduced it, from *Egypt*, among the *Athenians* g.

V. HE that wilfully killed any person, whether freeman or slave, was condemned to die.

g Vid. HEROD. ubi sup.



a VI. PARENTS that killed their children were not adjudged to die; but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together; a guard being set over them to see that they punctually obeyed this law.

VII. BUT parricides were put to a most cruel death; first they had their limbs mangled and their flesh cut into small pieces with sharp reeds, after which they were laid upon thorns and burned alive.

VIII. WOMEN with child were not executed till they had been delivered; that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty.

IX. MUTINY and desertion were punished only by degradation and disgrace; which could never be wiped away but by brave actions and amendment.

b X. THOSE who betrayed their secret designs to the enemy, had their tongues cut out.

XI. COINING false money, using false weights, and forgery of all sorts, were punished by cutting off the offending parts, both the hands.

XII. HE that committed a rape on a free-woman, had his privities cut off; for they held a ravisher guilty of three most enormous crimes, having besides the injustice of the action, brought infamy on the woman, and bastardized her issue.

XIII. ADULTERY by consent, was punished in the man by giving him a thousand lashes with rods; and in the woman by the loss of her nose.

c XIV. ACCORDING to the commercial laws, which are said to have been made by *Bocchoris*, if a man borrowed money without giving a note in writing for it, he was discharged from the debt, provided he would make oath that he was no ways indebted to his creditor. The oath in this case was very solemn, and preceded by sacrifice.

XV. IN cases where the debt was acknowledged by proper instruments, the interest was not to exceed the double of the capital or sum lent. The debtor's goods, and not his body, were answerable for the debt; for his body was claimed by the city or place where he lived, which had the greatest interest in him, and had a right to his service both in peace and war. In short, they did not apprehend wherein the policy lay of sacrificing an useful member of the republick to the cruelty and avarice of a private person. This law, or one very like it, is said to have been established by *Solon*.\*

d XVI. To help the circulation of money, *Apyckis* made a law that a man might borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he was to be deprived of the honour of a funeral himself, nor could he have the liberty of burying any person descended from him; which was accounted the greatest ignominy†.

XVII. THE *Egyptian* priests were allowed no more than one wife, but all others might marry as many as they pleased: nor was any child reckoned a bastard, though begotten on a slave bought with money; for they held the father to be the sole cause of generation, and that the mother only provided nourishment and lodging for the infant‡.

e XVIII. BY the laws of *Egypt*, brothers were permitted to marry their sisters; because they had an instance of the happiness of such marriages in that of *Isis* with her own brother *Osiris*; for having vowed, on his death, never to suffer the embraces of any other, she revenged his murder, and governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, being the author of infinite benefits to mankind. For which reason, in *Egypt*, the queen had more power, and more honour shewn her than the king; and in private contracts the greater authority was given to the woman, the husbands thereby promising to be obedient to their wives in all things§.

f XIX. THERE was a very remarkable law, or rather a custom which had the sanction of law, with regard to the *Egyptian* robbers and sharpers. Whoever entered himself of their gang, gave in his name to the chief, promising to deliver him all the booty he should from time to time purloin. Upon this account it was customary for such as had any thing stolen from them to apply themselves to the chief of the gang, and give him a very particular account and description, in writing, of what they had lost, as also of the day, hour, and place when and where they lost it. This information being given, the stolen goods were easily found, and restored to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value. The institutor of this extraordinary law, thought that since it would be impossible to prevent thieving entirely, it would be more tolerable for the injured party to lose a fourth, by way of redemption, than the whole¶.

g As much as the *Egyptians* seemed to excel other nations in the wisdom of their laws and constitutions, they yet surpassed them more in bigotry and superstition.

*Of the religion of the Egyptians.*

\* DIOD. SIC. ubi supr. p. 69, &c.

† HEROD. ubi supr.

‡ DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 72.

§ Idem ibid. p. 23.

¶ Idem ibid. p. 69.

IDOLATRY was so antient among them, that the *Grecians* confessed they borrowed not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almost all their gods from *Egypt*. For the *Egyptians* are said to have been the first people who erected altars, images, and temples, and the first inventors of festivals, ceremonies, and transactions with the gods by the mediation of others; and also to have first given names to the twelve gods<sup>a</sup>.

THE *Egyptians* had a great many deities of different ranks and orders. Those who were chiefly honoured in *Egypt*, were *Osiris* and *Isis*; by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and the moon (C), whose influences governed and preserved the world; those two planets being reckoned by them to be the great causes of nutrition and generation, and as it were the sources from whence the other parts of nature, which also they looked upon as gods, and to which they gave distinct names, were derived. These were *Jupiter*, or spirit, the *vis vivifica* of living creatures; *Vulcan*, or fire; *Ceres*, or the earth; *Oceanus* (by which the *Egyptians* meant their *Nile*) or moisture; and *Minerva* (called also by that nation *Neith*) or air.

BESIDES these celestial and eternal gods, they had also terrestrial and mortal deities, who had merited the honours paid them by the benefits they conferred on mankind in their life-time; several of them having been kings of *Egypt*: some of these bore the same names with the celestial gods, and others had proper names of their own. Such were the *Sun*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter* (called by them *Ammon*) *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Vesta*, *Hermes* or *Mercury*, *Orus*, *Venus*, *Pan*, *Arueris*, *Nephthys*, *Harpocrates*, and others<sup>b</sup>. *Serapis* is said to have been an upstart deity, introduced by one of the *Ptolemies* at *Alexandria*<sup>c</sup>; but others suppose it to be only another name for *Osiris*<sup>d</sup>, who was also called *Bacchus*. As *Osiris* was supposed to have been of a good and beneficent nature, so his brother *Typhon* was esteemed the reverse, and held in universal detestation for the evils brought by him on his family and nation, as will be mentioned hereafter. The other names of *Typhon* were *Seth*, *Bekon*, and *Smey*.

THOUGH the bodies of these mortal deities remained in their sepulchres on earth, yet they believed their souls shone in the stars in heaven; the soul of *Isis* in particular in the dog-star, called by them *Sothis*; the soul of *Orus* in *Orion*; and that of *Typhon* in the *Bear*<sup>e</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING this polytheism of the *Egyptians*, there are yet said in reality to have acknowledged one supreme god, the maker and ruler of the world, whom they sometimes denoted by the name of *Osiris*, or *Serapis*, sometimes by that of *Isis*, and at other times by that of *Neith*, on whose temple at *Sais* was the following remarkable inscription; *I am all that hath been, is, and shall be; and my vail hath no mortal yet uncovered*<sup>f</sup>. There is also an inscription to *Isis* still remaining at *Capua*, to this effect; *To thee who, being one, art all things, the goddess* *Isis*<sup>g</sup>. The inhabitants of *Thebais* are reported to have worshipped only the immortal and unbegotten god *Cneph*, or *Emeph*; for which reason they were exempt from all contributions towards the maintenance of the sacred animals which were worshipped in the lower *Egypt*<sup>h</sup>. From this god *Cneph*, they supposed a secondary god proceeded, representing the world, and was called *Phtha*, which word is at present used among the *Copts* to signify the divine being<sup>i</sup>.

HOWEVER, the idolatrous humour which prevailed at first, perhaps only in some parts of *Egypt*, appears at length to have entirely over-run it, and, which seems scarcely credible, they came at length to give divine honours to several animals, nay even to vegetables themselves, as leeks and onions; and that with so great variety and disagreement among themselves, that except some of the principal gods who were honoured all over the kingdom, the worship of every deity was confined to one or two cities or provinces; whence it came to pass that the names of a great number of

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi supr.  
Vid. TACIT. Hist. l. 20.

<sup>d</sup> Idem. ibid. p. 359.

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. ubi supr. p. 359.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. DIOD. SIC. ubi supr. p. 11, &c.

<sup>c</sup> PLUTARCH. de Isid. & Osir. p. 362.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. p. 354.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. IAMBlich. de myst. § 8. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> ORIGEN. cont. Cels.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. p. 367.

<sup>j</sup> Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 412, &c.

<sup>k</sup> See before, p. 13.

(C) Agreeable hereto, the name of *Osiris*, we are told, in the *Egyptian* tongue signifies *many-eyed*; an epithet very proper for the sun; and *Isis* antient (1).

There are several other mythological interpretations of these two deities. Sometimes *Isis* is the earth in general; sometimes only the land

of *Egypt*; and *Osiris* is the moon, or else the *Nile*, which is lost or destroyed in the sea, which they call *Typhon*. At other times *Osiris* is *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, and *Isis* *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Cybele*, &c. One supposes *Osiris* to signify the efficient cause of things, and *Isis* matter; and another thinks *Isis* denotes nature in general (2).

(1) DIOD. SIC. ubi supr. p. 10, 11.

(2) Vid. PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. APULIUM, Metam. l. 2.

a the chief cities of Egypt were by the Grecians named after the gods or animals that were worshipped there; as *Diospolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, *Heliopolis*, or the city of the sun; and in the same manner others bore the names of *Pan*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Hermes*, *Hercules*, and *Venus*; and also of the *Dog*, the *Lion*, the *Wolf*, the *Crocodile*, the fishes *Latos*, *Oxyrynchus*, and *Phagrus*, and other animals.

THIS diversity of worship was sometimes attended with very ill consequences, especially if their deities happened to be such as were naturally enemies to one another; the inhabitants of one place often paying their adoration to that kind of animals which were held in the greatest abhorrence by their neighbours. Hence proceeded inveterate quarrels, and dangerous wars; as happened in particular between b those of *Heracleopolis*, who worshipped the *ichneumon*, and those of *Arfinoe*, who worshipped the crocodile; and to mention no more, between the cities of *Oxyrynchus* and *Cynopolis*, the former of which sacrificed and eat dogs, the deity of the latter, in revenge for their eating that sort of fish which was the object of their own worship<sup>1</sup>. It was thought, however, that the kings themselves, out of policy, first occasioned, or at least encouraged and fomented these dissensions, to prevent the peoples attempting any thing against the state; for *Diodorus* tells us, that one of their first and most prudent kings, finding the *Egyptians* very prone to sedition, enjoined to each province the worship of some particular animal different from all the rest, and likewise to use a different diet; so that the *Egyptians*, being by this means divided into c so many distinct societies, prejudiced against each other in religious matters, and mutually despising one another on account of their different customs in the ordinary affairs of life, there was no likelihood of their ever uniting again<sup>2</sup>.

It would be rather tedious than entertaining, to set down all the fables and uncertain traditions, which might be found in antient authors concerning the *Egyptian* gods; some of them may perhaps be occasionally taken notice of hereafter: wherefore we shall immediately proceed to give an account of the images by which they represented those deities which were most peculiar to this nation, and of their sacrifices, festivals, and religious ceremonies.

OSIRIS was variously represented; sometimes by a sceptre and eye, to express d his power and providence; at other times by the image of a hawk, because of its sharp sight, swiftness, and other qualities; and in later times in a human form, in a posture not very decent, signifying his generative and nutritive faculty<sup>3</sup>. But the greatest adoration was paid to his living image, the bull, as we shall observe by and by.

THE image of *Isis* was usually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head<sup>4</sup>, representing the appearance of the moon in her increase and decrease, and holding the *Sistrum* (a kind of slymbal) in her right hand, and a pitcher in her left; the former signifying the perpetual motion there is in nature, and the other the fecundity of the *Nile*. But sometimes she was represented as *Cybele*, having her body e full of breasts, to express her nourishing of all things<sup>5</sup>.

THE statue of *Serapis* was of a human form, with a basket or bushel on his head, signifying plenty; his right hand leaned on the head of a serpent, whose body was wound round a figure with three heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf; in his left hand he held a measure of a cubit length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the *Nile*<sup>6</sup>.

JUPITER, or *Ammon*, was by the *Egyptians* represented by an image with the head of a ram; the reason of which they say, was this; *Hercules* being very desirous to see *Jupiter*, did not without great difficulty obtain his request, for the god was unwilling to be seen: but at length *Jupiter* yielding to his importunity, and having f separated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcass, he put on the skin with the wool, and in that form shewed himself to *Hercules*. And in this manner of representing *Jupiter*, the *Egyptians* were imitated by the *Ammonians*, who were a colony of them and the *Ethiopians*<sup>7</sup>.

THE other more famous deities of the *Egyptians* were *Anubis*, *Harpocrates*, *Orus*, and *Canopus*. The first was usually painted with the head of a dog, because he accompanied *Osiris* in his expedition clothed in a dog's skin<sup>8</sup>, and was the guard of him and *Isis*<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes this deity is confounded with *Hermes*, and then the dog's head may denote his great sagacity. *Harpocrates* was the son of *Isis*, begotten, as is

<sup>1</sup> PLUTARCH. ubi sup. p. 380. Vid. JUVEN. Sat. 15. & ATHANAS. orat. cont. Julian ubi sup. p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>4</sup> DIOD.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. PLUT. ubi

sup. p. 376. SERV. in Virg. HORAPOLL. l. 1. c. 3. APULIUM, Metam. l. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. MACROB.

in Saturn. l. 1. c. 20. SUIDAM in *Sagennis*.

<sup>7</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>8</sup> DIOD. Sic. p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 77. PLUT. ubi sup. p. 357.

said, by *Osiris* on her after his death; for which reason he was weak in his lower limbs<sup>a</sup>. This was the god of silence, being therefore usually represented with his finger on his mouth; he was always placed near the statues of *Osiris* and *Isis*, to intimate that they having been once mortals, was not to be spoken of<sup>b</sup>. *Orus* is often confounded with *Apollo*; he was the son of *Isis* and *Osiris*, and was generally represented as a child wrapped up in swadling-cloaths; and sometimes, by those of *Coptos*, as holding in one hand the privities of *Typhon*<sup>c</sup>. *Canopus* was the pilot of *Osiris*'s ship, whose soul, after his death, migrated into the fixed star of that name<sup>d</sup>, which is one of the first magnitude, but not visible in *Europe*<sup>e</sup>. This god became famous for the victory obtained by him over the *Chaldean* god, *Fire*; the story of which in brief is this: The *Chaldeans* carried about their god, to combat with those of other provinces, all which it easily overcame and destroyed, none of their images being able to resist the force of the fire, till at length the priest of *Canopus* devised this artifice; he took an earthen water-pot full of holes, which he stopped up with wax, and having filled it with water, painted it over, and placed the head of an old image upon it, and produced it as a god. In the conflict, the wax being soon melted, the water rushed out at the holes, and quickly extinguished the fire. In memory of this victory, *Canopus* is usually represented in the manner we have just described, without arms, and having scarce any feet to be seen<sup>f</sup>. Yet others suppose these were really no more than vessels filled with the water of the *Nile*, which the ancient *Egyptians* used also to worship.

Of the sacred animals adored by the *Egyptians*, none was held in so great reverence as the bull, by which they represented *Osiris*. There were two of this kind kept in *Egypt*, one at *Memphis*, called *Apis*, by the *Grecians* *Epaphus*, and the other at *Helopolis*, called *Maenris*: this last was black, and the honours paid to him were inferior to those due to *Apis*<sup>a</sup>. The *Apis* was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwise to be impregnated (as the *Egyptians* imagined) than by thunder. The marks which distinguished him from all others were these: his body was black, except one square of white on the forehead; he had the figure of an eagle on his back; a double list of hair on his tail, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue<sup>b</sup>. And others reckon no less than twenty nine marks peculiar to this beast<sup>c</sup>. They sacrificed bulls to *Apis*, but were so nice in the choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them to be unclean. This search was made by the priest with the utmost precaution; after which he drew out his tongue, to see if he were clean in that part; and in the last place he examined his tail, to see whether the hairs were natural, and as they ought to be. The beast being found without blemish, the priest tied a label about his horns, and sealing it with his signet, ordered him to be taken away and secured; for it was death to sacrifice any beast of this kind that was not marked with such a seal. The order and ceremony of the sacrifice was thus: the victim being brought to the altar, they immediately kindled a fire, and pouring wine upon him, they offered their prayers to the god. Then killing the beast, they flayed him, and struck off his head, which they carried, with many imprecations, to the market, or other publick place, and sold it to some *Grecian*, if they met with any; but if no such person were to be found, they threw it into the river, with this form of execration; *May the evils impending over the persons now sacrificing, or the Egyptians in general, fall upon this head*. This ceremony of libation, and the manner of devouring the head of the victim, was an universal practice over all *Egypt*; for which reason no *Egyptian* would eat of the head of any animal. But in the choice of their victims, there were different customs in different places<sup>d</sup>.

When the *Apis* died, and his funeral pomp was over, the priests who had this office, sought out for another with the same marks, and when they had found one, the lamentations immediately ceased; and the priests lead the calf first into the city of *Nile*, where he was fed for forty days: from thence he was transported in a vessel with a gilded cabin to *Memphis*, as their god, and turned into the grove of *Vulcan*. For the abovementioned forty days women only were admitted into his presence, who standing before him, lifted up their coats, and shewed him their privities; after which time they were not permitted to see the new god. The reason they gave for this worship was, because the soul of *Osiris*, as they pretended, migrated into a bull of this sort, and by a successive transmigration passed from one to

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. p. 358.<sup>b</sup> VARRO apud August. de civit. Dei.<sup>c</sup> PLUT. ubi sup.

p. 373. Vid. KIRCHER Oedip. ver. 1. p. 214.

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. ibid. p. 359.<sup>e</sup> Vid. PLIN.

l. 6. c. 22.

<sup>f</sup> SUIDAS in Canop. RUFFIN. Hist. Eccles. l. 11.<sup>a</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. p. 364.<sup>b</sup> HEROD. l. 3. Vid. PLIN. l. 8. c. 46.<sup>c</sup> ÆLIAN. Hist. anim. l. 11. c. 9.<sup>d</sup> HEROD. l. 2.

another,

a another, as often as one died, and another was found. But others say, that it was because when *Osiris* was killed by *Typhon*, *Isis* threw his limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, from whence the city of *Busiris* received its name <sup>a</sup>.

THE festival of *Isis* was celebrated with the utmost solemnity; for on the vigil thereof they fasted, and having prayed, sacrificed a bullock, taking out the bowels, and leaving the fat and vitals in the carcass; then cutting off the legs, rump, neck and shoulders, and filling the body with fine bread, honey, dried raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other perfumes, they proceeded to the consecration, pouring in great quantities of oil. They sacrificed fasting, and beat themselves all the while the flesh lay on the fire, and afterwards they feasted on the remainder. The offerings of this b kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemished males; for the females being sacred to *Isis*, could not be offered. Whence it was that the *Egyptians* paid the first degree of veneration to that creature, and abominated the *Greeks* for not doing the same. When a cow died, they threw her into the river; but a bull was buried without the cities, leaving one horn, and sometimes both, sticking up as a mark of the grave. The flesh being perfectly consumed, and nothing but the bare bones left, they were transported to an island of the *Delta*, called *Protopitis*, from whence vessels were dispatched to several parts of the kingdom, to collect the bones, and carry them away, and bury them together: the same was observed in relation to other cattle, the *Egyptians* being forbidden to kill any <sup>c</sup>.

JUPITER was principally worshipped at *Thebes*, thence named *Diospolis*; they esteemed the ram sacred on that deity's account, and abtaining from sheep, sacrificed goats only; only once a year, at the festival of *Jupiter*, they killed a ram, and flaying the carcass, put the skin on the statue of the god, bringing at the same time an image of *Hercules* into his presence, in memory of the abovementioned passage between those two deities: after which, every one present gave the ram a blow, and he was buried in a consecrated coffin.

THE inhabitants of *Mendes*, on the other hand, sacrificed sheep and no goats, because they worshipped *Pan*, whom they took to be one of the eight most antient gods, and always represented him with the face and legs of a goat, just as the *Greeks* did. d Not that they imagined him to have been really of that shape (for as to that they deemed him to be like other gods) but for some mystical reason. Though the *Mendesians* had a religious veneration for goats of both sexes, yet they esteemed the male above the female, and paid great reverence to goat-herds; and particularly to one, who at his death was universally lamented. In the *Egyptian* tongue, *Mendes* signified both *Pan* and a goat <sup>e</sup>.

TO the moon it was their custom to sacrifice when she was at the full. The victims offered to her were swine, which the *Egyptians* held to be impure animals, and were forbidden to offer them to any other deities, than to that planet and *Bacchus*. When they made their sacrifice to the moon, and had killed the victim, they put the end of e the tail, with the spleen and fat, into the cauld, and burned them on the sacred fire, and eat the rest of the flesh on the day of the new moon, though they would not have tasted it at any other time. Those whose poverty would not admit of the expence of this sacrifice, moulded a bit of paste into the shape of a hog, and offered up that.

AT the festival of *Bacchus*, though every one was obliged to kill a hog before the door of his house in the evening, yet they instantly returned the carcass to the swine-herd of whom it was bought. The rest of this festival was celebrated in the same manner in *Egypt* as in *Greece*; excepting that instead of the *Phallus*, the *Egyptian* women carried about little images of a cubit in height, each of which had a *priapus* almost as big as the rest of its body, and so contrived with strings as to move. With f these the women marched in procession, all the while singing the praises of *Bacchus*, and preceded by a flute <sup>g</sup>.

THEY did not think it sufficient in *Egypt* to solemnize the festivals of their gods at annual periods only; but they had several times in the year appointed for that purpose, when they visited the several cities where the particular deities were worshipped with great devotion.

THOSE of *Isis* at *Busiris*, and of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, we have already mentioned; only in respect to the former, we must add, that after the sacrifices were duly performed, the men and women who met together on that occasion, amounting to many thousands, disciplined themselves with an instrument our author dared not discover. g In which devotion the *Carians* who lived in *Egypt* surpassed all others, cutting their foreheads with swords. The other most remarkable festivals were those of *Diana*,

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. p. 76.

<sup>c</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.



at *Bubastis*, which was the *Egyptians* name of that goddess; of *Minerva* at *Sais*; of the sun, at *Heliopolis*; of *Latona*, at *Butus*; and of *Mars*, at *Papremis*. Those who assembled on such solemn occasions at *Heliopolis* and *Butus*, offered sacrifices only, without any farther ceremony: but the other deserve a more particular description.

THE festival of *Diana*, in the city of *Bubastis*, was observed after this manner: great numbers of men and women embarked promiscuously together, and during the voyage some of the women beat on the tabor whilst some of the men played on the pipe; the rest of both sexes singing and striking their hands together at the same time. They stopped at every city they came to; where during their stay, the women were partly employed in their music, and partly in railing at the women of the place where they had stopped, or in dancing and shewing themselves naked. At length being arrived at *Bubastis*, they celebrated the festival with numerous sacrifices, and consumed more wine than in all the rest of the year; for the concourse of people upon this occasion was reported to have usually amounted to 700,000 men and women, besides children.

WHEN they met to sacrifice to *Minerva* at *Sais*, they hung up by night a great number of lamps filled with oil mingled with salt, round every house, the tow swimming on the surface. These burned during the whole night, and the festival was thence named *the lighting of lamps*. The *Egyptians* who were not present at this solemnity, observed the same ceremonies, wherever they happened to be; and lamps were lighted that night, not only at *Sais*, but throughout all *Egypt*. The reasons for using these illuminations, and paying so great respect to this night, were kept secret.

AT *Papremis* a very extraordinary custom was observed; for after having gone through the usual form of worship, a few of the priests towards the setting of the sun, attended about the image of *Mars*, whilst the far greater part of them posted themselves before the gates of the temple with staves or clubs in their hands; on the other hand, a company of men, who had devoted themselves to this service, and frequently amounted to above a thousand, armed in like manner, drew up opposite to the priests who guarded the avenues of the temple. The image of the god, which was kept in a gilded wooden shrine, and had been removed out of the temple on the eve of the festival, and placed in another chapel, was drawn by those few who were appointed to attend it, together with the shrine in which it stood, on a four-wheeled chariot, back again to the temple. But the priests who guarded the entrance refusing to give them admittance, the beforementioned votaries, in duty to the god, began to beat the opponents with their clubs, whereon a violent conflict ensued, the blows being chiefly dealt on the head: insomuch, that in all probability many must have died of their bruises, though the *Egyptians* would never allow it. The inhabitants of the place accounted for this barbarous institution, by relating that *Mars* having been educated abroad till he attained to man's estate, and coming home to see his mother, who was an inhabitant of this sacred place, her servants, having never seen him, refused to admit him, and forcibly drove him away. Whereupon, retiring to another city, he got together a good number of men, and returning, fell upon his mother's servants, and entered by force; in commemoration of which action this combat was instituted.

BUT there was nothing so remarkable in the *Egyptian* religion, as the preposterous worship that nation paid to animals; such as the cat, the *ichneumon*, the dog, the *ibis*, the wolf, the crocodile, and several others; which they had in high veneration as well dead as living. Whilst they were living, they had lands set apart for maintenance of each kind; and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending on them, the children succeeding their parents in the office, which was so far from being declined, or thought despicable by the *Egyptians*, that they gloried in it as high honour, wearing certain badges and ensigns, by which being distinguished at a distance, they were saluted by bending of the knee, and other demonstrations of respect. To these, and to the deities to which they were sacred, the inhabitants of the several cities where they were worshipped, offered up their prayers; and in particular for the recovery of their children, whose heads they shaved sometimes all over, sometimes only one half, or a third part, and putting the hair into one balance, and silver into the other, when the silver overbalanced, they gave it to the keepers of the animals; who therewith provided food for them, which was usually fish cut in pieces; but the *ichneumons* and cats were sometimes fed with bread and milk.

IF a person killed any of these sacred animals designedly, he was punished with death; if involuntarily, his punishment was referred to the discretion of the priests; but if a man killed either a cat, a hawk, or an *ibis*, whether with design or not, he was to die without mercy; the enraged multitude hurrying away the unfortunate person

a son to certain death, sometimes without any formal process of trial <sup>a</sup>: an instance of which is given in a *Roman*, who happening accidentally to kill a cat, the mob immediately gathered about the house where he was, and neither the entreaties of some principal men sent by the king, nor the fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could save the man's life <sup>1</sup>. For this reason, if any one by chance found one of these creatures dead, he stood at a convenient distance from it, and with great lamentation protested that he found it dead. And, what may seem still more incredible, it is reported, that at a time when there was a famine in *Egypt*, which drove the inhabitants to so great a distress that they fed on one another, there was no one person accused of having tasted of any of these sacred animals.

b THE extravagant worship which the *Egyptians* paid to these deities, as to the bulls at *Memphis* and *Heliopolis*, the goat at *Mendes*, the lion at *Leontopolis*, and the crocodile at the lake *Mæris* (D), and to many others in different places, exceeds all belief. For they were kept in consecrated enclosures, and well attended on by men of high rank, who at a great expence provided victuals for them, which consisted of the greatest dainties, such as the finest flour boiled in milk, cakes of several sorts made with honey, and the flesh of geese boiled and roasted: those who fed on raw meat were supplied with several sorts of birds. And not only this, but they were washed in hot baths, anointed with most precious ointments, and perfumed with the most odoriferous scents: they lay on the richest carpets and other costly furniture; and that they c might want nothing to make their life as happy as possible, they had the most beautiful females of their several kinds provided for them, to which they gave the title of their concubines, bestowing extravagant attendance and expence upon them.

WHEN any of these animals died, they lamented them as if they had been their dearest children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their funeral: as an instance of which, it is said, that in the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, the *Apis* dying of old age (E) at *Memphis*, his keeper bestowed no less than fifty talents of silver, or almost 13,000 *l.* over and above all his substance, in the burying of him. And lest this should seem improbable, we are told, that some keepers of these creatures had squandered away 100,000 talents, a most immense sum, in the d maintenance of them <sup>a</sup>. In whatever house a cat died, all the family shaved their eyebrows; and if a dog, their whole body; nor would they make use of any provision which happened to be in the house at such times. In case of a fire, there was generally great lamentation among the *Egyptians* on account of their cats; for though, when such accidents happened, they took greater care to preserve their cats than their houses, yet those creatures, either by creeping sily on the ground, or leaping over the mens heads, for the most part found a way to throw themselves into the fire. The dead bodies of the sacred animals were wrapped up in fine linen, and carried to be embalmed, and being anointed with the oil of cedar, and other aromatic preparations, to preserve them from putrefaction, were buried in sacred coffins. Dead cats were carried to be interred to the city of *Bubastis*; hawks, and the venomous mole were carried to *Butus*; dogs, bears, (of which there are but few in *Egypt*) and a small kind of wolves, no bigger than foxes, were buried where they were found dead. And in performing this last honour to them, the *Egyptians* were so exact, that when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks along with them for that purpose, with great demonstrations of sorrow, though at the same time they often wanted necessities <sup>1</sup>.

How absurd and ridiculous soever these superstitions may seem, yet they wanted not those who endeavoured to defend them by various reasons; though the priests generally affected silence on these occasions, referring all to certain mysteries which they f might not reveal.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. & DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.  
HEROD. ubi. sup.

<sup>1</sup> DIOD. ibid. p. 75.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Idem, &

(D) The crocodile seems to be the last animal to which mankind could be tempted to pay divine adoration. That it might be done with safety, one of these creatures was trained up to be tame and familiar for the purpose, and had his ears adorned with strings of jewels and gold, and his fore-feet with chains. He was fed with consecrated provisions at the publick charge; and when strangers went to see him, which often happened out of curiosity, they also carried him a present of a cake,

dressed meat, and wine, or a drink made with honey, which was offered to him by the priests; one opening his mouth, and the other feeding him. When he died, his body was embalmed and buried in a sacred coffin at *Asisnoe* (1).

(E) This contradicts that assertion of some, that the *Apis* was not suffered to live beyond a certain time; after which the priests drowned him in a sacred fountain (2).

(1) HEROD. ubi sup. STRABO, l. 17. p. 165.

(2) AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 22. p. 227.

1. THE first reason alledged, was from the fabulous tradition, that the gods, in the <sup>a</sup> early ages, were obliged to transform themselves into several kinds of animals, to avoid the assaults and cruelties of men, who had conspired against them; but afterwards, out of gratitude for the many benefits bestowed by them on mankind, those in power ordained that the creatures whose shapes the gods had assumed, should be well maintained while they lived, and honourably buried when they died.

2. SOME pretended this worship had the following original: They say, that the antient *Egyptians* being often routed by their neighbours for want of a regular disposition of their troops, they at length invented the use of standards, to distinguish the different companies; and for that end fixed the images of the animals they afterwards adored, on so many spears, and caused the leaders to carry them at the head of each <sup>b</sup> troop; by which means every man knew his post: their observing this order often gained them the victory, the honour of which they ascribed to the animals whose figures they had used for ensigns. Others will have these images to have been made use of in the most early times, to distinguish the first civil societies, who united for mutual defence against the violence of their fellow-creatures.

3. A THIRD reason is taken from the great use and service the several animals are of to mankind: as the ox for tilling the land; the sheep, by supplying milk and wool; the dog for guarding the house, and hunting; the *ibis* and hawk for destroying the serpents and noxious insects; the crocodile for defending the country against the incursions of the *Arabian* robbers; the *ichneumon* for preventing the too great multiplication of the crocodiles; and the cat against the asp and other venomous reptiles <sup>c</sup>.

4. BUT men of better judgment, not satisfied with these reasons, which seemed to them too weak to excuse practices so dishonourable to paganism, and at which they blushed in private <sup>a</sup>, urged something more specious in favour of it, by pretending that the worship paid by the *Egyptians* to animals, did not terminate in the animals themselves, but in the gods, whose symbols they were, and to whom they had some peculiar relation. The philosophers, say they, honoured the image of god wherever they met with it, even in inanimate beings, and consequently much more in those which partook of life. They therefore are to be commended who worship not the creatures, but the supreme deity through them; which should be esteemed as so many mirrors offered us by nature, reflecting the divine image; or as so many instruments of God <sup>d</sup> in the eternal support and preservation of the world. Wherefore, if statues should be adorned with all the gold and precious stones in the world, it is not to them that men should direct their worship; for the divine nature cannot dwell in the artful disposition of colours, nor in matter which is subject to decay, and destitute both of sense and motion. And they add, that as the sun, moon, heaven, earth and sea are common to all men, but have different names in different nations; so there is but one Mind and one Providence which governs the universe, and has several subordinate ministers, though called by different names, and worshipped in divers manners, and with different ceremonies, according to the laws and customs of every country <sup>e</sup>.

AGREEABLY to this notion, they pretended that the hawk was an emblem of the <sup>e</sup> supreme Deity, because of its piercing sight and swiftness. The asp, the cat, and the beetle were also honoured as images of the divine power; the first, as not subject to old age, and moving without the assistance of limbs; the cat, because they imagined she conceived by her ear, and brought forth her young by her mouth, representing the generation of speech; and the beetle, because they supposed there was no female in the whole species. The crocodile also they took to be another image of the Deity, because of all animals it has no tongue, which organ God has no occasion for <sup>f</sup>.

THE relation the sacred animals bore to some particular gods, or the services they had rendered on some particular occasions, or their being typical resemblances of some parts of nature, are also mentioned as further reasons for the great respect shewn <sup>f</sup> them. Thus it is said, that dogs were worshipped because they guided *Isis* when she sought for the body of *Osiris*, which they had guarded from wild beasts <sup>g</sup>; though this creature afterwards lost much of its reputation, by eating part of the *Apis*, which had been killed by *Cambysis*, when no other animal approached the dead body <sup>h</sup>; that the hawk was deified because one of those birds, in antient times, brought a book to the priests of *Thebes*, tied round with a scarlet thread, containing the rites and ceremonies which were to be observed in the worship of the gods; for which

<sup>a</sup> Vid. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. PLUT. ibid. p. 379.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. p. 377, 382, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Idem. ibid. p. 363, 380, &c.

<sup>e</sup> DIOD. ubi sup. p. 77.

<sup>f</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. p. 368.

a reason the sacred scribes wore a scarlet fillet, with a hawk's feather on their head: that the wolf was adored because *Osiris* arose in that shape from the infernal regions, and assisted *Isis* and her son *Orus* in the battle against *Typhon*, wherein the usurper was slain; or else because when the *Ethiopians* once broke into *Egypt*, a great company of wolves fell upon the invaders, and drove them beyond *Elephantis*; whence that name was called *Lycopolites*; though others give no other reason for the respect paid them, than the near relation they bore to dogs: that the crocodile attained this honour because one of those creatures saved *Menas*, an antient king of *Egypt*, from being worried by his own dogs, which pursued him to the lake *Muris*, where a crocodile took him on his back, and carried him to the other side of the lake\*: that the cat was revered as an emblem of the moon, for its various spots, fruitfulness and activity in the night: and the goat, the most lustful of all creatures, was the hieroglyphick of that violent impulse by which men are urged to propagate their species; and in honouring this animal, they testified their gratitude to their gods for the populousness of their country\*.

NOT to take up the reader's time in enumerating the other animals worshipped in the several parts of *Egypt*, we shall conclude what we intend to say of them, with *Herodotus's* account of the phoenix, which fable has given rise to whatever has been since related of that imaginary bird. He tells us, that the phoenix was one of the sacred birds, which himself had never seen but in effigy; for he appeared in *Egypt* but once in five hundred years, immediately after the death of his father, as those of *Heliopolis* affirmed. The painters represented him with a plumage of crimson and gold, and of the shape and size of an eagle. They pretended he came from *Arabia*, and brought the body of his father embalmed, which he buried in the temple of the sun. And this he performed in the following manner: first he moulded as much myrrh as he could carry into the shape of an egg, and having tried its weight, hollowed the egg, and put his father into it; he then stopped up the aperture again with myrrh, in such proportion that the weight of the whole might equal that of the egg before the body was put in, and carried it to *Heliopolis*\*.

THE *Egyptians* are reported to have been the first who ordained that men should abstain from women in temples, and not enter any sacred place without washing after the use of a woman. They were also the first who assigned each month and day to a particular deity, and observed the times of each person's nativity; by which they judged their future fortunes. They carefully registred all prodigies (in which their country is said to have abounded more than any other) with an account of their consequences; supposing that if the like happened at another time, the event would be the same. However, they did not pretend to foretel any thing themselves, but all predictions were delivered by the gods. For if they were not the first nation which erected oracles, and introduced the custom of consulting them, it is however allowed that the most antient and famous oracles among the heathens, particularly those of *Jupiter* in *Lybia*, and at *Dodona*, owed their original to *Egypt*\*; as will be mentioned in a more proper place.

THERE were several oracles in *Egypt*, as those of *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, *Mars* and *Jupiter*; but that which they revered above all others, was the oracle of *Latona*, in the city of *Butus*†: and in after-times there was a very famous one of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*‡. The sacred animals also themselves had their several oracles; as the *Apis*, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile\*. The manner of consulting the *Apis* was, by observing into which chamber, of two that were prepared for him, he entred; his going into one of them being construed as a good omen, and into the other as a bad one: or else they offered him food, and from his accepting or refusing it, concluded the answer favourable, or the contrary. It is said that *Germanicus Caesar* consulting this oracle some short time before his death, the beast would not eat out of his hand§.

WE must not omit to say something of the human sacrifices which are said to have been offered by the antient *Egyptians*. As red oxen were allowed to be sacrificed because of their resemblance to *Typhon*, who, it is said, was red-haired; so men of that complexion were reported to have been slain in former times by their kings at the tomb of *Osiris*: but few of the *Egyptians* having red hair, strangers were the usual victims; whence it is supposed the fable so current among the *Greeks*, of the cruelty of *Busiris* to strangers took its rise; not from any king of that name, but

Some other Institutions of the Egyptians.

\* DIOD. ubi sup. p. 78, &c.  
ubi sup.

\* Idem ibid.

† Vid. VAN DALE de Orac. p. 274.

\* PLUT. ubi sup. p. 376.

† Idem ibid.

\* DIOD. ubi sup.

\* HERODOT.

\* PAUSAN. l. 7. RUFFIN. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23.

\* PLIN. Nat. hist. l. 8. c. 46. AMM. MARCELL. l. 32. c. 15.

because

because *Osiris's* tomb was so called in the *Egyptian* tongue <sup>c</sup>. Men were also in old times sacrificed at *Heliopolis*, and to *Juno* or *Lucina*, at a city in the upper *Thebais*, called by the name of that goddess, who was worshipped there under the form of a vultur. These human victims were to be approved of in the same manner as the calves that were searched and sealed as clean; and three were sacrificed every day, at a certain season in the dog-days being burnt alive, and their ashes scattered abroad; to these unhappy men they gave the epithet of *Typhonian* <sup>d</sup>. This barbarous custom was abolished by *Amosis*, who ordered that so many images of wax should be offered in their stead <sup>e</sup>: and there was so little remembrance of it left in the days of *Herodotus*, that mentioning a fable of the *Grecians*, that when *Hercules* arrived in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* designing to sacrifice him to *Jupiter*, conducted him to the altar with great ceremony; but that he delivered himself, by killing all that were present; that historian judges those who invented that story utterly ignorant of the *Egyptian* laws and customs; for how, says he, can we imagine that a people forbidden to kill any kind of animal, except geese, swine, and such bulls and calves as they find without blemish (F), would sacrifice men? however that there was really such a custom, seems undeniable from good authority; and is confirmed by the impress of the priest's seal, which was set on the oxen that were to be sacrificed; and on which a man was engraven kneeling with his hands bound behind him, and a sword at his throat <sup>f</sup>. We have formerly mentioned the human sacrifices which were offered to the *Nile*, according to a tradition of the *Egyptians* <sup>g</sup>; but we do not find any notice taken of them in ancient authors.

We have mentioned the worship of leeks and onions as one part of the *Egyptian* superstition: But as the historians mention nothing of this, we imagine the laryrit, to heighten the ridicule, might go a little beyond strict truth <sup>h</sup>; though there might possibly be some foundation for such an opinion, from the scrupulous abstinence of some of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentils, beans and onions; the latter of which the priests abominated, as some pretend, because *Dionysus*, who had been brought up by *Isis*, was drowned in hunting after them; or rather because onions alone of all plants thrive when the moon is in the wane <sup>i</sup>.

BEFORE we quit this subject, the structure of the *Egyptian* temples deserves some notice. The first thing which offered itself to the view, was an avenue, or stone pavement, of a *plethron* in breadth, or something less, and about three or four times as long; having on each side a row of sphinxes, twenty cubits distant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a second, and sometimes a third (the number of these portico's being not always the same.) The temple itself consisted of a spacious and magnificent court, and a well proportioned chapel; in which was generally no image (for the *Egyptians* in the eldest times used none <sup>j</sup>) or if there was any, it was not of human form, but in the shape of some irrational animal <sup>k</sup>.

The miscellaneous customs of the Egyptians.

FEW nations in the world observed their original laws and customs so long as the *Egyptians*; and their exactness in observing ordinances of a higher nature was not to be admired, considering their strict attachment to their own usages and manners in trivial things; for a new custom was a prodigy in *Egypt* <sup>l</sup>.

IN the education of their children they were very careful; but they brought them up with great frugality, feeding them with cheap broths, made of common things, and with the stems of the *papyrus* roasted under the ashes, and the stalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marshes, sometimes raw, and sometimes dressed. They went for the most part naked and barefoot during their childhood, because the warmth of the climate; so that the whole expence of a child, from his birth till he arrived at the state of manhood, did not exceed twenty drachms, or about thirteen shillings: which was one great cause that *Egypt* was so exceeding populous. As to the instruction they gave their children, the priests taught them two sorts of letters, those called sacred, and those in which their common learning was written;

<sup>c</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 79.

<sup>d</sup> MANETHO, apud Porphy. de abst. l. 2. c. 55. Euseb. prep. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. & Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 380.

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. p. 363.

<sup>f</sup> PLUT. ubi sup. p. 353. Vid. DIOD. p. 80.

<sup>g</sup> PLATO, in Tim. p. 656.

<sup>h</sup> MANETHO, apud Porphy. de abst. l. 2. c. 55. Euseb. prep. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. & Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 380.

<sup>i</sup> Idem apud cosl.

<sup>j</sup> HEROD. ubi sup. c. 45.

<sup>k</sup> See before, p. 178. b.

<sup>l</sup> JUVEN. sat. 15. ver. 10.

<sup>m</sup> PLUT.

<sup>n</sup> LUCIAN. de dea Syria.

<sup>o</sup> STRABO, l. 17. p. 1158.

(F) From this passage, and what has been said above, we cannot but think those mistaken who have asserted, that it was never lawful for the *Egyptians* to appease the gods with cattle or blood; but only with prayers and incense (1).

(1) Vid. MACROB. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7.



a but exercised them chiefly in geometry and arithmetic: however, there were few of the inferior classes who learned to write and read, except the tradesmen. But that they might be useful members of the commonwealth, and be enabled to maintain themselves, they began very early to learn their paternal art or profession, either from their fathers or near relations. Music and wrestling they never taught their children, as disapproving them both: the first they esteemed not only useless, but rather hurtful, serving only to emasculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preservation of health, the strength gained by it being of short duration, and the exercise itself dangerous \*. One particular of the education of the Egyptian youth was very commendable; for they were taught to behave with great respect towards their elders; being obliged to rise up from their seats, and to retire at the approach of those that were more aged; which custom was also practised at Sparta †.

As to the diet of the Egyptians, we have already made some occasional observations; to which we may add, that among them it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley or wheat; instead of which they used a fine flower, called by some *olyra*, and by others *zea*, or *spelt*; and this bread they named *collestis*, probably from its glutinous quality ‡. Their usual drink was (as it is at this present) the water of the Nile, which is very agreeable to the taste, and so fattening, that they never gave it to the Apis, lest he should grow too corpulent §. It is true, the water of this river is pretty muddy, but the Egyptians have a way of clarifying it by rubbing the vessel with a little pounded almonds ¶. Their better sort of drink, or wine, as Herodotus calls it, was made of barley, because they had antiently no vines in that country †, or rather did not cultivate them, nor do they yet in any other part than the province of *al Fezzum* \*. So that we are probably indebted to this nation for the invention of beer.

THE Egyptians abstained from different sorts of animals, in different parts of the kingdom, according to the different deities they worshipped; but they all agreed in the aversion they had to swine's flesh; which was accounted by them so impure, that if a man but touched one of those animals by accident, he went immediately and plunged himself in the river, with his clothes on. And for this reason hogherds alone of all the Egyptians were not suffered to enter any of their temples; neither would any man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profession, or take a wife born of such parents; so that they were forced to inter-marry among themselves. They eat fish, either pickled or dried in the sun; and also quails, ducks, and smaller birds, preserved in salt, without any other preparation: all other birds or fishes, except such as they accounted sacred, they eat without scruple, either boiled or roasted. Those who dwelt in the marshes, made food of several plants, which annually grow there, particularly the *lotus*, of which they made a sort of bread, and the lower stems of the *papyrus*, the head of which was reserved for other uses ¶.

At their principal feasts it was their custom, when they began to taste their wine after supper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man carved in wood and painted, of one or two cubits in length, or as others say, a real corpse\*; which was carried about to all the company by a person appointed for that purpose, who repeated these words distinctly; *Look upon this, and be merry; for such as this is, shalt thou be, when thou art dead* †. This image some will have to be that of *Maneros*, in memory of whom they sung a mournful song at their entertainments, which they called by his name. Of this person there are various traditions: the Egyptians made him the son of their first king, who died in the flower of his age; others say he was the son of a king of *Byblus*, in *Phanicia*, and was frighted to death by the angry look of *Isis*, for his prying too nearly into her behaviour to the dead body of *Osiris*. This *Maneros* is reported to have been the first inventor of music; for which reason, and the conformity of the song to that sung by other nations in honour of the Grecian *Linus*, Herodotus supposes him to be the same with that poet: but after all, some pretend *Maneros* was not the name of a person, but of the song itself; and that the dead image represented the fate of *Osiris* ‡.

THE Egyptians were very cleanly, both at their meals and in other respects; carefully scouring the drinking vessels, which were of brass, every day; and using frequent ablutions and purifications: they scrupulously avoided eating with strangers, as unclean §; and for neatness chiefly it was that they circumcised themselves, which was a custom among them from time immemorial ¶, and esteemed by them so ne-

\* DIODOR. ubi sup. p. 72. de Isid. & Osir. p. 353.

† HEROD. ubi sup.

‡ Idem ibid.

§ PLUTARCH.

vol. II. p. 226.

\* SICARD, Mem. des Mus. vol. II. p. 13.

† HEROD. ubi sup.

‡ LUCAS,

¶ HEROD. ubi sup.

\* See before, p. 183.

† LUCIAN. de luctu. SILIUS de bello Pun. l. 3.

‡ Gen xliii.

§ PLUTARCH. de Isid. & Osir. p. 357.

¶ HEROD. ubi sup.

31. HEROD. ibid.

\* HEROD. ibid. DIOD. Sic. ubi sup. p. 24.

cessary, that *Pythagoras*, to have the liberty of conversing with the *Egyptian* priests, <sup>a</sup> and entering into their temples, was obliged to submit to this operation <sup>b</sup>. One of the fathers tells us they were circumcised at the age of fourteen <sup>c</sup>; but whence he had his information we do not know. Whether the *Jews* learned this custom of the *Egyptians*, as some of the profane historians pretend, is a point we shall consider in another place.

THE habit of this nation was a linen vest, fringed at the bottom, which they called *calasiris*; and over that they wore a white mantle of woollen cloth. But to enter any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead in woollen, was accounted profane. Their manner of saluting one another abroad, was by bowing very respectfully, letting their hands fall down to their knees <sup>d</sup>.

THE *Egyptians*, in several of their manners and customs, seemed industriously to act in contradiction to the rest of mankind. For among them it was the custom for the women to be employed in trade and business abroad, while the men staid at home to spin, and minded domestic affairs; and this perhaps gave occasion to that extraordinary law, by which the sons were not obliged to provide for their parents, but the daughters were. In carrying of burdens, the men bore them on their head, and the women on their shoulders; and when they made water, the women stood upright, but the men sat. They used to ease nature at home, and eat publicly in the streets; saying, very justly, that such things as were filthy, though necessary, should be done in private, and such as were decent, in publick. They kneaded dough with their feet, and tempered mortar with their hands. And whereas in other countries, the apartments of the cattle were separated from those of the men, in *Egypt* men and beasts <sup>e</sup> dwelt together. And we might mention several other instances of the like singularity.

THE great virtue of the *Egyptians*, and wherein they pretended to excel all mankind, was gratitude; which they esteemed to be of the greatest service in life, as the only encouragement to beneficent actions. And for this reason it was, that they honoured their princes as gods, supposing that those whom providence had exalted to the throne, and endued with both the power and will to do good to mankind, participated in some measure of the divine nature; hence also proceeded the great respect they shewed to the remains of their dead ancestors, and their constant endeavour to testify their gratitude to every person and thing from which they received benefit <sup>f</sup>.

Of their funeral ceremonies.

THE *Egyptians* are said to have been the first who asserted the immortality of the soul, which, according to their doctrine, when the body was corrupted, entered into some other animal, and passing by a continual metempsychosis through the different kinds of animals, belonging to the air, earth, and water, returned again into a human body, after the revolution of 3000 years <sup>g</sup>. For this reason they endeavoured by art to preserve the body as long as possible, that the soul might be obliged to continue with it, and not soon pass into another <sup>h</sup>: and as the dead bodies, by the means they used, were of long duration, they spared no labour nor cost in building their sepulchres, which they termed their *eternal mansions*; at the same time being little curious in the structure of their houses, calling them *inns*, where they staid but for a short time, <sup>e</sup> whereas they remained in the other for a long course of years <sup>i</sup>.

THE mourning for the dead, and funeral rites, in *Egypt*, were antiently these: when a man of any consideration died, all the women of that family besmeared their heads and faces with dirt, then making bare their breasts, and girding their waists, they left the body at home, and marched through the streets of the city lamenting and beating themselves as they went, attended by all their relations of the same sex; the men at the same time forming another company, mourned in the same manner. And this they continued till the corps was interred; abstaining in the mean time from bathing, wine, and the more delicate meats, and laying aside their best attire. The first lamentation being over, the body was carried to those who professed the art of embalming, which, like other trades, they learned from their ancestors. These shewed the kindred of the deceased several models or patterns in wood and painted, together with a bill of the charges of each manner of preparation, and asked them which they would chuse: for there were three different ways of preparing dead bodies for burial. One was very exquisite and expensive, and came to a talent of silver, or about 258 l. 6 s. 8 d. the second was inferior, and of a moderate price, the charge being 20 *mina*, or a fourth part of the former sum; and the third was very mean, and cost but a trifle.

<sup>b</sup> CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. l. i. p. 30.

<sup>c</sup> AMBROS. de Abrahamo, l. 2. c. 11.

<sup>d</sup> HEROD.

ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>f</sup> DIOD. ubi sup. p. 81.

<sup>g</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>h</sup> SERVIVS in

Virgil. Æn. 3. ver. 67. Vid. AUGUST. Sermon. de divertis, & PLATON. in Phædon.

<sup>i</sup> DIOD. ubi

sup. p. 47.

- a This preliminary being settled, the embalmers took the body, and first drew out the brains through the nostrils with a crooked instrument of iron, and filled the vacancy with certain medicaments. Then one, whom they called the scribe, marked out, on the left side of the belly, how far the incision was to be made; and the *paraschistes*, whose office it was to make the incision, taking a sharp *Ethiopic* stone, cut open the body, as far as the law ordained, and immediately ran away as fast as he could, all that were present pursuing him, throwing stones at him, and cursing him, to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence to a dead body; but the *saricheutæ*, or embalmers, were highly esteemed and respected, conversing with the priests, and being with them admitted, as persons of sanctity, into the more sacred parts of their temples. When these came to dress the dissected body, one of them thrust his hand into it by the wound, and drew out all the intestines, except the heart and kidneys; another cleansed all the entrails, washing them with wine of palms and aromatic odours (G). Then the belly was filled with pounded myrrh, cassia, and other odoriferous drugs (frankincense only excepted) and the incision being sewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar and other things for above 30 days, or else laid in nitre for 70 days, which was the longest time allowed. At the expiration of which term, they washed the whole body, and bound fillets of fine linen round every part, covering it with gum, which the *Egyptians* used instead of glue. And all this was done without disfiguring the body; so that the very hairs remained on the brows and eye-lids, and the resemblance of the countenance was preserved, and easy to be known (H). The embalmers having done their parts, the relations received the corps, and put it into a wooden coffin, shaped like a man, which they set upright against the wall of the edifice designed for that purpose (I). For several of the *Egyptians* kept their dead at home with them above ground\*, in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleasure of seeing the lineaments of their ancestors, who died many ages before they were born; and they often brought the dried corps of a friend as a guest to their feasts†. The way of embalming which we have described, was the most costly manner of preserving the dead: those who were unable, or unwilling to be at so great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary preparation, which was done in this manner: they injected a clyster of oil of cedar by the common way, without opening the belly, or taking out the bowels, and laid the body in nitre the number of
- b
- c
- d

\* CICERO. *Tusc. quest.* l. 1. c. 9.

† LUCIAN de lectu.

(G) *Plutarch* writes, that when the belly was opened, they first exposed it to the sun, and cast the bowels into the Nile, as what defiled the body (1).

(H) This seems a little extraordinary, considering how the flesh of the face must have been dried by the salt; but an eye-witness assures us, that he saw some embalmed bodies, in *Egypt*, with the hair, beard, and nails, the fillets which covered the head and feet being rotted off (2).

(I) To the description of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* given above, we beg leave to add some observations as to those embalmed bodies, or mummies, as they are now called, which are frequently taken up and brought from *Egypt*.

The coffins in which they lie are very thick, and generally of sycamore, which in *Egypt* they call *Pharaoh's fig-tree*, and does not rot so soon as other wood; though some are of stone, and others of clothes pasted together, and very strong. The top of the coffin is usually cut into the shape of a head, with a face painted on it, resembling a woman; the rest is one continued trunk, and at the end of it is a broad pedestal, to set it upright upon in the repository. Some of these coffins are handsomely painted with several hieroglyphics.

The bodies appear in this manner: they are wrapped up in a shroud of linen, upon which are fastened divers scrolls of linen also, painted with sacred characters: these scrolls generally run down the belly and sides, or else are placed on the knees and legs. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of

linen cloth fitted with plaister, on which the countenance of the person is represented in gold; and the feet have also a cover of the same, painted with hieroglyphics, and fashioned like a high slipper. The whole body is swathed with fillets, or narrow bands of linen, beginning with the head, and ending with the feet, so artificially, and in so inimitable a manner wound round with so many casts, and turnings, and so often one upon another, that there cannot be less than a thousand ells of filleting upon one body. Those which cover the head and face being so neatly done, that they hinder not, but one may see the shape of the eyes, nose and mouth. On the breast is a sort of breast-plate, made with folds of linen cut scollop-wise, richly painted and gild: on which is usually the face of a woman with her arms expanded.

The inside of the body is filled with medicaments of the consistence, colour, and scent of pitch or bitumen, which waxes soft by the heat of the sun. In a skull of one of these bodies, there was found the quantity of two pounds of this preparation, which could not be infused any other way than by the nostrils, as *Herodotus* intimates. And the tongue of one being weighed, was less than seven grains *English* (3). Some curious persons in vain searched one of these mummies for the piece of money, which the ancient *Greeks* are said to put in the mouths of the dead, to pay *Charon* his fare (4). We are told however, that the greater part of these embalmed bodies have under the tongue a small plate of gold worth about two p.isses (5).

(1) *PLUT. apud Greaves, ubi inf.* (2) *Voyage de M. DE BREVES.* (3) *THEVENOT, Voy. part 1. c. 6.* *GREAVES, Pyramidogr. p. 49, 50.* (4) *Vid.*

*GASSEND. de vita Peirsc. l. 4.* (5) *BURRETINI apud Thevenot, Relat. part. 1. p. xxv.*

days abovementioned; at the end of which they let out the oil of cedar by the fundament, <sup>a</sup> which, by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the whole paunch and intrails shrunk and putrified; the nitre having consumed the flesh, and left nothing but the skin and bones. And when this was done, they delivered the body to the relations without any further operation. The third and last manner of preserving the dead, used only for the poorer sort, was performed by cleansing the belly by injected lotions, and salting the body for 70 days; after which it was taken away <sup>m</sup>. The wives of considerable persons, and all women who had been beautiful and dear to their relations, were not delivered to the embalmers presently after death; but were kept at home three or four days before they were carried out, to prevent those artists from abusing the bodies of such persons; for one of them was caught in such an action, and accused of it by his <sup>b</sup> companion. If any *Egyptian*, or even a stranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, wherever the body came ashore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the consecrated monuments, in the most costly manner; for none of his friends, or relations, or any other might touch his body, except the priests of the *Nile*, who buried him with their own hands, as something more than human <sup>n</sup>.

WHEN the corps of the deceased was prepared for the sepulchre, his nearest relations gave public notice of the day when such a one, by name, was to pass the lake, in order for his interment; to which the judges and all his friends were invited. At the time prefixed, above forty judges assembled, and sat in a semicircle, <sup>c</sup> in a certain place beyond the lake (which we suppose to be that of *Meris*.) The vessel, whose pilot was, in the *Egyptian* tongue, called *Charon*, being ready hauled up to the shore, before the coffin which contained the body was suffered to embark (K), every one was at liberty to accuse the deceased. If an accuser appeared, and made good his charge, that the deceased had led an ill life, the judges gave sentence accordingly, and the body was denied the usual burial: but if the accuser was convicted of having accused him unjustly, he incurred a severe punishment. If no accuser appeared, or if the accusation proved false, then the relations, laying aside their lamentation, proceeded to recite the praises of the deceased; in doing which they <sup>d</sup> took no notice of his descent, for all the *Egyptians* were held equally noble; but having mentioned in what manner he had been brought up and educated, they declared how he had lived and behaved himself after he became a man, enlarging on his piety, justice, temperance and other virtues; and beseeching the infernal gods to give him a favourable reception among the pious. The assistants joined their acclamations to this funeral oration, and celebrated the praises of the departed, as of one who was going to dwell for a long space of time with the just below. After this the body was deposited in the sepulchre of the family if they had one; and if they had not, they kept it at home with them in the manner abovementioned. Those that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt, were deposited <sup>e</sup> privately in their own houses. But it often happened, that the posterity of such persons growing rich, paid their debts, or obtained their pardon, and buried them in an honourable manner.

It must be acknowledged, that this institution of the *Egyptians*, in relation to their treatment of dead bodies, was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue, and the discouragement of vice. It is very plain, that the *Greeks* took all they fabled concerning the infernal judges, and the happiness and punishments of men after death, from this practice of the *Egyptians*: but *Diodorus* observes, that instead of bringing men to amendment of life by those fables, they incurred the ridicule and contempt of profligate persons, whereas in *Egypt* the reward of the good, and punishment of the wicked, after death, was not fabulous or imaginary, but really and daily distributed <sup>f</sup> in public, in the sight of all men <sup>o</sup>.

THE sepulchres wherein the *Egyptians* deposited the bodies of their dead, were built in various manners, according to the person's condition. The magnificence of the royal tombs have been already hinted; those of the antient kings at *Thebes*, it is said, could not be exceeded by their posterity. The sacred commentaries mentioned forty seven of them; but in the time of *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, there were but seventeen remaining; most of which were quite decayed when *Diodorus* visited those parts in the 180th *Olympiad*. Of the pyramids, which were built for the same pur-

<sup>m</sup> HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi sup.

<sup>n</sup> HEROD. ibid.

<sup>o</sup> DIOD. ubi sup. p. 82, &c.

(K) This is the sense of the original; though it should rather seem, by the judges sitting on the farther side of the lake, that the corps was actually

ferried over, but was not suffered to be disembarked, till sentence had passed.

- a pose, we have spoken sufficiently; and the sepulchre of *Ossymandyas* we may mention hereafter. The *Egyptians* of lower quality, at a great expence, cut subterraneous grots, or dormitories, in the rocks; such as those in the *Lybian* desarts, of which travellers speak so much, calling them *catacombes*, or *mummy-pits*. The entrance into them is by a square well, by which one may descend, setting the feet in the holes cut on each side for that purpose. These wells are not of equal depth, but the shallowest are above six mens height. At the bottom of the well there is a square opening, and a passage of ten or fifteen feet long, leading into several square vaulted chambers, each side of which are usually fifteen or twenty feet; and in the midst of every one of the four sides of the chamber is a bench cut out of the rock, upon which the
- b embalmed bodies lie. At the head of them there is commonly an idol, at the feet the image of a bird; and on the walls are several hieroglyphics, which might serve for epitaphs. Besides the principal bodies, there are other smaller ones, and particularly of children, which lie on the ground. Sometimes there are no less than twenty five or thirty of these chambers, or grots, having communication with one another; and the descent to them all is by one well. The stones of which *Strabo* observed a great number in a plain between *Syene* and *Phile*, are also by some thought to have been tombs. That author calls them *Hermæa*, from the resemblance they bore to the heaps of stones frequently erected by the highways in honour of *Mercury*; and he describes them to be a great smooth stone, almost spherical, of that hard and black marble of
- c which mortars were made, placed upon a greater stone, and surmounted by another; some of them lying by themselves: the greatest of them was no less than twelve feet diameter, and all of them above half so big.

THE antient *Egyptians* were the inventors of many useful arts and sciences: and thought they did not perhaps carry them afterwards to that perfection which might have been expected from them, since among them every man was obliged to apply himself to his paternal profession, and was confined to one particular art, or branch of learning only; yet whoever considers how difficult it is to lay the first foundations of any science, be they ever so small, will allow them great commendation.

Of their arts and sciences.

- As they acknowledge themselves indebted to their first kings for instructing them
- d how to provide the common necessities and conveniencies of life, so they attributed the honour of the first invention of the sciences to their *Hermes*, or *Mercuries*. How many there were of this name, when they lived, and what they invented or wrote, we shall enquire in another place, contenting ourselves here with a short account of the arts and learning which the *Egyptians* are supposed to have communicated to the rest of mankind, and the progress they made therein.

- THAT the *Egyptians* were early famous for wisdom and learning, appears from many antient writers, and even from the scriptures themselves: it is said, among other things, to the honour of *Moses*, that *he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*; and to magnify the wisdom of *Solomon*, we are told, that *it excelled all the wisdom*
- e *of Egypt*. Profane authors also unanimously testify this nation to have been the parent of all philosophical knowledge, and the only men that perfectly understood divine things.

- GEOMETRY is on all hands agreed to have been first found out in *Egypt*; and is said to have owed its rise to the setting out and measuring of their lands, the bounds of which were annually disturbed by the overflowing of the *Nile*. How far the *Egyptians* improved this science, is not very certain; but their skill therein seems not to have very profound, or to have extended to all geometrical quantities and subtle theories, like that of the moderns: the utmost they knew was probably no more than plain measuring, and such rules as were of common use in life. For
- f *Pythagoras*, who travelled into *Egypt* for the sake of their learning, after his return home offered a hecatomb, on his finding out the proportion of the longest side of a right angled triangle to the other two; and *Thales*, who also learned geometry in *Egypt*, sacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had hit on a method of inscribing a rectangled triangle within a circle: which inventions they could not have had from the *Egyptians*, unless we should say that those two philosophers unjustly arrogated to themselves what they were beholden to their masters for. Now, if these more simple, though noble propositions, were not then to be found in the *Egyptian* geometry, much less can it be supposed to have contained those more abstruse theo-

Of their geometry.

<sup>a</sup> BURRETTINI, ubi sup.

<sup>q</sup> STRABO, l. 17. p. 1173.

<sup>r</sup> DIODOR. ubi sup. p. 41.

<sup>s</sup> ACTS

vii. 22.

<sup>t</sup> 1 Kings iv. 30.

<sup>u</sup> MACROB. in Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 19. & Saturn. l. 1. c. 14. &

l. 7. c. 13.

<sup>v</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Proem. STRABO, l. 16, 17. PLATO, in Phædro. ACHILL.

TATIUS ad Aristi Phæn. IAMBlich. de vita Pythag. p. 144.

<sup>w</sup> HEROD. ubi sup. DIOD. p. 73.

<sup>x</sup> DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag.

<sup>y</sup> Idem in Thalete.



rems, and analytical methods, which were afterwards known, and for which we are indebted to the *Greeks*, who built so fine a superstructure on the old *Egyptian* foundation \*.

*Arithmetic.*

As arithmetic is not only of great use in itself, but absolutely necessary both in the theory and practise of geometry, that science was diligently cultivated in *Egypt*. That there was in later ages a kind of *algebra* known in that country, appears from the writings of *Diophantus*; but whether it was not an improvement made by the *Grecians*, after their settling there, cannot be affirmed; however, it was greatly inferior to the modern *algebra* in many respects \*.

*Astronomy.*

It is generally supposed, that astronomy was also an invention of the *Egyptians* \*, who by reason of the constant serenity of the air, and the flatness of their country, might observe the heavenly motions earlier, and with more ease than other people. *Herodotus* indeed gives the honour of this to the *Babylonians* †; but *Diodorus* makes the *Babylonians* themselves, as well as their sciences, to have been transplanted from *Egypt*. He attributes the first invention to those of *Thebes*; and says the *Egyptians* were accurate observers of the places and motions of the stars, and kept registers of their observations for an incredible number of years, having addicted themselves to this study in the most early ages; that they were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, and with their influences and effects; and by long experience were often able to make surprizing predictions of events in life, and to foretel famines, plenty, pestilential diseases, earthquakes, the appearance of comets, and other things which seemed to exceed human capacity. The *phenomena* they seem to have observed, were indeed the most obvious and easy; but thereby they were directed to adjust the length of the year to the anual revolution of the sun, which this nation first did, by adding to their twelve months, of thirty days apiece, five additional days and six hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* used the more rude and inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month every third year. But the great use they seem to have made of their astronomy, was either for the use of husbandry, or else for astrological calculations, with which the *Egyptians* were much in love. It is probable they might have a true notion of the system of the world, and of the matter of the planets and fixed stars; for they called the moon, an *ethereal earth*, and affirmed the stars to be fire ‡; however, they were far from having an exact knowledge of the theory of the planetary motions, so as to make any artificial calculations; since *Thales* was the first man who ventured to foretel an eclipse §, and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolemy* first reduced the heavenly morions into hypotheses and tables ¶.

*Physic.*

THE science of physic seems also to have owed its original to the *Egyptians* †. The invention of it is generally ascribed to *Æsculapius*, which name was given to *Tosorthrus*, or *Sesorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, and the second of the third dynasty of *Manetho*, for his great skill in that art \*. This prince was much more antient than the *Grecian* *Æsculapius*; and though *Africanus* places him some ages after *Atrothis*, the successor of *Menes*, and supposed to be the same with *Thoth*, or the first *Hermes*; yet others make them contemporaries †, as they must have been, if this *Æsculapius* was the same with the son of *Sydic*, and the brother of the *Cabiri* ‡. *Atrothis* is also said to have been a physician, and to have written some books of anatomy §, unless we rather ascribe those writings to the second *Hermes*, who might publish several inventions of the first *Hermes*, and of *Æsculapius*; for we are told, that among the *Hermetic* books there were six which treated of physic, and that the first of it was anatomical ¶. *Isis* herself is said also to have invented several medicines, and to have taught the art to her son *Orus*, or *Apollo*; whence she was held by the *Egyptians* to be the goddess of health ¶.

THE *Egyptian* physicians mentioned by *Moses* †, seem rather to have been embalmers than physicians, in the strict sense of the word; unless we suppose both arts were originally professed by the same person, which possibly might be the case, though in after-times it was otherwise. For every physician was not permitted to practise every branch of the art; but it was distributed into distinct parts, and each man applied himself to the cure of one disease only, pretending to no more. This occasioned a great number of physicians in *Egypt*; some professing to cure the diseases of the

\* Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 72. WOTTON's Reflections on ancient and modern learning, c. 9. p. 115. † Ibid. c. 14. p. 180. ‡ PLATO, in Epinom. ARIST. Metaph. l. 1. DIOG. LAERT.

& ACHIL. TATIUS, ubi sup. MANIL. Astron. l. 1. § HEROD. ubi sup. ¶ DIOG. ubi sup:

p. 46. HEROD. ubi sup. † PROCL. in Tim. Platonis, l. 1. p. 45. § DIOG. LAERT. in

Thalet. CICER. de Divinat. l. 1. PLIN. l. 2. c. 12. ¶ Vid. BURNET. ubi sup. p. 73, &c. † PLIN.

nat. hist. l. 7. c. 56. ‡ Vid. SYNCHELL. Chronogr. p. 56, 57. § MARSHAM. Canon. Chron.

p. 40. ¶ See before, p. 136. † SYNCHELL. ubi sup. ‡ CLEM. ALEX. Str. l. 1. p. 634.

¶ DIOG. Sic. l. 1. p. 22.

¶ Genes. l. 2.

a eyes; others those of the head, teeth, or parts about the belly; some applied themselves to chirurgical operations, whilst others undertook the care of internal distempers: by which regulation great improvements might have been expected from them in their several provinces, had not the laws as it were shut the door to any future discoveries, by obliging the physicians to prescribe according to fixed rules and receipts set down in their sacred registers, which had been collected from long observation and experience, and approved by the most famous men of the profession. So long as the physician followed these legal prescriptions, he was safe, let the success of the medicines be what it would; but if once he ventured to depart from them, and to follow his own private judgment, he was answerable for the event, and ran the hazard of his life in case the patient died<sup>a</sup>. It must be confessed however, that this was a most effectual method to prevent the mischievous practice of empirics. Another thing observable, in respect of the *Egyptian* physicians, is, that they had a public provision made for them by law; for which reason they were not to take any fee from those who happened to be sick in the army, or on a journey within the kingdom<sup>b</sup>.

THE *Egyptian* medicines seem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure; they chiefly prescribed evacuations, which they effected either by clysters, potions, or emetics, or else by fasting; and this they repeated every day, or let the patient rest three or four days, according to the case: for they were of opinion, that in the digestion of all food, the greater part was superfluous, and, loading nature, caused diseases<sup>c</sup>; for which reason those who lived in the corn-country used to vomit and purge themselves every month, three days successively, to preserve health, though otherwise they were by nature one of the most healthful people in the world<sup>d</sup>. The better to promote the operation of their medicines, the physicians, together with their proper art, also studied astrology and their ritual mysteries<sup>e</sup>; for the *Egyptian* practice of physick depending much on astrological and magical grounds, either the influence of some particular planet, or some tutelar daemon were still considered<sup>f</sup>; which precarious foundations must needs depreiate their skill, and stop any increase of knowledge which might be made on other principles. However, we cannot wholly assent to the opinion of a modern writer, who thence imagines the antient *Egyptian* prescriptions were not medicinal, but religious purifications only; and that the pharmaceutic books were filled, not with *recipes* for sickness and distempers, but with meats and drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations proper to be used in the several services of each deity<sup>g</sup>. What we have already observed from good authority, cannot agree with this notion.

THERE seems much less foundation for the assertion of some moderns, who tell *Chymistry*: us, there was a particular medicine used only among the *Egyptian* priests, and kept secret from the *Greeks*, and the generality of the natives themselves; which medicine was of such efficacy, that it could do any thing but restore life to the dead. This, they say, was the grand *elixir*, a chymical preparation made with the philosophers stone, the invention of *Hermes*; by the help of which the *Egyptian* kings were enabled to build the pyramids with the treasures their furnaces afforded them<sup>h</sup>. But such fancies are sufficiently confuted by the profound silence of antient authors in the matter, and the weak arguments of those who contend for this antiquity of chymistry, built on suspicious authorities, uncertain conjectures, and allegorical interpretations of the fabulous stories of the *Greeks*, which they will have to be chymical secrets disguised; fancying the golden fleece, which *Jason* fetched from *Colchis*, was only a receipt to make the philosophers stone; and that *Medea* restored *Æson*, his father, to his youth again, by the grand *elixir*<sup>i</sup>.

As they began to cultivate anatomy in *Egypt* very early, if credit may be given to *Anatomy*. what is said above, and their kings ordered dead bodies to be dissected for the perfection of this part of physick, it might be presumed they made greater progress therein than we can allow, if two instances that are given of the accuracy of the *Egyptian* anatomists be genuine. One of their observations was, that there is a particular nerve which goes from the heart to the little finger of the left hand; for which reason the *Egyptians* always wore rings upon that finger, and the priests dipped that finger in their perfumed ointments<sup>j</sup>. And the following reason is given why a man cannot live above one hundred years; because the *Alexandrian* embalmers observed a constant encrease and diminution of the hearts of those sound persons whom they opened, where-

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. ubi sup. p. 74.<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. p. 73.<sup>e</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.<sup>f</sup> Scholast. in Ptolem. Tetrabibl. l. 1.<sup>g</sup> Vid. CORNINGIUM de Hermetica Ægyptior. vetere, & Paracelsica nova medicina, & WORTON's Refl. on antient and modern learning, p. 119, &c.<sup>h</sup> SHUCKFORD's Connection, vol. II. p. 408, &c.<sup>i</sup> Vid. BORRICHIUM

de orta &amp; progressu Chymiz.

<sup>j</sup> Vid. WORTON, ubi sup. p. 120, &c.<sup>k</sup> FLIN. l. 19. c. 5.<sup>l</sup> A. GELLIIUS Noct. Attic. l. 10. c. 10. MACROB. Sat. l. 7. c. 13.

by they judged of their age; finding that the hearts of infants of a year old weighed a two drachms, and this weight increased annually by two drachms every year till men came to the age of fifty; from which time they as gradually decreased till they came to an hundred; when, for want of a heart, they must necessarily die <sup>a</sup>.

Natural philosophy.

Of the physiology of the old *Egyptians* (to consider it here distinctly from their theology, which two the antients constantly joined together) we have not much to say. Their opinion as to the origin of things, and the mundane revolutions, we have considered elsewhere <sup>c</sup>. Their philosophical doctrines, as it seems, may best be known by looking into that of the ancient *Greeks*, who were their scholars, and travelled into *Egypt* for instruction in these higher parts of learning; from whence it was, in all probability, that *Pythagoras* brought home the knowledge of that ancient system of the world which bears his name, and is now so generally received; though it seems to have been part of the secret doctrine of the *Egyptians*, and not revealed to the vulgar. It may not be amiss to observe, that the ancient *Barbarian* philosophers did not employ their studies in the explication of this or that particular phenomenon, or direct their enquiries into the examination of things taken singly; it being in vain to expect from them, for example, the cause of the attractive power of the loadstone, or of the colours of the rainbow; what is the substance of fire, and what the particles of water; or how great the force of compressed air: but their speculations were about the mundane phenomena, or those which affected universal nature; such as the first beginning of things, their revolutions, periods, and final catastrophe <sup>b</sup>.

Magic.

BUT the science for which the *Egyptians* were particularly famous, and the attainment whereof was esteemed the highest pitch of knowledge <sup>a</sup>, was magic. Some imagining the invention of this art to exceed human capacity, pretend the angels, who fell in love with the antediluvian women, first taught it; that *Ham* preserved the principal rules of it from being lost at the deluge; and that *Mizraim* learned those secrets of his father <sup>b</sup>. But others ascribe the invention to *Hermes* <sup>c</sup>; though it is said to have been much improved by *Nechepfos* a king of *Egypt* <sup>d</sup>. However, the art was certainly very antient in *Egypt*; they had magicians, who pretended to the interpretations of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup in the time of *Joseph* <sup>e</sup>; and very extraordinary instances were given of the power of enchantments in the days of *Moses* <sup>f</sup>. The professors of magic, among the *Egyptians*, were the priests and sacred scribes, two of which order, named *Jannes* and *Jambres*, were pitched upon to withstand that prophet <sup>g</sup>. Nor was this science confined to that nation in those early times: from the caution given to *Moses* to the *Israelites* against them <sup>h</sup>, it is evident there were pretenders to it under various denominations, among most of the idolatrous people; and *Balaam*, in particular, seems to have been a considerable proficient therein <sup>i</sup>. The claim of *Zoroastes* and the *Babylonians* to the honour of the first practising and teaching magic shall be considered in another place.

WHAT were the real grounds of this science we cannot say; there is an innocent kind of magic, which consists only in an excelling knowledge of nature, and its various powers and qualities in its several productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation and comprehension <sup>a</sup>; but the magical wisdom of the *Egyptians* must have been something very different from this, or have gone much beyond what we are now matters of, notwithstanding those vast and various discoveries which have been lately made in the properties of natural bodies; there being no one, as we presume, who will now pretend to do those wonderful things which *Pharaoh's* magicians did when they contended with *Moses*; not to insist on the improbability that that law-giver would forbid the practice of an art which he must know to be not only innocent, but valuable.

It is therefore supposed, that these ancient magicians formed the rules of their art either from their superstitious belief of the great influence the heavenly bodies had on this lower world; or, from that other, though more late opinion, that the world was governed by inferior intelligences or demons, and the spirits of heroes and extraordinary men deceased. As to the first foundation of this science, we have already observed, that the *Egyptians* assigned each month and day to a particular god: they imagined that the seven planets governed the seven days of the week <sup>b</sup>; and pretended that by the observation of the motion of the celestial bodies, through a long series of years, they had obtained

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. l. 9. c. 37. CENSORIN de die natali, c. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Introd. p. 12, &c.

<sup>c</sup> BURNET.

Archæol. l. 1. p. 78. Vid. STRABON. l. 17.

<sup>d</sup> PLIN. l. 30. c. 1.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 81, and 120,

in the notes.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. PHILASTRIUM Brixienf. Hæres. n. 3.

<sup>g</sup> AUSEN. Ep. 19.

<sup>h</sup> Gen. xli. 8.

xlv. 5, 15.

<sup>i</sup> Exod. vii. 11, &c.

<sup>j</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 8.

NUMENIUS apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 8. c. 8.

ARTABANUS apud eund. ibid. l. 9. c. 27.

<sup>k</sup> Deut. xviii. 10, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. c. xxiii. 23, and xxiv. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Sir W. TEMPLE's essay on the wisdom of the antients.

<sup>n</sup> DION CASSIUS, l. 36. p. 37.

the

- a the art of foreseeing future events<sup>1</sup>. They also thought the influence of those heavenly bodies on the elements, caused such effluxes as might affect the mind of those who were duly prepared to receive them, so as to enable them to deliver oracles; and even that they might, by a proper discipline, make them capable of working wonders, and procuring prodigies<sup>2</sup>. For they believed the sun, moon, stars, and elements were indued with intelligence, and appointed by the supreme Deity to govern the world<sup>3</sup>; and though they acknowledged that God might<sup>4</sup>, upon extraordinary occasions, work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or prophecies; yet they imagined also, that, generally speaking, prodigies were caused, oracles given, and visions occasioned in a natural way, by the observation or influence of the courses  
b of heavenly bodies, and by the operations of the powers of nature; and they conceived, that their learned professors could work miracles, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams, by a deep study of, and profound enquiry into natural knowledge, and assisted by a proper temper and disposition of mind, attainable by the use of such means as they thought had a natural power to raise warm conceptions, produce enthusiastic fury, and fetter their reason, which they fancied averted the divine instinct, such as inebriating liquors, music, and the like<sup>5</sup>; and in all these things they supposed the deity not immediately concerned, but that they were the natural effects of the influence of the planets and elements, seeming strange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully understood by persons of science and philosophy<sup>6</sup>. The other  
c foundation of magic was built on an opinion which was something later than the former, viz. that spirits, or demons, of a nature superior to men, were employed in the government of the world, and had their several provinces appointed them by God<sup>7</sup>; and to this honour they imagined the souls of departed heroes and extraordinary men were also admitted: for which reason they supposed, they had not only powers far exceeding those of mortal men, but ascribed oracles, visions, and omens to the ministry of such spirits. And these notions are not greatly different from the almost unanimous opinion of *Jews* and *Christians*, who acknowledge the superintendence of angels over human affairs, the malicious intermeddling of evil spirits therein, and the great knowledge and abilities of both<sup>8</sup>. Whether, by the law of nature, all kind of commerce with these invisible agents was prohibited, or not, has been thought not so clear; though it be plainly forbidden to *Christians*, either because the government of the intellectual world was changed at the coming of CHRIST<sup>9</sup>; or rather because of the mischiefs that ill-designing men might thereby be enabled to do, and the door it might open to idolatry and superstition. That such a commerce is, or at least formerly was, possible, we cannot but confess; and we conceive it very difficult to account for several passages in scripture, without allowing it to have been practised; as we may observe hereafter: however, much the greater part of what has been attributed to this sort of magic, was undoubtedly the effect of imposture and delusion,  
d which have been so apparent in several instances, as to tempt one almost to believe the same of all the rest.

SOME of the other arts of the *Egyptians*, which were less considerable, we have already occasionally taken notice of. The *Greek* writers tell us, that all trades and professions in *Egypt*, even the most inferior, were not reckoned ignoble; husbandmen, and those who fed cattle, in particular, were much considered<sup>10</sup>; though these latter, in some parts of the country, were not suffered, but counted an abomination<sup>11</sup>; the reason of which was chiefly the difference in religion. For the skill of the *Egyptians* in architecture, mechanics, painting, and sculpture, we need only refer to what we have said in the preceding section: yet, as to the last, we may add, that their statuaries worked by the most methodical rules of proportion, and not by the eye, as the *Greeks*  
f did; and they judged of the exactness of the symmetry by the same. For they divided the whole body into twenty one parts and one fourth; and after the artists, who were employed, had come to a resolution as to the size of the statue, they went home, each taking his task, which they performed with such singular skill, and made the several parts so accurately proportionable to one another as was wonderful. It is said the most famous statuaries among the antients lived sometime in *Egypt*; particularly *Telecles* and *Theodorus*, the sons of *Rhoecus*, who made the famous statue of *Apollo Pythius* in *Samos*, after the *Egyptian* manner; for it was divided into two parts, from the head to the groin; *Telecles* cutting one half in *Samos*, and his brother the other half at *Ephesus*;

And other arts.

<sup>1</sup> CICERO de divin. l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH. de defect. orac.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. CICERO. de nat.

Deor. l. 2. c. 15. & Acad. quest. l. 4. c. 34, 37.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. eund. de divinat. l. 1. c. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Vid.

PLUT. ubi supr. p. 432.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. SHUCKFORD, ubi supr. p. 391, &c.

<sup>7</sup> PLUT. ubi supr. p. 418.

<sup>8</sup> See before, p. 49, 50.

<sup>9</sup> See BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 103.

<sup>10</sup> See before, p. 201, 213, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Dion. Sic. l. 1. p. 67, &c.

<sup>12</sup> Genes. xlv. 34.

which being jointed together, fitted so exactly, that they seemed to have been made by a one hand: and this seemed the more admirable, considering the attitude of the statue, which had its hands stretched out, and its legs at a distance from each other in a moving posture.

Of their navigation on the Nile.

WE had almost forgot to speak of the extraordinary construction of the vessels which the old *Egyptians* made use of on the *Nile*. Their ships of burden were made of the *acantha* or *Egyptian thorn*<sup>a</sup>; from which they cut small planks about two cubits square: these pieces of timber they set together like tiles, and fastened with a great number of long pins; and when the whole was thus well compacted, they erected benches for the rowers. For they used no kind of ribs, or bent timber in their work, but secured the joints of the inside with bands of *papyrus*. They had but one rudder,<sup>b</sup> which passed quite through the keel, a mast of *acantha*, and a sail made of the *papyrus*. These vessels were very unfit to mount the river against the stream, and therefore were always towed up, unless the wind proved very fresh and favourable. But when they came down with the current, they fastened a hurdle of *tamarisk* with a rope to the prow of the vessel; which hurdle they strengthened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water: they also hung a stone, pierced through the middle, and of a considerable weight, by another rope, to the poop. By this means the stream bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition, the stone at the same time balancing and keeping it steady. Of these vessels they had great numbers on the river, and some very large<sup>c</sup>. The *Egyptian* navigation by sea we shall mention by and by, when we come to speak of their trade.

How the Egyptians preserved their knowledge.

THE manner wherein the old *Egyptians* preserved their knowledge, and transmitted it to posterity, deserves to be particularly considered. Their priests, as we have already intimated, were the depositaries of all their learning; they had the care of their philosophy and other sciences, as well as of their religion and sacred rites<sup>a</sup>, and were the persons to whom those who desired to be instructed therein were obliged to apply themselves; for which purposes they had divers colleges or academics in several parts of the kingdom: one of which, at *Heliopolis*, is mention'd by *Strabo*, who visited the apartments where *Eudoxus* and *Plato* had studied for several years<sup>b</sup>. The *Egyptian* learning was partly inscribed on columns, and partly committed to writing in the sacred books. Not only the *Egyptians*, but several other ancient nations, used to preserve the memory of things by inscriptions on pillars: to say nothing of those which *Seth*, as it is pretended, erected before the flood for the same purpose<sup>c</sup>, we are told the *Babylonians* kept their astronomical observations engraven on bricks<sup>d</sup>; and *Democritus* is said to have transcribed his moral discourses from a *Babylonish* pillar<sup>e</sup>. But the most famous of all others, were the columns of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, mentioned by several valuable authors: upon them he is reported to have inscribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large by the second *Hermes* in several books. It is certain, at least, that from these pillars the *Greek* philosophers and *Egyptian* historians took many things. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* both read them, and borrowed their philosophy from thence<sup>f</sup>: *Sauconiathe* and *Manetho* likewise made use of the same monuments<sup>g</sup>, which were still remaining in the time of *Proclus*, or not long before<sup>h</sup>. They stood in certain subterraneous apartments near *Thebes*<sup>i</sup>. To these inscriptions succeeded the sacred books, somewhat more recent, but not less famous; to which *Sauconiathe*<sup>j</sup> and *Manetho*<sup>k</sup> are also said to have been beholden for the perfecting of their histories. For these books did not only contain what related to the worships of the gods, and the laws of the kingdom, but historical collections, nay, even all kind of miscellaneous and philosophical matters of considerable moment. For it was part of the business of the priests, or sacred scribes, to insert in those public registers whatever deserved to be recorded and transmitted to posterity, as well as carefully to preserve what had been delivered down to them from their ancestors<sup>l</sup>.

THESE were the literary monuments of the *Egyptians*. Of each kind there were some that were obvious and plain to be understood by the common people and strangers; and others more dark and mysterious, which were laid up in the inner recesses of the temples, and communicated but to a very few. For there were two sorts of learning among the antients, and particularly the *Egyptians*, the vulgar and

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. p. 88. <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 182, c. <sup>c</sup> HEROD. l. 2. <sup>d</sup> Vid. PORPHYR. de Abstin. STRAB. l. 17. p. 1159. <sup>e</sup> CLEM. ALEX. STR. l. 1. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 86. <sup>f</sup> STRABO, ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 81. <sup>h</sup> PLIN. l. 7. c. 56. <sup>i</sup> CLEM. ALEX. ubi sup. <sup>j</sup> IAMBlich. de Myst. §. 1. c. 2. PROCLUS apud Burnet, ubi infra. <sup>k</sup> EUSEB. PRÆP. EV. l. 1. c. 9 & 10. & Chronic. Gr. p. 6. <sup>l</sup> PROCLUS, ubi sup. <sup>m</sup> PAUSAN. l. 1. p. 78. AMMIAN MARCELL. l. 22. p. 232. <sup>n</sup> EUSEB. PRÆP. EV. l. 1. c. 9. <sup>o</sup> JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. 1. <sup>p</sup> Vid. eund. ibid. PLAT. in Tim. STRAB. l. 17. p. 139.



- a the *secret*; the difference between which consisted not so much in the matter, as in the manner of delivering it. The first was open to all, who might be instructed therein by the public monuments, and the ordinary matters; but the other, lest it should grow cheap, or be corrupted by passing through vulgar hands, was veiled and disguised by more methods than one. For, the monuments of this superior sort of learning, besides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a character not commonly understood, and guarded by the priests, who were extremely difficult of access, and could not be prevailed on to explain them, but after abundance of preparation and initiatory ceremonies<sup>a</sup>; a memorable instance of which was their usage of *Pythagoras*. This person designing to travel into *Egypt*, b desired *Polycrates*, the tyrant of *Samos*, to recommend him, by letter, to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, who was his particular friend, that he might have the free admission to the secret learning of the priests; and when he came to *Amasis*, he obtained also of him letters to the priests, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. Thence he went, first to those of *Heliopolis*, who referred him to the college at *Memphis*, as their seniors; and from *Memphis* he was sent, under the same pretext, to *Thebes*: after much tergiversation, not daring to disobey the king's command, by any farther dilatory excuses, they endeavoured to deter *Pythagoras* from his purpose, by the infinite labour and trouble he was to expect, injoining him, in his noviciate, things that were very hard, and contrary to the religion of the *Greeks*. c And when he had undergone all this with invincible courage, he obliged them at length, against their wills, to admit him to a participation of their sacred mysteries, and profoundest learning<sup>b</sup>.

THE last method which the *Egyptians* took to conceal their doctrines from popular conception, was by wrapping it up in hieroglyphics, symbols, ænigmas and fables. Of the hieroglyphic figures we shall take notice immediately. As to the rest, it is well known that the ancients in general used to deliver their instructions under those dark veils of allegory and fiction; instances of which are too frequent, both in sacred and profane writers, to need quotation: there being few or none in the most early times, either among the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who taught any d part of philosophy plainly and intelligibly<sup>c</sup>; as if they thought that to express things in a familiar and easy manner, argued want of acuteness; or else imagined, that modesty forbade them to shew truth naked to the vulgar. The *Egyptians* seem to have excelled other nations in the obscurity of their fictions; wherein the footsteps of truth were often so faint, that they required a sagacious tracer, and one able to discern things of moment from trifles<sup>d</sup>.

IN their inscriptions and writings, the *Egyptians* made use of three several sorts of characters: the first and most ancient was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical instruments; of which three things the hieroglyphics, both of the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, consisted<sup>e</sup>: though e there is reason to think the *Egyptians* had also another sort of characters, called *hieroglyphical*, and made use of by the priests, something resembling the present *Chinese* characters<sup>f</sup>. They are said to have been the invention of *Hermes*; and a specimen of his performance therein, is given us by *Sanchoiatho*<sup>g</sup>. The conjecture of Sir *John Marsham* is by no means improbable, that the use of these hieroglyphical figures of animals introduced the strange worship which was paid them by that nation<sup>h</sup>; for as those figures were made choice of, according to the respective qualities of each animal, to express the qualities and dignities of the persons they represented, which were generally their gods, princes, and great men; the people became gradually accustomed to these figures, which they used to place in their temples f as the images of their deities; whence it is not absurd to imagine that they came at length to pay a superstitious veneration to the living animals themselves. And this opinion we rather approve, than the contrary one of a late learned writer, who supposes the sacred animals were first appointed and consecrated to each god, and the hieroglyphics afterwards formed from them<sup>i</sup>.

THERE are large collections among the antiquaries of hieroglyphical inscriptions, images and pictures, which they have taken a great deal of pains to explain, but with very little success<sup>k</sup>; for if we except a few of these characters, the meaning

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 60, a. <sup>b</sup> PLUTARCH de Isid. & Osir. p. 354. STRAB. l. 17. p. 1159. <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 214, a. <sup>d</sup> PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. <sup>e</sup> Vid. DIOG. LAERT. in præf. PHORNU. cap. de fab. antiq. trad. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. 5. p. 556, &c. <sup>f</sup> PLUT. Erot. p. 763. <sup>g</sup> DION. Sic. l. 3. p. 145. <sup>h</sup> Vid. PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. p. 12. <sup>i</sup> See before, p. 118, c. <sup>j</sup> MARSH. Can. Chron. p. 38. <sup>k</sup> SHUCKFORD, Connect. Vol. II. p. 331, &c. <sup>l</sup> Vid. KIRCHER. Oedip. MONTFAUCON, Antiq. expliq. PIGNORI Menf. Ilic. &c.

of which has been preserved by old writers (L), there is great reason to suspect their a conjectures are very ill-founded; and particularly as to those figures which they suppose to represent the old *Egyptian* gods; the greater part of them being in human form, with the head of some animal, or else distinguished by some animal representation set upon their heads, or near them; whereas, as we have observed, images of human form were not introduced among the *Egyptians* till later times; and why such figures might not be made in memory of some of their most famous men, we cannot see, since it was the old *Egyptian* custom to represent, not the man's person, but his manners, characters, station and honour<sup>1</sup>; and this they did by hieroglyphics.

BESIDES these, the *Egyptians* also used literal characters, of which they had two sorts; one of them they called the *sacred letters*, in which their public registers, b and all matters of a higher nature were written; and the other the *vulgar*, or *epitolographic*, made use of by every body in common business<sup>m</sup>. The *Egyptians* were not the only people who observed such a distinction in their writing; several of the eastern nations, particularly the *Ethiopians* and *Babylonians*, had two different kinds of letters<sup>n</sup>; and the modern *Brahmins* among the *Indians*, have not only a sacred character, but a sacred language also, in which they are very shy of instructing strangers<sup>o</sup>.

WHEN, and by whom letters were invented, we shall not now enquire; it will be sufficient to observe here, that though most other nations are supposed to have received them from the *Egyptians*, yet themselves possibly learned them of their c neighbours the *Ethiopians*, among whom letters were in use very early, and whose vulgar character became the sacred one of the *Egyptians*<sup>p</sup>. Both these sorts of old *Egyptian* letters are now lost, or if the forms of them remain in any old inscriptions, they are unintelligible, and cannot be decyphered. All that we know of them is, that the alphabet consisted of twenty five letters<sup>q</sup>, and that they wrote from the right hand to the left<sup>r</sup>, as most of the oriental nations still do. We can by no means come into the opinion of those who imagine the present *Coptic* letters to have been those of the ancient *Egyptians* (M); for the *Coptic* alphabet is manifestly

<sup>1</sup> Vid. PLUT. ubi sup. See SHUCKFORD, Connect. Vol. II. p. 348, &c. <sup>m</sup> HEROD. l. 2. DIODOR. l. 1. p. 72. Vid. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. 5. p. 555. PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. p. 185. <sup>n</sup> Vid. DIODOR. l. 3. p. 144. DIOG. LAERT. in Democrito. LUCIAN de Macrob. <sup>o</sup> Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. cap. 8. <sup>p</sup> DIODOR. ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. p. 374. <sup>r</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

(L) Thus we are told they represented the supreme Deity, by a serpent with the head of a hawk (1). The hawk itself was the hieroglyphic of *Osiris*; the river-horse of *Typhon*; the dog of *Mercury*; the cat of the moon, or *Diana*; the beetle of a courageous warrior; a new-born child of the rising sun, and the like (2).

(M) Della Valle thinks the modern *Coptic* letters were the vulgar letters of the ancient *Egyptians*, and not taken by them from the *Greeks*; because, 1. The *Greeks*, when they express numbers by letters, according to the order of the alphabet, for the number 6, use  $\varsigma$ , which is supposed to be not a simple letter, but the compound character *Sigma-tau*; for which they are not able to give any reason: whereas by the *Coptic* alphabet it appears to have been originally the sixth letter, though it be wanting in the *Greek*. 2. The *Copts* pronounce the vowels and diphthongs, not according to the corrupt pronunciation of the modern *Greeks*, but after the ancient manner. 3. He found some *Coptic* letters on a mummy, among hieroglyphics; which shews they were in use before that way of writing was lost (3). But it may be answered, that the *Greek* numeral  $\varsigma$ , and the *Coptic*  $\text{So}$ , are really no other than the *Samaritan Waw* set backwards, or the *Æolic Digamma*, which the *Greeks* afterwards threw out of their common alphabet, as they did the *Kappa* and *Sampi* (the *Samaritan Kaph* and *Sade*) they being also used as numerals only; but the *Copts* have retained the figure of the *Waw*, call-

ing it *So* or *Sou* (which signifies *fix*, the number it stands for) though they never use it, we believe, otherwise than as a numeral; nay, in some *Coptic* alphabets, the *Kappa* and *Sampi* are still inserted (4). Which joined with the other two arguments of Della Valle, may prove the *Greek* letters to have been used very early in *Egypt*, but not that they were originally *Egyptian*.

Kircher (5) goes something farther. He endeavours to prove the *Coptic* letters were invented by *Hermes*, and most of them formed from some of the sacred animals, as the *ibis*, the serpent, the bull, the ram, and the hawk. And to such as have not pertinent names, he gives others, which have an apt signification in *Coptic*: *Zida*, for example, he calls *Zenta*, i. e. *life*, of which the serpent, whose form this letter bears, is the symbol; and *Xi* he calls *Xanuti*, i. e. *a chain*, the links of which it seems to resemble. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that the first *Egyptian* letter was the *ibis* (6); that bird, with its legs divaricated, and bill inserted between them, making the figure of an equilateral triangle (7), which comes something near the *Coptic Alpha*; but we know not how this can be carried farther with any certainty. *Clement Alexandrinus* mentions four golden images of gods, viz. two dogs, a hawk, and an *ibis*, which used to be carried in procession at a certain solemnity, and that they called them *four letters* (8). Now though *Kircher* has derived seven letters from the *ibis*, and one from the hawk, yet he could find

(1) EUSEB. de prep. Ev. l. 3. c. 10. p. 41. (2) Vid. PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. l. 1. c. 3. p. 145. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. 5. p. 566. (3) DELLA VALLE, Viag. l. 2. II. (4) F. d. ED. BURNARDI

Tab. alphabetor. n. XXVI. (5) In Oedip. Ægypt. Tom. 3. p. 42, &c. & in Turr. Babel. p. 177, &c. (6) PLUT. Sympos. l. 4. quæst. 5. (7) Ibid. l. 9. quæst. 3. (8) CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. 5. p. 567.

nothing but the *Greek*, with the addition of some few letters, to express sounds which the *Grecians* had not, and probably came to be used in *Egypt* after the time of *Alexander*, though we know the *Greek* language, and perhaps their letters also, were taught there long before, viz. in the reign of *Psammitichus* \*. That the reader may judge of this affinity, we have here inserted the *Coptic* alphabet.

The COPTIC ALPHABET:

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
Α α	Alpha	A.	Π π	Pi	P.
Β β	Beta	B. V.	Ρ ρ	Ro	R.
Γ γ	Gamma	G.	Σ σ	Sima	S.
Δ δ	Dalda	D.	Τ τ	Tau	T.
Ε ε	Ei	E.	Υ υ	Ypsilon	Y. U.
Ϝ ϝ	So	S.	Φ φ	Pbi	Pb.
Ζ ζ	Zita	Z.	Χ χ	Chi	Ch. Græc.
Η η	Hita	I. Æ.	Ω ω	O	O long.
Θ θ	Tbita	Tb.	Ϙ ϙ	Sbei	Sb.
Ι ι	Iauda	I.	Ϛ ϛ	Fei	F.
Κ κ	Kappa	K.	Ϝ ϝ	Kbei	Kb.
Λ λ	Lauda	L.	Ϟ ϟ	Hori	H.
Μ μ	Mi	M.	Ϡ ϡ	Tanja	T.
Ν ν	Ni	N.	Ϣ ϣ	Sbima	Sb.
Ξ ξ	Xi	X.	Ϥ ϥ	Dbei	Db.
Ο ο	O	O short.	Ϸ ϸ	Epsi	Pf.

THE old *Egyptian* language was certainly one of the most ancient in the world, and in all probability an original, or mother tongue, which took rise at the confusion of *Babel* <sup>Of their language.</sup>. It appears to have been formed at least so early as the time of *Joseph*, who when he was made governour of *Egypt* had a new name given him of *Egyptian* derivation \*, and speaking to his brethren in that language, was obliged to make use of an interpreter †:

\* Idem ibid. DIODOR. l. 1. p. 61. † See before, p. 156. a. ‡ Genes. lxi. 45. § Gen. lxii. 23.

find none that seemed to have any affinity with the dog; which shews how precarious these conjectures are, though we confess them to be ingenious. It is not improbable that the *Egyptians* in later times, when they had lost their ancient letters and learning, and had for some centuries made use of the *Greek* alphabet only, the introduction of which they had forgotten, might imagine their letters then in use to be those ancient ones used by their ancestors, and thereupon endeavour to find mysteries in them which it is easy for men of warm conceptions and enthusiastic way of thinking to do in the most trivial things.

Another learned author seems also to have been once of opinion that the *Greek* alphabet was derived from the *Coptic*; for he says, the letters used by *Moses*, and throughout all *Asia*, have not the least affinity with the *Greek* (which is contrary to the sentiments of almost all learned men) but that the *Coptic* or *Egyptian* letters have the utmost resemblance to them, and, which he thinks more ob-

servable, the manner of writing in all *Asia* is from the right hand to the left; but the manner of writing in *Egypt* and *Greece*, is from the left hand to the right; and this he wonders Sir *Isaac Newton* could not distinguish (1.) We agree that the manner of writing in *Egypt* is now as this gentleman says, (we mean when they write *Coptic*) but that it *was* so anciently he would have been much in the wrong to affirm, *Herodotus* expressly testifying the contrary (2); and the derivation of the *Greek* alphabet from the *Samaritan* is so apparent, that this writer himself, in a later work of his, seems to make no doubt of it; and goes a little too far, as we apprehend, on the other side, in asserting the *Samaritan* characters to have been the old *Egyptian* (3); which may possibly be true, but is more, we believe, than at this time can be proved.

We will not deny however, but that the seven letters added by the *Egyptians* to the *Greek* alphabet, may be the remains of their ancient characters yet we are rather of a contrary opinion.

(1.) BEDFORD'S Animadu. on Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p. 27, 68. (2) See the preceding page. (3) BEDFORD'S Script. Chronol. p. 494. and

and yet this very language is in some measure preserved to our own times in the present <sup>a</sup> *Coptic*, though, by reason of the almost continual subjection of that nation to foreigners, ever since their conquest by *Cambyfes*, a considerable part of it has been lost; in return for which it has received a great number of *Greek*, and some *Persian*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* words, during the long time they have been under the successive yokes of those nations. The *Arabic* at present prevails so universally in *Egypt*, that the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians* themselves, generally speak no other, the common people having utterly lost the knowledge of their ancient tongue, which few, even of their priests, understand to any degree of perfection.

Its present  
state.

THE *Coptic* tongue as far as preserved at present consists chiefly of the old *Egyptian* and *Greek*; still bearing evident marks of primitive antiquity in its structure, where. <sup>b</sup> in it differs so widely from all the oriental and *European* languages, that it is impossible to conceive it derived from any of them. For the *Copts* neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs (not even those of foreign extract) otherwise than by prefixing particles sometimes of one, sometimes of more syllables, and sometimes of a single letter, which denote the case, gender, number, and person; several of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word usually placed last. So that the difficulty of this tongue consists in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in transposing the middle part of the word, and adding of servile letters; to distinguish all which requires great labour and skill.

Of their trade  
and naviga-  
tion.

As *Egypt* is excellently situated for commerce, the trade of the western parts of <sup>c</sup> *Asia*, all *Europe*, and the north lying open to it by the *Mediterranean*, and that of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, and the southern and western coasts of *Africa* by the red sea; the eastern merchandizes being commodiously brought into *Egypt* on camels by the *Isthmus* of *Sues*; it is to be presumed so industrious and sensible a people were not long without making use of those advantages; which they might be induced to, not only by the prospect of gain, but also to supply themselves with those things which their country wanted, such as metals, timber, pitch, rosin, and the like; which they might do by disposing of their own many and rich productions and manufactures, such as corn, linen, paper, glass, and several other valuable commodities. Sir *John* <sup>d</sup> *Maryhem* supposes that the *Egyptians* did not apply themselves to merchandize till the time of the *Ptolemies*; but in this he seems to be mistaken; for though those Princes did very much encourage trade, recovering that of the east to their subjects, by building of *Berenice*, *Myos-hormos*, and other ports on the *Arabian* gulph, so that *Alexandria* became the greatest mart in the world; yet the *Egyptians* certainly traded very considerably with foreigners long before. For, not to insist on their claim to the first invention of commerce, which they say was discovered by *Osiris*, and their *Mercury* <sup>e</sup>, not only *Diodorus* tells us that *Psammitichus* gained great riches by trade before he was king of all *Egypt*, but we learn from scripture that the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites* traded thither so early as the time of *Jacob* <sup>f</sup>; and it is presumed that they had anciently the sovereignty of the red sea, by which means they engrossed all the trade of the *Indies*, and other parts which were then carried on that way. They seem indeed to have been dispossessed of it, if what *Philostratus* relates be true, by a certain prince named *Erythras*, (whom some imagine to be the same with *Esau*, or *Edom*) for he being master of the red sea, made a law, or regulation, that the *Egyptians* should not enter that sea with any ships of war, and with no more than one merchant ship at a time. To evade which, the *Egyptians* built a vessel so large and capacious, that it might answer the end of several. However, afterwards, *David* becoming master of *Elath* and *Esfiongeber*, two ports on the red sea belonging to *Edom*, which he had conquered, built ships there, as some say, and ferched gold from *Ophir*; but whether that be true or no, *Solomon*, his son, certainly established a very great trade there, which it is not improbable he might do by permission, or with the participation of the *Egyptians*, to whose king he was son-in-law. And this trade the *Jews* continued to share with them, with some little interruption, till the time of *Abaz*, when they entirely lost it, and it fell into the hands of the *Syrians*, and after of the *Tyrians*, till the *Ptolemies* recovered the whole again to their own subjects, as has been said before.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. SICARD. dans les Memoires des Missions, Tom. II. p. 61.

Differt. de ling. Coptica, p. 120, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Canon. Chron. Sec. 14. p. 367.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. WILKINS

Hist. du Commerce & de la Navig. des anciens, c. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. HURT.

xxxvii. 25, 36.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. HURT, ubi supr. c. 48.

<sup>f</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 60.

<sup>g</sup> Genef.

<sup>h</sup> EUPOLEM. ap. Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 30.

<sup>i</sup> De vita Apolloni, l. 3. c. 35.

<sup>j</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 6.

<sup>k</sup> 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.

<sup>l</sup> Kings ix. 26, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. STRAB. l. 16.

- a SOME writers have indeed expressly asserted, that *Psammitichus* was the first king of *Egypt* who opened the ports to strangers, and granted foreign merchants security in his dominions; and that the ancient princes, being content with the abundant riches of their own country, would not permit strangers to have any access to it, fortifying the frontiers against them, and particularly against the *Greeks*. But this cannot be understood of any other commerce than that which was driven by the *Mediterranean* sea, while the *Greeks* committed their piracies along the coasts of *Egypt*, and being themselves excluded thence on that account, complained of such treatment as a great injustice, and a restriction against the law of nations, representing the *Egyptians* as a barbarous nation, renouncing all pretensions to humanity and hospitality; whence arose the fable of the cruelty of *Busiris*: for that the *Egyptians* did before this trade with nations on the other side of their country, is evident from the abovementioned instance of the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites*, the easy access which *Abraham* and the sons of *Jacob* had to *Egypt*, and from *Solomon's* having horses from thence.

TOWARD the *Greeks* indeed they behaved themselves with some caution and reserve, even after they were admitted; for, after the time of *Psammitichus*, though *Amasis*, who was their great friend, suffered them to build the city of *Naucratis* for the settlement and residence of their merchants; yet that was the sole place in the whole kingdom where he allowed them to have a factory. They sailed up to it by the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile* (N); and if by any accident a vessel entered any other mouth of that river, the owners, after making oath that they were forced in there against their will, were obliged to go back to that channel; or, if the winds were contrary, to unlade, and send up their goods to *Naucratis* by the river vessels.

THOUGH the *Egyptians*, on a religious account, bore a great aversion to the sea, which they called *Typhon*, because it swallows up their *Nile*, and hated strange sailors so much that they would not speak to them; and, though they were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing luxury and foreign customs, yet were they not ignorant of sea affairs, having an order of men among them who followed nothing else; nay, the *Grecians* confess they learned navigation from them. *Sesostris* built a formidable navy of four hundred ships of war for his expedition to the southern seas; and also a very large vessel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long (O), gilt without, and beautified with silver within, which he dedicated to *Osiris*. And it is to be presumed, they improved in this art in succeeding times.

WE shall here conclude this account of the ancient *Egyptians*, and hope we may be excused if we have been somewhat diffuse in speaking of so extraordinary a people.

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. 17. p. 1142. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 61. <sup>2</sup> Vid. STRAB. ubi supr. <sup>3</sup> Genes. xii. 10. lxii. 1, &c. <sup>4</sup> 2 Chron. ix. 18. 1 Kings x. 28. <sup>5</sup> HEROD. l. 2. sub finem. <sup>6</sup> PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 363. Sympof. l. 8. p. 729. <sup>7</sup> CLEM. ALEX. Strom. 1. p. 302. <sup>8</sup> EURIPID. in Troad. <sup>9</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 50, 52.

(N) Yet others make this city of *Naucratis* to be a colony of the *Milesians*, and to stand on the *Bolbitic*, or *Hiracleotic* mouth of the *Nile* (4). But this we shall examine hereafter.

(O) This ship must vastly exceed any modern

vessels in bulk, being near twice as big as one of our largest first rates; the length of the *Royal Sovereign* being no more than 175 feet on the middle gun-deck; and the breadth about 70 feet by the beam.

(4) See BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. *Naucratis* Rem. A. B.

### SECTION III.

#### Of the Egyptian chronology to the time of Alexander the Great.

BEFORE we enter on so intricate a subject as the *Egyptian* chronology, it will be necessary, for the better understanding of what shall be said, to exhibit the series of the kings of *Egypt*, according to the several authors who have recorded their successions.



**I. A TABLE of the last sixteen of the thirty Dynasties, according to the old Egyptian chronicle<sup>a</sup>, the fourteen first Dynasties being wanting.**

Dynasty.	Gener.	Years.	Dynasty.	Gener.	Years.
XV. - 15	Of the Cynic circle reigned	- 443	XXIII. - 2	Diospolites	- 19
XVI. - 8	Tanites	- 190	XXIV. - 3	Saites	- 44
XVII. - 4	Memphites	- 103	XXV. - 3	Ethiopians	- 44
XVIII. - 14	Memphites	- 348	XXVI. - 7	Memphites	- 177
XIX. - 5	Diospolites	- 194	XXVII. 5	Persians	- 124
XX. - 8	Diospolites	- 228	XXVIII. *	* * * *	*
XXI. - 6	Tanites	- 121	XXIX. *	* * * *	39
XXII. - 3	Tanites	- 48	XXX. - 1	Tamite	- 18

The Sum of the thirty Dynasties is, 36525

**II. A TABLE of the Egyptian Dynasties from Manetho, according to Africanus and Eusebius.**

**T O M E I.**

*The I. Dynasty of Thinites or kings of This; consisting of eight kings.*      *The II. Dynasty of Thinites, consisting of nine kings.*

	Y.	Y.		Y.	Y.
1 Menes	-	-	62—60	1 Boetbus or Boebus	- 38 : —
2 Athotbis or Athotbis	-	-	57—27	2 Cæacbos or Cbous	- 39 : —
3 Cencenes	-	-	31—39	3 Binctbris or Biopbis	- 47 : —
4 Venepbes	-	-	23—42	4 Tlas	- 17 : —
5 Usaphædus or Usapbaes	-	-	20—20	5 Setbenes	- 41 : —
6 Miebidus	-	-	26—16	6 Chæres	- 17 : —
7 Semempsis	-	-	18—18	7 Nephercheres	- 25 : —
8 Bienaches or Ubienthes	-	-	26—26	8 Sefochris	- 48—48
	253	252		9 Cheneres	- 30
					297 302

*The III. Dynasty of Memphites, consisting of nine kings.*      *The IV. Dynasty of Memphites, consisting of eight kings.*

	Y.	Y.		Y.	Y.
1 Necherophes or Nacherochis	-	-	28 : —	1 Soris	- 29
2 Tofortbrus or Sefortbus	-	-	29 : —	2 Supbis	- 63
3 Tyris	-	-	07 : —	3 Supbis	- 66
4 Mesochris	-	-	17 : —	4 Mencheres	- 63
5 Soipbis	-	-	16 : —	5 Rhatafes	- 25
6 Tofertafis	-	-	19 : —	6 Bicheres	- 22
7 Achis	-	-	42 : —	7 Sebercheres	- 7
8 Siphuris	-	-	30 : —	8 Thamphtbis	- 9
9 Cerpheres	-	-	26 : —		274 448
	214	198			

*The V. Dynasty of Elephantines according to Africanus of 9, of Eusebius 31 kings.*      *The VI. Dynasty of Memphites of 6 kings.*

	Y.	Y.		Y.	Y.
1 Usercheris or Othoes	-	-	28 : —	1 Othoes	-
2 Sepbres	-	-	13 : —	2 Pbius	- 53
3 Nephercheres	-	-	20 : —	3 Metbusupbis	- 7
4 Sifiris or Phiops	-	-	7 100	4 Phiops	- 94
5 Cheres	-	-	20 : —	5 Mentefupbis	- 1
6 Ratburis	-	-	44 : —	6 Nitocris	- 12—1
7 Mercheres	-	-	9 : —		203 203
8 Tarcheres	-	-	44 : —		
9 Obmus	-	-	33 : —		
	248				

*The*

*The VII. Dynasty of Memphites, consisting, according to Africanus, of 70 kings, who reigned 70 days, according to Eusebius, of 5 kings, who reigned 75 days.*

*The VIII. Dynasty of Memphites, consisting of 27 Kings, who reigned 146 years according to Africanus, but of 5 kings who reigned 100 years according to Eusebius.*

*The IX. Dynasty of Heracleots, consisting of 19 kings according to Africanus; but according to Eusebius, they are called Heracleopolites, and are accounted 4 kings.*

*The X. Dynasty of Heracleots or Heracleopolites, consisting of 19 kings, who reigned 185 years.*

*The XI. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of 16 kings, who reigned 43 years.*

1 Achiboes or Aitbus

- - -  
409 100

*After whom Ammenemes reigned 16 years.*

## T O M E II.

*The XII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of seven kings.*

	Y.	Y.
1 Gefon or Sefynchoris	-	46—46
2 Ammanemes	-	38—38
3 Sefostris	-	48—48
4 Lachares or Labaris	-	8—8
5 Ammeres	-	8
6 Ammenemes	-	8
7 Sermiophres his Sister	-	4
		<hr/> 160 245

*The XIII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of 60 kings, who reigned according to Africanus, 184 years, according to Eusebius, 453 years.*

*The XIV. Dynasty is wanting in Africanus. Eusebius calls them Xoites, and says, they made up 76 kings, and reigned 184 or 484 years.*

*The XV. Dynasty, according to Eusebius, of Diospolites, according to Africanus, of Phœnician shepherds, consisting of 6 kings.*

	Y.
1 Saïtes	19
2 Byon	44
3 Pachnan	61
4 Staan	50
5 Archles	49
6 Aphopis	61
	<hr/> 284 250

*The XVI. Dynasty of Greek shepherds, consisting of 32 kings, who reigned, according to Africanus, 518 years. According to Eusebius, this Dynasty was of Thebans, consisting of five Kings, who reigned 190 years.*

*The XVII. Dynasty, according to Africanus, consisted of 43 pastor kings, and 43 Theban kings, who reigned together 153 years. According to Eusebius, of Phœnician shepherds: thus,*

1 Saïtes	-	-	-	19
2 Beon	-	-	-	43
3 Aphopis	-	-	-	14
4 Archles	-	-	-	30
				<hr/> 106

The XVIII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of 16 kings.

	Y.	Y.
1 Amos, Amosis, or Tetbmofis	-	—15
2 Chebron	-	13—13
3 Amenophibis or Ammenopbis	-	21—21
4 Amerfis or Mipbris	-	22—12
5 Misaphris or Mispbragmulbosis	-	13—26
6 Anosis or Tutbmofis	-	26—9
7 Tutbmofis or Amenopbis	-	9—31
8 Amenopbis or Horus	-	31—36
9 Horus or Achencherfes	-	37—12
10 Acheris or Aiboris	-	32—39
11 Rathos or Cbencheres	-	6—16
12 Chebres or Acherres	-	12—8
13 Acherres	-	12—15
14 Armeses or Danaus	-	5—5
15 Rameffes or Ægyptus	-	1—68
16 Amenoph or Memopbis	-	19—40
		<hr/> 263—348

The XIX. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting, according to Africanus, of 6, according to Eusebius, of 5 kings.

	Y.	Y.
1 Setbos	-	51—55
2 Rhasfaces or Rbapfes	-	61—66
3 Ammenophibis	-	20—40
4 Ramefes or Ammenemmes	-	60—26
5 Ammenemmes or Thuoris	-	5—7
6 Thuoris or the Polybus of Homer	-	7—
		<hr/> 209—194

## T O M E III.

The XX. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of 12 kings, who reigned according to Africanus 135, according to Eusebius 178 years.

	Y.	Y.
1 Sefonchis or Sechosis	-	21—21
2 Oforoth or Oforthon	-	15—15
3 - } Tachellothbis	-	13
4 - }	-	25
5 - }	-	
6 Tachellothbis	-	13
7 - }	-	
8 - }	-	42
9 - }	-	
		<hr/> 120—49

The XXIV. Dynasty of one Saïte.

Esechoris or Bouchoris	-	6—44
------------------------	---	------

The XXI. Dynasty of Tanites, consisting of seven kings.

1 Smedis or Smendis	-	26—26
2 Psufenes	-	46—41
3 Nephhercheres	-	4—4
4 Amenophthis	-	9—9
5 Ofochor	-	6—6
6 Pinaches or Pfinaches	-	9—9
7 Sufennes or Psufenes	-	30—35
		<hr/> 130—130

The XXIII. Dynasty of Tanites, consisting, according to Eusebius, of 3, according to Africanus, of 4 kings.

1 Petubates or Petubastis	-	40—25
2 Oforco or Hercules	-	8—9
3 Psammus	-	10—10
4 Zet	-	31—
		<hr/> 81—44

The XXV. Dynasty of Ethiopians, consisting of 3 kings.

1 Sabacon	-	8—12
2 Seuechus	-	14—12
3 Tarcus or Taracus	-	18—20
		<hr/> 40—44

The

The XXVI. Dynasty of Saites, consisting  
of nine kings.

	Y.	Y.
1 Stepbinares or Ammeris	-	7—12
2 Nerepsos or Stephanathis	-	6—7
3 Necho or Nechoptes	-	8—6
4 Psammitichus or Necho	-	54—8
5 Necho or Psammichus	-	6—45
6 Psammuthis or Necho	-	6—6
7 Vapbris or Psammuthis	-	19—17
8 Amosis or Vapbris	-	44—25
9 Psammacherites or Amosis	-	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ —42
	150 $\frac{1}{2}$	168

The XXVIII. Dynasty, one Saite.

Amyrteos or Amyrtaus	-	6
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The XXVII. Dynasty of Persians, consist-  
ing of eight kings.

	Y.	M.	Y.	M.
1 Cambyfes	-	6	3	
2 Darius Hystaspes	-	36	36—7	
3 Xerxes	-	21	21—	
4 Artabanus	-		7	0 0
5 Artaxerxes	-	41	40	
6 Xerxes	-	0—2	0—2	
7 Sogdianus	-	0—7	0—7	
8 Darius the Son of Xerxes	19—	19—		
	124—4—	120—4		

The XXIX. Dynasty of Mendefiaues, con-  
sisting, according to Africanus, of 4, ac-  
cording to Eusebius, of 5 kings.

	Y.	M.	Y.	M.
1 Nepheritis	-	6	6	
2 Achoris	-	13	13	
3 Psammuthis	-	1	1	
4 Nephrotes	-	0—4	0—4	
5 " Mutbis	-		1	
	20—4—	21		

The XXX. Dynasty of princes of Sebenny-  
tus, consisting of 3 kings.

1 Neelanebes	-	18—10
2 Teos	-	2—2
3 Neelanebes	-	18—8
	20—	38

N. B. In the double columns of numbers throughout these tables, the first are the years according to *Africanus*, the second according to *Eusebius*.

### III. A TABLE of Egyptian kings from Manetho, according to Josephus<sup>b</sup>.

	Y <sup>rs</sup>	M <sup>ths</sup>	Y <sup>rs</sup>	M <sup>ths</sup>
Orus	-	-	36	5
Acenbres	-	-	12	1
Ratbosis	-	-	9	
Acencheres I.	-	-	12	5
Acencheres II.	-	-	12	3
Armais	-	-	4	
Rameffes	-	-	1	4
Harmessis Miamun	-	-	66	2
Ameno <sup>c</sup> phis	-	-	19	6
			393	

Timeus reigned  
The pastor kings.

1 Salatis	-	19
2 Baon	-	44
3 Aphachnas	-	36
4 Apbopbis	-	61
5 Janias	-	50
6 Affis	-	49

Egyptians.

Halispbragmutbosis	-	-
Tethmosis	-	25 4
Chebron	-	13
Amenophis	-	20 7
Amesses, a woman	-	21 9
Mephres	-	12 9
Mephramutbosis, or Mispbragmu- tosis	21	10
Tethmosis	-	9 8
Amenophis	-	30 10

### IV. A TABLE of the Theban kings from the *Laterculus* of Eratosthenes<sup>c</sup>.

	Years
1 Menes, or Mincs, reigned	62
2 Athotbes I.	59
3 Athotbes II.	32
4 Diuies	19
5 Pempbos	18
6 Tagar Amachus Momchiri, or Taga- ramus	79
7 Stachus	6
8 Goformies,	

<sup>b</sup> Contra Apion. l. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Apud SYNCCELL. p. 92, &c.

	Years		Years.
8 Goformies, or Elefipantus	30	24 Rhameffe, son of Uapbres	29
9 Mares	26	25 Concharis	6
10 Anoyphes	20	26 Silites	19
11 Sirius	18	27 Baon	44
12 Gbnubus Gneurus	27	28 Apachnas	36
13 Raupfis	13	29 Apbophis	61
14 Biyris	10	30 Setbos	50
15 Saopbis	29	31 Certus	29
16 Senfaopbis	27	32 Asetb	24
17 Mofcheris	31	33 Amosis, or Tetbmofis	22
18 Mustbis	33	34 Chebron	13
19 Pammus Archondes	35	35 Amepbes	15
20 Apappus the Great	100	36 Amenfes	1
21 Echeſeus Caras	1	37 Miſt-bragmutbofis	16
22 Nitocris	6	38 Miſſphres	23
23 Myrtæus	22	39 Tutbmofis	39
24 Thyofimares	12	40 Amenophthbis	34
25 Thyrellus, or Thinillus	8	41 Horus	48
26 Sempbucrates	18	42 Achencheres	25
27 Chutber Taurus	7	43 Athoris	29
28 Meres, or Meures, the philoſopher	12	44 Chencheres	26
29 Choma Ephiha	11	45 Acheres	8 or 30
30 Anchunius Ochy, or Scunioſchoſ	60	46 Armaus, or Danaus	9
31 Penteatbyris	16	47 Rhameſſes, or Ægyptus	68
32 Stamenemes	23	48 Amenophis	5
33 Siſtoſichermes	55	49 Thuoris	17
34 Maris	43	50 Necheſſos	19
35 Sipboas Hermes	5	51 Pfammuthis	13
36	14	52	4
37 Pbruron, or Nilus	54	53 Certus	20
38 Amurthaus, or Amythantaus	63	54 Rhampſis	45
		55 Amenſes, or Amenemes	26
		56 Ochyraſ	14
		57 Amedes	27
		58 Thuoris, or Polybus	50
		59 Athotbis, or Pbuſanus	28
		60 Cencenes	39
		61 Uennepbes	42
		62 Suffacim	34
		63 Pſuenus, or Senipſuerus	25
		64 Ammenophes	9
		65 Nephecheres	6
		66 Saïtes	15
		67 Pſinaches	9
		68 Petubaſtes	44
		69 Oſortbon	9
		70 Pſammus	10
		71 Concharis	21
		72 Oſortbon	15
		73 Tacelophes	13
		74 Bocchoris	44
		75 Sabacon	12
		76 Sebechon	12
		77 Taraces	20
		78 Amaes	38
		79 Stepbinaſbes	27
		80 Nacepſus	13
		81 Nechaab I.	8
		82 Pſammitichus	14
		83 Nechaab II.	9

V. A TABLE of the Egyptian kings  
according to the ſeries of Syncellus<sup>d</sup>.

	Years.		Years.
1 Meſtraim, or Menes, reigned	35	57 Amedes	27
2 Curudes, or Cudrus	63	58 Thuoris, or Polybus	50
3 Ariſtarchus	34	59 Athotbis, or Pbuſanus	28
4 Spanius	36	60 Cencenes	39
5	} 72	61 Uennepbes	42
6		62 Suffacim	34
7 Serapis	23	63 Pſuenus, or Senipſuerus	25
8 Seſonchoſis	49	64 Ammenophes	9
9 Amenemes	29	65 Nephecheres	6
10 Amafis, or Amofis	2	66 Saïtes	15
11 Aceſepthibres	13	67 Pſinaches	9
12 Achoreas	9	68 Petubaſtes	44
13 Amiſſes, or Armiſſes	4	69 Oſortbon	9
14 Chamois	12	70 Pſammus	10
15 Amefiſes	65	71 Concharis	21
16	14	72 Oſortbon	15
17 Uſe	50	73 Tacelophes	13
18 Rhameſes	29	74 Bocchoris	44
19 Rhameſſomenes	15	75 Sabacon	12
20 Thyſimares	31	76 Sebechon	12
21 Rhameſſeſcos	23	77 Taraces	20
22 Rhameſſemeno	19	78 Amaes	38
23 Rhameſſe, ſon of Baëtes	39	79 Stepbinaſbes	27
		80 Nacepſus	13
		81 Nechaab I.	8
		82 Pſammitichus	14
		83 Nechaab II.	9

<sup>d</sup> Chronog. p. 91, &c.



84	<i>Pfammuthis, or Pfammitichus II.</i>	17	89	<i>Acboris</i>	-	-	13
85	<i>Uaphres</i>	-	34	90	<i>Pfammuthis</i>	-	2
86	<i>Amasis</i>	-	50	91	<i>Menas</i>	-	4
87	<i>Amyrtæus</i>	-	6	92	<i>Nectanebes</i>	-	8
88	<i>Nepherites</i>	-	6	93	<i>Tes</i>	-	2

## VI. A TABLE of the kings of Egypt.

According to *Herodotus*.According to *Diodorus Siculus*.

<i>Menes</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Menas, or Mneves</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	- - - 52 of his descendants	1400 years,	
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Busiris</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	- - - 7 of his descendants,		
<i>Nitocris</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Busiris</i> the 8th of them.		
•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Osymandyas</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	- - - 8 of his descendants,		
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Uchoreus</i> the 8th of them.		
•	•	•	•	•	- - - 12 generations.		
<i>Meris</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Myris</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	- - - 7 generations, one of these		
•	•	•	•	•	- - - <i>Sasyches</i> , the law-giver.		
<i>Sesostris</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Sesostis I.</i>	-	-
<i>Pheron</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Sesostis II.</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	- - - several generations.		
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Amasis (Ammosis)</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Aclifanes</i> the <i>Ethiopian</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Mendes, or Marus</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	- - - 5 generations, an Interregnum.		
<i>Proteus</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Proteus</i>	-	-
<i>Rhampsinitus</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Rempbis</i>	-	-
•	•	•	•	•	<i>Nilus</i>	} 6 generations,	
•	•	•	•	•	- - -		
<i>Cheops</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Chemmis, or Chembes</i>	-	-
<i>Cephrenes</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Cephren, or Cbabryis</i>	-	-
<i>Mycerinus</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Mycerinus, or Cberinus</i>	-	-
<i>Afyehis</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Gnepbachtibus</i>	-	-
<i>Anyfis</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Bocchoris</i>	-	-
<i>Sabaco</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Sabaco</i>	-	-
<i>Anyfis again</i>	-	-	-	-	- - - Interregnum 2 years		
<i>Setbon</i>	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
- - - 12 kings	-	-	-	-	- - - 12 kings		
<i>Pfammithichus</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Pfammithichus</i>	-	-
<i>Necus</i>	-	-	-	-	- - - 4 generations	-	-
<i>Pfamnis</i>	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
<i>Apries</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Apries</i>	-	-
<i>Amasis</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>Amasis</i>	-	-
<i>Pfammenitus</i>	-	-	-	-	•	•	•

2 THE variations observable in these several successions of *Egyptian* kings, both in their names and the years of their respective reigns, are so great, and there are such chasms, and such apparent corruptions and mistakes in them all that it would seem labour lost to go about to reduce them into a chronological series, so as to make them agree with each other, much less with scripture, and the chronological observations of other historians. However, we shall say something of each of the preceding tables.

To begin with the first of them. The sum total of the thirty dynasties, according to the old chronicle, is not only an immense number, vastly exceeding the true age of the world, but appears to be an astronomical calculation, by which the *Egyptians* would suggest their dynasties to have run through a whole periodic revolution of

N n n

the

the zodiac\*, and therefore we shall not offer to make any use of it. It need only be observed, that though this sum be said to be the amount of the thirty dynasties, yet therein must be included the 30,000 years which the *Sun* reigned, the 3984 years reign of *Saturn*, and the other twelve gods, and the 217 years reign of the eight demi-gods, making together 34,201 years. As to the fourteen first dynasties, which we conceive to be omitted in the fragment we have remaining of this chronicle, the meaning of the original may perhaps be, that the fifteen generations of the cynic circle, which are placed in the table in the fifteenth dynasty, and reigned 443 years, make up the first fifteen dynasties: And this seems to be confirmed by the sum total of the years of the sixteen last dynasties, as in the table, which is 2140 years, and with the said 34,201 years, makes 36,341; to which, if we add 184 years, for the duration of the twenty eighth dynasty, the number of which is omitted, we shall have the compleat sum of 36,525. And consequently deducting thence the sum of the reigns of the gods and demi gods, the remainder will be 2324 years, for the duration of the succeeding dynasties, according to this chronicle; which is a number reasonable enough, though it cannot be reconciled to the account of *Manetho*.

Of the Dynasties of Manetho.

THE successions of *Manetho*, which are given in the second table, have this additional corruption, that their order hath been disturbed by transcribers; and as in their present disposition they cannot possibly be reduced to any one system of chronology, some have altered that disposition so as to suit them to their own hypotheses, while others made short work with them, and absolutely rejected either the whole of these dynasties, or great part of them, as fabulous.

THE credit of *Manetho* hath been drawn in question by several writers†, not only because of the incredible antiquity to which his history is supposed to have ascended, but from the account which, it is said, himself gave of the records from whence he took it, he pretending to have extracted it from certain pillars in the *Seradic* land, on which inscriptions had been made in the sacred dialect and letters, by *Thoth*, the first *Hermes*, and which were translated, after the flood, out of the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue (A) in sacred letters (B), and laid up in books by *Agathodæmon*, the son of the second *Hermes*, the father of *Tat*, in the inmost recesses of the *Egyptian* temples‡. Now it is absolutely impossible that the first *Hermes*, who lived in the earliest ages of the *Egyptian* monarchy, could write a history of so many generations which came into the world after his death, unless he did it by inspiration; and if *Manetho* could have been so stupid as to assert this, it must necessarily have overthrown the credit of his whole work. But we do not think that writer could mean any such thing; the words cited from him do not say he took his whole history from those pillars; tho' he might probably quote those records to support the ancient history which preceded the time of *Thoth*; and such pillars, or at least some pillars which were of great antiquity, and which the priests attributed to *Thoth*, must have been extant in the days of *Manetho*, or he would never have appealed to them in so publick a manner, especially in a work addressed to his prince. It may also be suggested that tho' *Thoth* made the first inscriptions on those pillars, yet it is not impossible but in succeeding times other inscriptions might be added to those of *Thoth*; and the pillars might still be

\* See before, p. 92, in the notes.  
M. 2269. STILLINGFLEET Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2. § 10, &c.

† Vid. JAC. CAPPELL. in Hist. Sacr. & Exot. ad Ann. M. 2269. STILLINGFLEET Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2. § 10, &c. § SYMCELL. p. 40. See before, p. 81. b. and the note there.

(A) Dr. Stillingfleet (13), with great reason thinks this absolutely incredible, the Greek language not being known in Egypt, at least was not in repute there, so early as this; for the Grecians, had little or no commerce with the Egyptians till the time of Psammitichus, as we have observed more than once. It seems also very unlikely that *Manetho* should assert this; for besides the improbability abovementioned, the Egyptian history was so far from being translated to his hand, that he himself was obliged to translate it into Greek from the sacred registers (14); for which reason we suspect some corruption in this passage; and, if it be not too bold a conjecture, we should guess that, instead of ἱερὰ γράμματα, the

Greek tongue, it ought to be read ἱερὰ λαϊκὰ φωνή the vulgar tongue; but we dare not dictate in so dubious a point.

(B) The original words are γράμματα ἱερογλυφικά, which the learned writer named in the preceding note, translates hieroglyphic characters, and very justly wonders how any translation can be made into such characters, which represent things, and not words (15). But as these characters are plainly called letters, we conceive they could not be hieroglyphical in the common acceptation of the word, but rather suppose them to be the same with the hierographic, or sacred letters abovementioned.

(13) Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2. ubi. sup.

(14) JOSEPH. cont. Apian. l. 1. p. 1336. (15) STILLINGFLEET.

- a in common phrase ascribed to him, tho' the historical inscriptions were continued after his death by others. But after all, it may be questioned whether *Manetho* really intended to support his history by the authority of those pillars; for the passage wherein he mentions them, seems to have been taken out of another book of his, called *Solhis*, or *Seth*, which was not historical, but prophetic; for in his dedication of that work to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, he says, that his interpreting the sacred books of *Hermes* was in obedience to that prince's command, who enquired of him concerning the future events that were to happen in the world<sup>b</sup>. And as to the records from whence he took his history, we are elsewhere assured it was from the sacred registers<sup>c</sup> which were kept by the priests, and written in the *Egyptian* language, since he translated them into *Greek*.

THE strongest prejudice therefore against the credit of this writer arises from his chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an excessive antiquity, and to have authentic records for a prodigious length of time past. This appears not only from the old chronicle abovementioned, but from the extravagant numbers of years their priests imposed on *Herodotus*, *Plato* and *Diodorus* (C); but *Manetho* seems to have been much more modest. The sum of his thirty one dynasties from *Menes* to fifteen years before *Alexander* (without taking the reigns of the gods and demi-gods into the account) if cast up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world; and *Joseph Scaliger*<sup>d</sup> has accordingly settled their chronology in such a manner that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. But there is a lesser number mentioned by *Synceilus*, who says the account of the years of all the dynasties was 3555, which is somewhat more bearable than the other, and yet will agree with no system of chronology, unless we take part of this number for the reigns of the antediluvian princes of *Egypt*. *Manetho*, as we have already observed, began his history with seven gods, and nine demi-gods<sup>e</sup>, who reigned 1985 years; and then succeeded mortal kings, the first of whom was *Menes*. These three races seem to be the same with those called in the old chronicle *Aurita*, *Mesirai*, and *Egyptians*<sup>f</sup>. Now, if we allow (as is most reasonable, in case there be any truth at all in this part of the history) that the gods, or *Aurita*, were antediluvians; the demi-gods, or *Mesirai*, the post-diluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the mortal men, or *Egyptians*, *Menes* and his successors; and, if we allow 1200 years part of the 1985 for the reigns of the first<sup>g</sup>, the remainder, 785, will be the years of the reign of *Mizraim* and his descendants. And deducting the whole 1985 out of the said 3555, there will remain 1570 years, the distance from *Menes* to the fifteenth year before *Alexander*; from which time, if we compute backwards, the beginning of *Menes*'s reign will fall about eleven years before *Abraham* went into *Egypt*, according to the *Samaritan* chronology; and that of *Mizraim* about 298 years after the flood. This way of computing would be plausible, were it not that the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom will by this means precede the dispersion of mankind 103 years, which can hardly be supposed, unless it be allowed that the *Egyptians* reckoned the years of the government of their first ancestors over their families before they quitted *Shinaar*, and arrived in *Egypt*. But the great objection of all is, that *Manetho*'s number of 3555 appears to belong wholly to the successors of *Menes*, and we have no authority to support our making any deduction from it.

SOME chronologers therefore, particularly father *Petau*<sup>h</sup> (who took delight in contradicting *Scaliger*) reject the whole scheme of *Manetho*'s dynasties as fabulous, and of no manner of value or credit. And others<sup>i</sup>, to whom *Eusebius* led the way in his canon<sup>j</sup> omit the first sixteen dynasties only, and begin their chronology with

<sup>b</sup> Vid. *SYNCELL.* p. 40. <sup>c</sup> *JOSEPH.* cont. Apion. l. 1. p. 1336. *EUSEB.* præp. Ev. l. 2. in præm. <sup>d</sup> Canon. Isagog. l. 2. p. 228. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 92. d. <sup>f</sup> See *ibid.* <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 92, 94. d. <sup>h</sup> De Doctr. Tempor. l. 9. c. 15. <sup>i</sup> *CALVESIUS*, *USSERIUS* & *JAC. CAPPELLUS*, *PERIZONIUS* esteem the first fourteen or fifteen to be fabulous. <sup>j</sup> *Chron. Græc.* p. 89.

(C) Some of these incredible accounts follow:		
	Years.	
From <i>Vulcan</i> to <i>Alexander</i> (16)	48,863	From <i>Bacchus</i> to <i>Amasis</i> (20) - - - - 15,000
From the reign of the <i>Sun</i> to <i>Alexander</i> (17)	23,000	The gods and heroes reigned (21) - - - 18,000
From <i>Osiris</i> to <i>Alexander</i> (18) above	10,000	From <i>Orus</i> , the last of them, to the 180th } 15,000
Or almost - - - - -	23,000	<i>Olympiad</i> (22) - - - - -
From <i>Hercules</i> to <i>Amasis</i> (19) - - - -	17,000	Kings of <i>Egypt</i> before <i>Amasis</i> reigned (23) 13,000
		From their first mortal king to <i>Sethon</i> (24) 11,340
		There were chronicles at <i>Lais</i> (25) of 8,000

(16) *DIOG. LART.* in *Præm.* (17) *DIODOR.* *ubi sup.* p. 41. (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *POMP. SIC. l. 1, p. 22.* (18) *Idem, ibid.* p. 20. (19) *MELA. l. 1. c. 9.* (24) *HEROD.* *ubi sup.* (25) *HEROD. l. 2.* (20) *Idem ibid.* (21) *DIODOR.* *PLATO* in *Tim.*

the seventeenth; though they differ among themselves in their computations. The <sup>a</sup> first who, without rejecting any, earnestly set about reducing the entire series to the scripture chronology, was the learned Sir *John Marsham*, who first guessed that these dynasties were not successive, but collateral. He supposes that *Egypt*, immediately after the death of *Menes*, was divided into four distinct kingdoms, of *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, and the lower *Egypt*, besides some of lesser note which arose afterwards, and the epochs of which are more difficult to be settled, and that it continued so divided for almost seven centuries, till the pastors made themselves masters of all, except that of *Thebes*; after whose expulsion, in about 500 years *Egypt* became subject to one prince. By this means the duration of the whole empire, from *Menes* to the end of the reign of *Amasis*, is reduced to 1819 years. This gentleman's work is full of curious learning and uncommon observations; but his great oversight seems to have been his adhering so very scrupulously to the *Hebrew* chronology; whereby he is obliged to make *Menes* the same with *Ham*, and not *Mizraim*, (as almost all other writers imagine) and is also forced to begin the date of his reign immediately from the flood. He follows *Herodotus* <sup>b</sup> in reckoning 1400 years from *Menes* to *Sesostris*, whom therefore he asserts to be the *Shishak* of the scriptures, tho' *Diodorus* plainly reckons a much larger interval between them. In which last particular, as he has been strenuously opposed by several writers <sup>c</sup>, so he has been followed by others <sup>d</sup>. It must be observed that Sir *John Marsham* makes great use of the table of the *Theban* kings given us by *Eratosthenes*, of which we shall hereafter speak.

THE next who undertook to model this *Egyptian* chronology was father *Pezron*, who, by following the larger chronology of the *Septuagint*, hath more latitude, and allows the duration of the *Egyptian* empire 2619 years from *Menes* to *Nectanebus*. This author likewise goes on the same foundation with Sir *John Marsham*, in making the first seventeen dynasties not successive, but collateral. He is of opinion that the *Misraens*, or offsprings of *Mizraim*, the first inhabitants of *Egypt*, were those whom their posterity honoured with the titles of gods and demi-gods; and that, though they began to people the country, yet they formed no kingdom there till *Menes*, who began his reign 648 years after the deluge, and 117 years after the dispersion. *Sesostris* he places in the time of the judges of *Israel*, when *Deborah* ruled over that people <sup>e</sup>.

FROM the plans of these two great men, several other chronological writers have formed systems of their own, differing in some respects from them, as well as from each other. The chief care of them all is to fix the times of *Menes* and *Sesostris*; which, when they have done, they imagine the rest follows almost of course. Their opinions, as to these two princes, are so various, that it would lead us into too great a detail to mention them all in this place; and what we judge most curious and worthy notice in such disquisitions, will be more properly introduced when we come to the histories of these princes. One thing may be generally observed in respect to all these writers, and especially in regard to *Perizonius*, viz. that they are much oftner in the right in refuting and detecting the errors and mistakes of other authors, than in settling or adjusting any thing themselves.

THE fundamental hypothesis which all these writers go upon, that there were, in the most early times, several kingdoms in *Egypt* at once, seems to be very probable, the scripture mentioning the kings of the *Egyptians* in the plural, even so late as the time of *Jehoram*. The kingdoms of *Thebes* and *Memphis* subsisted together in *Egypt* for several centuries; and it is certain, from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that there were, at least, two kings in that country at the time of the invasion of the *Ethiopians* under *Sabbaco*. But it does not appear that *Manetho* himself, though he wrote the history of five *Egyptian* nations <sup>f</sup>, did make any of the dynasties he has given us collateral or contemporary; on the contrary, unless his transcribers have done him more wrong than we have reason to suspect, he placed them all in a continual succession; and it is taking the utmost liberty with *Manetho* to alter it, unless we charge the fault on the records from which he transcribed.

AFTER *Cambyfes* had carried away their records, the *Egyptian* priests, in all probability, to supply their loss, and keep up their pretensions to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they must necessarily have made great mistakes, and ad-

<sup>a</sup> In his *Canon Chronicus Aegyptiacus*, &c. <sup>b</sup> Lib. 1. p. 42. <sup>c</sup> PEZRON, PERIZONIUS, WHISTON, BEDFORD, &c. <sup>d</sup> Sir ISAAC NEWTON, SHUCKFORD, BOSSUET, LE CLERC, &c. <sup>e</sup> PEZRON, *Antiq. des temps retable*. c. 13. <sup>f</sup> 2 Kings vii. 6. <sup>g</sup> SYNCCELL. p. 40. <sup>h</sup> See PERIZON. *Orig. Aegypt.* p. 62, &c.

- a ded a good deal of their own invention, especially as to distant times. From these materials, for want of better, *Manetho* collecting his history, must have intermixed a good deal of fable, as there is indeed in the antiquities of all nations (the *Jews* excepted) for it cannot be expected that people in the circumstances of these early nations could have began to keep records till some ages after their settlement. It is unjust therefore to lay the whole blame of the confusion and uncertainty we find in the *Egyptian* history at the door of *Manetho*: He collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had, and we have so few genuine remains of him, and what we have, have been so mangled by transcribers and critics, pretending to correct him, that *Isis* found less difficulty in gathering the dispersed remains of her dead husband, than would fall upon him who should attempt to patch up a figure which might bear some resemblance of that historian. Several ancient writers, of sense and judgment, as *Josephus*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, and *Eusebius*, looked on him as a writer whose authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment transcribed from him by *Josephus*, before his copies had been corrupted, seems to confirm this good opinion, being the most valuable and authentic piece of *Egyptian* history of so great antiquity, that is extant; and the series of kings we have exhibited thence, in the third table, is a pretty exact record, connecting, if there be any credit in *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* histories, by acquainting us that *Setbofis* was *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Armais*, *Danaus*.
- b THE list of *Theban* kings given by *Eratosthenes* has had a very favourable reception among the learned, not only as a supplement to *Manetho*, who has entirely omitted that succession, but as a certain foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* chronology (Q.) His authority has been preferred to that of *Manetho*<sup>b</sup>, in regard he was no *Egyptian* priest, but a *Cyrenæan*, a man of eminent learning, and keeper of the *Alexandrian* library, and took his catalogue from the sacred records of *Thebes*, or had it from the sacred scribes there<sup>c</sup>. Together with the *Egyptian* names of the kings, he has given their interpretation in *Greek*, which those skilled in the *Coptic* tongue allow to be just in some instances; but several of them being corrupted and unintelligible, we have chosen to omit them.
- d THIS series of *Eratosthenes* is supposed to be connected with a known epoch in the *Grecian* history, by a remark of *Dicæarchus*, *Aristotle's* scholar, who says, that from the reign of *Sesonchosis*, who succeeded *Orus*, the son of *Isis* and *Osiris*, to the reign of *Nilus*, are 2500 years; and from *Nilus* to the first *Olympiad* 436 years<sup>d</sup>. Who *Sesonchosis* was is very uncertain; the first king of the twelfth dynasty of *Manetho* seems to have born this name, or one very near it; but he must have lived too late to be the person here meant; and if he be taken to be the immediate successor of *Orus*, he must have been one of the demi-gods, and the same with *Ares*, or *Mars*; which carry us back into fable. The first of these observations therefore can be of no great use, for the time of *Sesonchosis*, after this way of reckoning, will precede the deluge, even according to the *Samaritan* chronology, near 700 years. But the other king, named by *Dicæarchus*, is found in the catalogue of *Eratosthenes*, in which the last king but one is *Pbruron*, or *Nilus*; and therefore his time being known, the years of all the preceding kings are easily adjusted to any system of chronology. This seems plausible enough; yet we are afraid it will not altogether agree with the account of *Diodorus*. It is plain *Dicæarchus* supposed *Nilus* reigned at the time of the *Trojan* war; for his calculation will carry us up thither; but, according to *Diodorus*, *Nilus* must have been several generations later than *Proteus*, who reigned in *Egypt* at the time of the *Trojan* war, by the joint testimony of him and *Herodotus*<sup>e</sup>; so that *Dicæarchus* seems only to have given a tolerable guess at his age, and not fixed it with such certainty as to enable us to determine it within a century at least. Besides, it is more than probable that this table of *Eratosthenes* has suffered by time and transcri-
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<sup>b</sup> Vid. MARSH. CAN. CHRON. p. 8, 26, 297. CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 416, &c. <sup>c</sup> Vid. SYNCCELL. p. 147. <sup>d</sup> DICÆARCH. apud Scholiast. Apollon. Argon. l. 4. v. 272. <sup>e</sup> DIO-

(Q) Besides the observation of *Dicæarchus*, mentioned hereafter, there is another affixed to *Mares*, the ninth king of this catalogue in *Scaliger's* edition of *Eusebius's* *Greek* chronicle (26), purporting that he was contemporary with the sixteenth dynasty of *Thebans* in the lower *Egypt*;

(26) Pag. 18. l. 34.

which observation might be of use to those who have a mind to frame a table of the dynasties, though *Goar*, in his edition of *Syncellus*, has omitted it, and taxes *Scaliger* with adding it of his own invention (27).

(27) GOAR, in Not. ad Syncell. p. 521.



bers, as well as the dynasties of *Mancbo*; and there are doubtless several mistakes in the numbers as well as names; the sum total, for example, which *Syncellus* reckons to be 1075, will not agree with the particulars; for, if carefully cast up, they amount to no more than 1055:

HOWEVER, according to this calculation of *Dicaearchus*, the table of *Eratosthenes* will suit well enough with the *Samaritan* chronology; for if to the year before CHRIST 776 (the epoch of the first *Olympiad*) we add 436, the reign of *Nilus* will ascend to the year before CHRIST 1212; to which, if we again add 992, the number of years between the last year of *Nilus* and the first of *Menes*, this last king's reign began 794 years after the flood; that is, 393 years after the dispersion, and about 300 years before *Abraham's* descent into *Egypt*. But if we abate three or four generations in this calculation, it will still better agree with *Diodorus*, and allow more time for the rising of the kingdom of *Egypt*.

Of the series  
of *Syncellus*.

As to the series of *Syncellus*, given in the fifth table, on which Sir *John Marsham* built much<sup>f</sup>, we have a worse opinion of it than of any of the other, especially in the more early ages, where it is supported by no concurring evidence at all. He seems to have composed it by picking here and there such names and numbers, and sometimes adding both out of his own head, as he thought fit, in order to accommodate it to the sacred chronology<sup>g</sup>, and therefore we shall take no further notice of it.

Of the suc-  
cessions accord-  
ing to *Herodo-  
tus* and *Dio-  
dorus*.

WE need not spend many words to shew that it is next to impossible to frame a consistent chronology, as some have attempted<sup>h</sup>, from the successions of kings in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. For, besides their irreconcilable disagreement in several instances, they confessedly omit a great number of princes, and mention no years of the reigns of others; whereby such chasms are left, as no body can tell how to fill up; and their manner of reckoning by descents, or generations, is also visibly uncertain. Before *Psanmitichus* the *Egyptian* chronology is very dark; and though after that prince's time it begins to clear up, yet the variations between all the historians since his reign are considerable, as appears by the tables.

WE shall not therefore waste our time in composing a hypothetical scheme of these kings of *Egypt*; of such performances there are choice already; and they are much more easy to frame, than to support. Calculations by numbers of years, which are so liable to mistake and corruption, must needs be very precarious; and it seems much more reasonable to rely on the coincidence of facts and historical synchronisms, from which chiefly we shall, in the course of our history of *Egypt*, endeavour to fix the times of such events as we judge capable of it, and shall represent them accordingly in the general chronological tables. And this we think is the most that can be done with any degree of certainty: Considering which it is amazing to us, that men should pretend to adjust the *Egyptian* chronology, from the most early times, to so great a nicety as a few years, and dictate dogmatically in a matter of such absolute uncertainty and confusion.

BEFORE we conclude, we must observe, as to the *Hebrew* chronology, the imperfection of which we have mentioned more than once, that if any stress be laid on the foregoing accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, the beginning of that kingdom must be placed much earlier than this computation will allow. For, according to the most moderate calculation, which is that of *Eratosthenes*, as fixed by the observation of *Dicaearchus*, the reign of *Menes* must begin within two centuries of the flood; which to us appears improbable in the highest degree<sup>i</sup>; even though we should admit that *Menes* was the same with *Mizraim*, as the patrons of that chronology generally suppose; the contrary of which we believe to be true, and shall endeavour to prove hereafter.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Can. Chron. p. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. PERIZON. Orig. Æg. p. 53, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. CON-

RING. Adv. Chronol. c. 17, 18. STILLINGFL. Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 5.

<sup>i</sup> See before p. 172, &c.

## S E C T. IV.

### The History of Osiris, Isis, Typhon, and Orus.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the men who were kings of *Egypt*, we are in some sort obliged to insert the following abstruse yet ancient fiction. *Osiris* and *Isis* were said by some to have been the son and daughter of *Saturn* and *Rhea*; but, according to others, they were their grand-son and grand-daughter, being descended from *Ju-*  
piter

- a *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had a deity born to them on each of the five intercalary days of the Egyptians. These five deities were called *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Venus*<sup>a</sup>. We have also their origin and generation differently reported by various authors, and with the several particulars related thus: *Sol* surprizing *Rhea* in a private congress with *Saturn*, prayed that she might not be delivered in the space of any one month or of the year. Soon after *Mercury*, smitten with love of the goddess, embraced her also; and beating *Luna* at dice, took from the *Lunar* year the seventy second part of every day, and thereof composed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that she might bring forth in them: and these the Egyptians celebrated as the birth-days of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, *Orus* and *Nephthe*. On the first day *Osiris* was born, and at his birth a voice was heard crying out, *The lord of all things is come into the world*: or, according to others, a damsel called *Pamyles*, going to fetch water from the temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, heard a loud voice commanding to proclaim, *The great and beneficent king Osiris is born*. He was delivered to this damsel who was directed to nurse him, which she did with all the veneration due to him, performing the mysteries called *Pamyliæ*, like those stiled *Pallephoria*, in honour of him. On the second day *Arueris* was brought forth, whom some called *Apollo*, and others the elder *Orus*. The third was the birth-day of *Typhon*, who came not into the world in proper time and place, but by a violent eruption leaped out of his mother's side. On the fourth day *Isis*, and on the fifth *Nephthe*, or *Nephthys*, took birth; which last was also called *Finis*, *Venus*, and *Victoria*. *Sol* was the father of *Osiris* and *Arueris*; *Mercury* was the father of *Isis*; and *Saturn* was the father of *Typhon* and *Nephthe*. The third day being the birth-day of *Typhon*, was held to be inauspicious, or unlucky; so that the kings thereon suspended all business, and abstained from eating and drinking. *Nephthe* married *Typhon*, and *Isis* married *Osiris*. As for these last it is said, that, impelled by a mutual love, they embraced whilst yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought that *Arueris*, the elder *Orus* of the Egyptians, and the *Apollo* of the Greeks, sprang from that early conjunction. (A). *Osiris* had no sooner obtained the kingdom of *Egypt* than he reclaimed the inhabitants from their savage and brutal way of living, instructed them how to improve the fruits of the earth, and instituted divine worship<sup>b</sup>; building the city of *Thebes*, as is (but with uncertainty) said, and erecting several temples, and, amongst the rest, one to *Jupiter Uranius*, and another to *Jupiter Ammon*, his father, who reigned before him<sup>c</sup>. But, that his beneficence might not be confined within the bounds of his own country, he undertook to visit the several nations on the earth, all of whom he civilized and brought into order; not by the forcible constraint of arms, but by dint of mild persuasion, and by the allurements of music and poetry<sup>d</sup>. His entering on this expedition, and the more remarkable particulars of his travels, are thus told.

- c HAVING in view the vast and beneficial design abovementioned, he drew together a great number of followers, amongst whom was his brother *Apollo*, who claimed the laurel as sacred to him, in the same manner as the *ivy* was to *Osiris*. He took also his two sons with him, *Anubis* (which hereafter will be controverted) and *Macedo*. These two wore coats of mail, and over them the skin of such a beast as corresponded with the nature of their courage; thus *Anubis* had a dog's skin, and *Macedo* the skin of a wolf; and hence, said they, the dog and the wolf were worshipped in *Egypt*. *Pan* also was of the company; he was afterwards highly revered over all the country,

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. lib. 1. p. 13.<sup>b</sup> PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 355.<sup>c</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.<sup>d</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.

(A) *Herodotus* gives them a daughter, *Bubastis*, or *Diana*; and seems to have heard the story of these fabulous princes, with some variation from what is related by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, the only authors remaining who have recorded this fiction at length. And particularly, speaking of the floating island *Chemmis*, near the city of *Butus*, he writes that, by an Egyptian tradition, *Latona*, one of the primary deities, residing at *Butus*, had *Orus* committed to her care, at a time when *Typhon* was in search after him to destroy him; and she accordingly concealed him in the aforesaid isle. Now, according to *Plutarch*, *Typhon* was kept

within the bounds of duty by the prudence of *Isis* during all the expedition of *Osiris*; with which account this violent proceeding cannot consist; and *Herodotus* does not in the least hint at this search afterwards. *Diodorus* says *Orus* accompanied his father in his travels; he was therefore out of the reach of his enemy; and after his father's murder, this author writes, he was so far from flying from *Typhon*, that he made war against him, overcame him in battle, and slew him. It appears then that *Herodotus* heard this fiction related after a third manner, differing much from both the former (1).

(1) HERODOT. lib. II.

inasmuch that he had not only statues and temples erected to him, but also the city of *Chemmis*, the name implying it was *Pan's* city. Add to these *Maro*, famous for planting and dressing of vines; and *Triptolemus* for sowing of corn, and gathering in the harvest. Besides, *Osiris* took with him nine virgins, proficient in music, and all these being committed to the care of *Apollo*, he thence obtained the title of master of the nine sisters, or muses; likewise some satyrs he met as he went towards *Ethiopia*, who were acceptable for their jocund disposition, and diverting by their antic behaviour, skipping and dancing.

BUT before he left *Egypt*, he provided against any disturbances which might arise in his absence, by committing the administration to persons equally wise and faithful. For he invested *Isis* with the regency, wherein he left his friend *Hermes* to assist her. *Hermes* was also called *Mercury*, *Thoth*, *Thoyth*, *Tauauies*, *Trismegylus*, and by other names. It is a common opinion that there were two persons or more who bore these several appellations; but leaving the discussion of so dark a point, we will here speak only of one person, and enumerate the inventions and books ascribed to him. He, said they, invented articulate sounds, appellatives, letters, divine worship, astronomy, music, wrestling, arithmetic, statuary, the three-stringed lyre, and the use of the olive, and not *Minerva*, as the *Greeks* mistakenly asserted. He was also stiled the father of eloquence, and thence he derived his name of *Hermes*, the interpreter, or speaker\*. Now as to the books he wrote, *Seleucus* reckoned them at no less than 20,000†; and *Manetho* exceeds him, computing them at 36,525‡. These numbers are so enormous, that to the learned it hath been no inconsiderable difficulty to conceive how one person could be the author of such myriads of tracts. Therefore some have supposed these computations to refer to verses, others to leaves of the *Papyrus*; and others again to succinct discourses and proverbs. But *Clement of Alexandria* will lead us, in some measure, out of this labyrinth, by the following account of an ancient *Egyptian* procession: The first who advanced, says he, was a *Chanter*, or singer, who bore some symbol or other of music: His business it was to receive two of the books of *Mercury* or *Thoth*; of which the one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the conduct of a king. Secondly, an *Astrologer*, bearing a dial and a palm, which were symbols of astrology: He was obliged to have the four astrological books of *Mercury* by heart; the first of which contained the places of the fixed stars, and the three others treated of the sun and moon, their eclipses, illuminations, rising, and the like. Thirdly, an *Hierogrammateus*, or sacred scribe, with a feather on his head, bearing a book and a reed, in which were ink and a reed to write with: He was versed in the subjects of ten books, the 1. of hieroglyphics; 2. of cosmography; 3. of geography; 4. of the order of the sun and moon; 5. of the five planets; 6. of the chorography of *Egypt*; 7. a description of the *Nile*; 8. a description of the sacred utensils, and of the places consecrated to them; 9. treated of measures, and the 10th of whatever was necessary in their worship. Fourthly, a *Stolistes*, a kind of solemn marshal, holding the cubit of justice, and a cup for libations: He knew whatever concerned the institution of youth, and the sealing of victims. The whole *Egyptian* religion was comprehended in ten books; the 1. related to the sacrifices; the 2. to first-fruits; 3. to hymns; 4. to prayers; 5. to processions; 6. to festivals, and the other four were written on the like subjects. Fifthly, and last of all came the *Prophet*, bearing a water-pot openly in his bosom, and followed by those who carried the processional bread: He, as presiding over the temple, studied the ten books called sacerdotal, which spoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole discipline of the priesthood. Here we have an account of thirty six books of *Hermes*; besides which he wrote six more, which treated of anatomy, diseases, medicaments, and the like; so that he was author of forty two in all, each of which might be divided into many Sections\*. This is some rational account of the matter. But to return from whence we digressed, this sagacious person or some such one was left behind to assist *Isis* in the government of the kingdom.

MOREOVER, *Hercules* was appointed general over the forces at home, and *Antaus*, *Bufris* and *Prometheus* were constituted governors of several provinces. *Osiris* having thus settled affairs in *Egypt*, began his progress, moving first towards *Ethiopia*. In this country he raised the banks of the *Nile*, and dug several canals, thereby to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and properly distribute the

\* DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 14, &c. † SELEUC. apud Jamblich. de Myst. Ægypt. § 8. cap. 1.  
‡ MANETHO, apud eund. ibid. § CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. 6. p. 633.

**a** waters of the *Nile*. Whilst he was thus employed in *Ethiopia*, the *Nile* broke down its banks in *Egypt*, and overflowed a great part of the country; and this it did with so rapid a tide, and so copious a flood, as swept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing especially damage in *Prometheus's* jurisdiction, whereat he was grieved almost to despair. But *Hercules* soon drained off the waters, and thence is said to have shot through the eagle which preyed on *Prometheus's* heart; for the suddenness of this flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river from thence was sometimes called after that bird. But to return to *Osiris*; he instructed the *Ethiopians* in all the branches of agriculture, and built them several cities; which done, he departed, leaving some behind him to act  
**b** as his governors, and others to gather in his tribute. From *Ethiopia* he went into *Arabia*, and so continued his travels till he had got beyond *India*. In *India* he built several Cities, and particularly *Nysa*, which he so called from the place where (according to some) he was bred up. Here he planted the ivy which was no where else to be found in *India*, and left so many monuments of himself behind him, as afterwards gave room to dispute whether he was not originally of that part of the world. Having surveyed all *Asia*, he crossed the *Hellcfont*, and landing in *Thrace*, killed *Lycurgus*, the king of that country, who opposed his progress. Here he left *Maro* to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and to call it after his own name, *Maronea*. Afterwards he bestowed on his son *Macedo* the country of  
**c** *Macedon*, which borrowed its name from him; and *Triptolemus* had charge of *Attica*. At length *Osiris* returned back into *Egypt*, laden with the choicest productions of the earth, and with the blessings of the whole race of mankind who consented to his deification.

But his brother *Typhon* slew him soon after his arrival, and cut his body into twenty-six pieces, giving one to each of his accomplices<sup>1</sup>. It was thus that by some of the priests we had the story of the death of *Osiris*; but the fable was also told after the following manner: *Typhon* hearing that his brother was on his return, entered into a conspiracy with seventy two others, exclusive of the queen of *Ethiopia*, called *Afo*, to kill him. And privately taking measure of *Osiris's* body he ordered  
**d** a very magnificent coffin to be made, and contrived that it should be brought home to him as he was entertaining his friends. This was done, and his guests failed not to take notice of the coffin and admire it. Whereupon *Typhon*, in a jesting way, told them, that the person amongst them whom it best fitted should have it. Several of the company tried, but to no purpose, till *Osiris* went into it, which he had no sooner done, than they shut the lid on him, and locked it. Then pouring melted lead over it, they conveyed him to the *Tanitic* mouth of the *Nile*, and there threw him into the sea; on which account that entrance of the river was abhorred by the *Egyptians*. This cruelty was transacted on the seventeenth day of the month *Albyr*, in which the sun went through the *Scorpion*, and in the twenty eighth  
**e** year of the reign of *Osiris*; though, according to some, not of his reign, but of his life. When the *Pans* and *Satyrs* told it to the men, they were seized by such sudden consternations as have ever since born the name of *Panic* fears. And *Isis* hearing it, cut off a lock of her hair, and, putting on mourning, set out from the city of *Coptus*, where she received the doleful news, and went in quest of the body of *Osiris*. As she went along, she asked all she met, if they had seen, or heard of, the coffin; but she enquired in vain, till some children, who had seen *Typhon's* friends carrying it, gave her some information. Hence the *Egyptians* held children to have been induced with a prophetic faculty, and were wont to draw conjectures from what they said while playing in temples.

**f** *Isis* knowing that *Osiris* had, by mistake, lain with his sister *Neptbe*, and that she had exposed a son she had by him, through fear of *Typhon*, resolved now to seek him; and, after much fatigue, she was guided by dogs to the place where he was. Having found him, he afterwards served her for a guard and companion, and was called *Anubis*. He was thought to have guarded the gods in the same manner as dogs take care of men. At length she came to understand that the coffin was thrown up by the sea, and lodged in a tuft of broom, or heath, at *Byblus*, and that the broom had suddenly sprouted up with a large stalk, whereby it inclosed and concealed it from sight. She therefore repaired thither, and passing over the methods she practised to possess herself of the coffin, let it suffice that at last she obtained it. When she  
**g** first cast her eyes on it, she cried out with so loud a voice that she struck the king of

<sup>1</sup> Diob. Sic. ubi supra, p. 15, &c.

Byblus's youngest son dead; for she had insinuated herself into his family, as the  
 most ready means to obtain what she wanted, he having out of curiosity built over  
 the broom which hid the coffin. With his eldest son and the coffin she immediately  
 embarked; and, in her passage, dried up the river *Phædrus*, which displeased her,  
 because of a rustling breeze which issued from its mouth as she passed by about break  
 of day. Being now private, and at leisure, she opened the coffin, and laying her  
 face to the face of the deceased, bathed it with her tears. As she was thus giving  
 vent to her grief, the king's son she had brought away with her from *Byblus* came  
 behind her, and saw what she was about; whereat enraged, she turned on him with  
 so dreadful a countenance, that she frightened him also to death. Some said he jumped  
 into the sea. This is supposed to be *Maneros*<sup>k</sup>. She brought the body to *Butus* and  
 hid it; but *Typhon* one night hunting by moon light, fell on it, and tore it into  
 fourteen pieces, which he scattered abroad. *Isis* then traversed the lakes and watery  
 places in a boat made of the *Papyrus*, seeking after the limbs of *Osiris*. Whence it was  
 held that those who went on the water in boats made of that wood were in no danger  
 from crocodiles, who either loved or else dreaded the goddess. In whatever place she  
 found a limb, she there buried it; for which reason there were many tombs ascribed to  
*Osiris*: but others said, she made several counterfeits of his body, and presented them  
 to as many cities, pretending to the inhabitants of each that they had the true corps,  
 and so established the worship of him in many places, and made it difficult for *Ty-*  
*phon* to find out the right monument, in case he should ever get the superiority, and  
 continue in his implacable malice against *Osiris*<sup>l</sup>. This burial is also related after a  
 third, and almost quite different manner. For the author, from whom he took the  
 first account of his death, reports that *Isis* got together the twenty-six pieces of his  
 mangled carcass, joined them, and embalmed them; and afterwards prevailed on  
 the *Egyptian* priests to consent to, and promote his deification, in consideration of a  
 third part of *Egypt* which she gave them them; and they buried him at *Memphis*.  
 But the place of his burial was a matter of great dispute and controversy; though  
 some produced the following inscription in sacred characters, which they said was on  
 a pillar in *Arabia*.

SATURN, the youngest of all the gods, was my father. I am *Osiris*, that king who  
 led an army as far as the desarts of India, and from thence northward as far as  
 the springs of the river *Ister*, and thence quite to the ocean. I am the eldest son of  
 Saturn, sprung from a noble stock, and of generous blood; cousin to the day. Nor  
 is there a place where I have not been, I, who freely dispensed my benefits to all  
 mankind.

*Isis*, after the most diligent search, could never recover the privities of *Osiris*,  
 which, being thrown into the river, were devoured by the *lepidotus*, the *squameus*,  
 the *phagrus*, and the *oxyrynchus*, which four sorts of fish the *Egyptians* detested and  
 abstained from upon that account: But she made ample amends for this irreparable  
 loss, by instituting a kind of separate worship, which was devoutly and universally  
 paid to the image of those parts afterwards.

THERE were various reports concerning the actions of *Isis* and *Orus* after the  
 death of *Osiris*, as also relating to *Typhon*. And first it was affirmed, that they over-  
 came him in battle, and slew him<sup>m</sup>. Secondly, he was said to have been thunderstruck  
 by *Jupiter*, and plunged under the lake *Sirbon*<sup>n</sup> (B), where being supposed to lay sub-

<sup>k</sup> See before, p. 213. <sup>l</sup> PLUT. ubi supra. p. 357, 358.  
<sup>n</sup> APOLLON. RHOD. Argo. lib. 11.

<sup>m</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra, p. 79.

(B) According to *Diodorus Siculus* the lake, or  
 bog *Sirbon*, *Serbonis*, or *Selbonis*, under mount  
*Casius*, was two hundred furlongs in length, very  
 narrow, but very deep. Many mistaken in their  
 road, nay, whole armies, misguided in their  
 march, have been swallowed up in it. The shore  
 all round it was a plain of sand, which the winds  
 blowing over the surface of the bog, the lower  
 particles lighted thereon, and by degrees for-  
 med a loose skin, or crust, over it; which,  
 though weak, was sufficient to deceive the eye

of the wandering traveller, who no sooner set  
 foot upon it, than he felt it give way under  
 him, and was irrecoverably lost, and this even  
 at the very brink of it. It was also called  
*Barathra*, or the profound gulphs (2). But it has  
 from time to time decreased in extent; for *Pliny*  
 speaks of it as a small place to what it had former-  
 ly been (3); and it is now thought to be quite  
 choaked up, such a place being no more to be  
 found (4).

(2) DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 26.  
 tom. III. p. 306.

(3) PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. 5. c. 13.

(4) Voyage de P. LUCAS,  
 merfed,



a merged, it was thence called *Typhon's exhalations* \*. And thirdly, it was asserted that *Osiris* ascending from the infernal regions, instructed *Orus*, and excited him to war with *Typhon*; and that after a battle, which continued several days, *Typhon* was taken prisoner. But *Isis* restoring him to his liberty, so enraged *Orus*, that he tore off the royal attire from her head, when *Mercury* being present, covered her with a helmet made of an ox's head instead thereof. *Typhon* after this renewed the war twice, and was both times vanquished †; and being no longer able to withstand his enemies, concealed himself (as should seem) under the abovementioned lake *Sirbon* ‡. *Osiris* moreover appeared to *Isis*, and had a son by her, called *Harpocrates*, but he proved a weak and ricketty person. Here *Plutarch* breaks off, and after assuring us that his is the genuine story, proceeds to explain away the whole into an allegory. But seeing that *Diodorus* continues to the death of *Isis* and *Orus*, we now turn to him. *Isis* having thus quelled her enemies, reigned with great prudence, justice, moderation, and beneficence. And because of her great and constant affection towards *Osiris*, which appeared in nothing more than in the vow she made of widowhood, a law was enacted, which allowed of the marriage contract between brother and sister: And from the same source sprang the custom of preferring the queen before the king, and the wife before the husband\*. At last she died, and was buried at *Memphis*, as the common opinion was; but this also was disputed. And particularly those who laid a stress upon the above-inserted inscription, affirmed there was another pillar c near to the former in *Arabia*, and that the following words in sacred characters were legible upon it.

*I, Isis, am the queen of this country, and was instructed by Mercury. What he have ordained, may no one make void. I am the eldest daughter of Saturn, the youngest of the gods. I am the sister and wife of king Osiris. I am she who first cultivated Bread-corn for the use of man. I am the mother of king Orus. I am she who ariseth in the dog-star. The city of Bubastus was built in honour of me. Farewel! rejoice, O Egypt, my nursing mother! — This was all, said they, that was to be distinguished of this inscription* †.

She had a most stately temple erected to her in the city of *Buſiris*, situate near d the middle of the *Delta* ‡, some remains of which are thought to be still standing (C).

There is nothing said of *Orus* any farther than that he was the last of the gods and demi-gods †; and therefore we here conclude this fabulous or mythologic section.

\* *PLUTARCH* in vita Antonii, p. 916. † *Idem* *Isid. & Osirid.* ubi supra. ‡ *HERODOT.* lib. 3. † *PLUT.* ubi supra. † See before, p. 203. † *DIODOR.* Sic. ubi supra. † *HERODOT.* lib. 2. † *Idem*, *ibid.*

(C) Of these ruins take the account given by an eye witness in his own words. "I here saw the remains of one of the finest, most extensive, and most ancient temples of Egypt. All the stones are of extraordinary length and thickness, and all of granite. They are, for the most part, adorned with sculptures in *Relievo*, which represent men and women, and all sorts of hieroglyphics. Many of these stones bear the image of a man standing upright, with a long peaked cap on his head, and holding a goblet or bowl, in each hand, which he presents to three or four young women, which stand also upright, one behind another. These young women have each of them a javelin in one hand, and a staff, shorter than the javelin, in the other; and on each of their heads is a ball between two long taper horns. Others of these stones are embellished with hieroglyphical representations of birds, fishes, and terrestrial animals. A lofty and very substantial pillar of fine granite, having each of the four faces of its upper part wrought with four angular flutings or indentures, seems to have been erected to support the arcades and vaults of this sum-

ptuous edifice. On each face of this pillar there is also carved the head of a woman bigger than the life. These sculptures have not been in the least injured by time, by the sun or by the Arabs. . . . It seems to be more than probable, that this temple, the remains of which I have here described, was the very temple of the goddess *Isis*, and that the city of *Buſiris*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, is now the very town of *Bahábeit*, situated in the middle of the *Delta*, near *Sebennytus*, or *Sammanúd*. My opinion is the more credible, in that throughout all the island it was never heard, or known, that any monument of marble, or stone, either little or big, was ever found, that could suit with any other deity than the goddess *Isis*. . . . These ruins which are near to *Bahábeit* are about 1000 paces in circumference. They are about a league from the *Nile*, about two or three leagues from *Sammanúd*, and about twenty five or thirty leagues north of *Káhira*. There is not either brick, plaster, mortar or common stone amongst these reliques; nothing being there to be seen but great blocks of granite (5).

(5) *Nouv. Mem. Des Missions de la Comp. de Jéf. dans le Levant, Tome II. p. 117. & seq.*

## S E C T. V.

*The Reigns of the kings of Egypt.*

Menes or  
Menas.

**MENES**, or *Menas*, is universally agreed to have been the first mortal who reigned <sup>a</sup> over *Egypt* (A). In his time the whole country, except *Thebais*, was a morass; and no land appeared between the lake *Maris* and the *Mediterranean* sea, which was seven days passage on the river. He diverted the course of the *Nile*, which was wont to wash the foot of the sandy mountain towards *Lybia*, and built the city of *Mempbis* within the ancient bed of the river. On the north he made a lake and on the west side of it, another, both without the walls, and both fed by the *Nile* which flowed along the east side of the town; and in the city itself he built the famous temple of *Vulcan* \*. He was the first who instructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, and introduced

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. lib. II.

(A) It is on all hands agreed that *Menes* was the first king of *Egypt*; but all are not of one mind concerning him in any other respect. And though we have resolved to follow no particular hypothesis in the *Egyptian* affairs, as thinking them all not a little dubious; yet we shall in the most summary way entertain the reader with the conjectures of some of the most eminent chronologers who have laboured in the ungrateful work of settling the *Egyptian* antiquities. In conformity to what we now propose, we shall take notice that, according to Sir *John Marsham*, this *Menes* was the *Cham* or *Ham*, of the scriptures, the *Jupiter Hammon* or *Ammon* of the Greeks, the *Thamus* or *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*, the *Saturn* of *Sanchoniatho*, and the first who taught the *Egyptians* to live delicately; which alone, is a sufficient inducement to think that he could not have lived in the early and simple times which immediately succeeded the deluge. But we shall have no need to contradict him, seeing that will be done presently by one of no mean fame, who wrote professedly with that intent. In a word, Sir *John* lays it down that he was king of all *Egypt*, and the father of the *Egyptian* god *Mercury* or *Athotbes* (1).

It will now be worth the readers while to hear what *Perizonius* hath to object to the account of this gentleman. He says, that the first who reigned in *Egypt* were the *Mesiræi* or *Semigods*. Then came *Menes*, whom he denies to have been either *Ham* or *Mizraim*, or that *Hammon* is properly the same with the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or that *Menes* was the father of the *Egyptian Mercury*: We will next give you an argument of his in proof of these heads separately, and then conclude with his conjectures concerning the age and family of *Menes*, and of this obscure period of the *Egyptian* affairs. 1. *Menes* succeeded the *Mesiræi*: This he proves by very ample testimony, and then observes that he could not be the founder of their race, but their successor; and since it is said that he first taught the *Egyptians* to feed deliciously, and to adorn their beds, it must follow that there had been *Egyptians* before his time, who were used to a coarser and more simple way of living. 2. For the same reason it is very improbable that he was either *Ham* or *Mizraim*. 3. *Hammon* is not properly the *Egyptian Jupiter*; for that *Ham* or *Hammon*, was, by the Greeks, in after-times dignified with the name of *Jupiter*, was owing to their being so solicitous after foreign gods, to whose original or proper name they prefixed that

of *Jupiter*; so *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Hammon*, *Jupiter Casus*, and many more; wherefore this had no affinity with the ancient *Egyptian* genealogy, which owned nothing of the *Grecian Jupiter*. In a word, he thinks he was styled *Dionius*, or sprung from *Jupiter* by *Eratosthenes*, because he was the first that reigned after the *Mesiræi* or *Semigods*, as is related by the same author. It is his opinion that *Menes* lived in or about the days of *Abraham*, but does not lay it down for certain; and though *Eratosthenes* calls him the father of *Athotbes*, or *Mercury*, he can by no means admit it (2).

Father *Pezron*, who wrote before *Perizonius*, brings down the reign of *Menes* much later than the days of *Ham*, or *Mizraim*. According to his hypothesis *Menes* began to reign 2904 years after the creation, and 648 after the flood. This he endeavours by all means to prove, and seems to be pretty confident that he is in the right; but it would be endless to enter into the arguments of the chronologers we shall mention from time to time, and we shall avoid it as much as possible, except when their reasoning is very clear and important, or their notions very singular (3).

We will now consult the incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton*. As he is of opinion that *Sesostrius* was *Osiris*, he places *Menes* after him, and in consequence thereof, and for other cogent reasons, he transposes the series of the kings of *Egypt* mentioned by *Herodotus* after this manner: *Sesostrius*, *Phoron*, *Proetus*, *Menes*, *Rhamphinitus*, *Marris*, *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, and the rest in the same order as they stand in *Herodotus*. He supposes *Menes* to be the same with *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, and that by corruption he was called *Menes*, *Mines*, *Minæus*, *Minies*, *Minevis*, *Enephes*, *Venephes*, *Phamenophis*, *Ofymanthas* [*Ofymandyas*], *Ofimandes*, *Ismandes*, *Imandes*, *Memnon*, *Arminon*. According to his hypothesis *Menes* is about 300 years older than *Psammiticus*. He looks on it as absurd to suppose that there was any king of all *Egypt*, till after the expulsion of the *Shepherds*; and observes, that the miracles of *Mempbis* were not spoken of, or known in *Greece* till some ages after the *Torjan* war; for *Homer* celebrates *Thebes* as the glory of those days, and makes no mention of *Mempbis*; which, with the temple of *Vulcan*, that stood in the midst of it, he grants to have been built by *Menes*. In a word, this hypothesis reduces the antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, of which *Menes* was the first king, much lower than any other (4).

(1) Vid. MARSH. Can. Chron. (2) PERIZON. *Ægypt. Orig. & Temp. Antiquissimum*, Invest. (3) PEZRON. *Antiq. des Temps rétab. & déf.*

(4) Sir ISSAC NEWTON's *Chron. of the ancient kingdoms amended*, p. 238.

- a domestic magnificence and luxury; on which account his memory was loaded with execrations by one of his successors, as will be hereafter observed<sup>b</sup>.

FROM the reign of this king, *Herodotus* declares, that the *Egyptians* produced a catalogue of 130 monarchs, extending from *Menes* to *Maris*, who was the last of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one *Ethiopian* woman called *Nitocris*. On the other hand *Diodorus* writes, that the family of *Menes* enjoyed the crown to the fifty second descent, and that their several reigns took up the space of 1400 years. Since therefore there is so vast a chasm in both of them, we think we may safely venture to fill it up in part with what we find concerning the shepherds who ruled in *Egypt*; and the rather, because this whole transaction seems

- b to belong to some very distant period of the *Egyptian* history.

IT happened (to use the words of an eminent author) in the reign of *Timaus* The irruption of the pastors or shepherds, who set up Salatis. king of *Egypt*, that God being displeased with the *Egyptians*, they suffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and pouring from the *East* into *Egypt*, made war with the inhabitants, who submitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the most cruel and insulting manner over the ancient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. At length they made one of their own number king, whose name was *Salatis*. He usually resided at *Memphis*,

- c and leaving garrisons in the most proper places, kept both the upper and lower *Egypt* under tribute. But particularly he fortified the eastern parts, fearing an invasion of the *Assyrians*, who were at that time most powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the *Saitic Nome*, which was seated on the eastern banks of the river *Bubastis*, and which was called *Avaris* in the ancient dialect, he rebuilt it, and surrounded it with a very strong wall, and kept a garrison of 24,000 soldiers therein. It was his custom, about the time of harvest, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exercise his soldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a constant terror to any who should attempt an invasion. *Salatis* died, and was succeeded by five others<sup>c</sup>, who did their utmost, as well as their predecessor, to root out the whole nation of *Egyptians*. This people were called *Hycfos*, or *King Shepherds* (B), *hyc*, in the sacred dialect, signifying a king, and *fos*, in the common dialect, signifying a pastor or shepherd; and of these two came the compound *Hycfos*. Some would have it that these were *Arabians*. They held *Egypt* 511 years. This is all the genuine account we have of the irruption of the shepherds, their expulsion will be hereafter related.

WE now return to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, and this last making mention of several princes between *Menes* and *Myris*, let us hear what he says concerning them.

*BUSIRIS* (C) in process of time became king, and was succeeded by 8 princes of *Busiris* I. his line, the last of which was called also *Busiris*, and was the founder of the city of *Thebes*, which he made the capital of the kingdom<sup>c</sup>.

- c *OSYMANDYAS* (D) stands next. It is uncertain whom, or when he succeeded. *Osymandyas*. The *Bactrians* revolting from him, he reduced them, as is said, with an army con-

<sup>b</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 42. <sup>c</sup> See before p. 231. <sup>d</sup> MANETHO apud Jos. contra Appion. l. 1. p. 1039. <sup>e</sup> Diod. ubi supr.

(B) We will barely transcribe the opinions of the above cited chronologers as to the time of this irruption, as it is represented, of the shepherds into *Egypt*. Sir *John Marsham* places it 157 years before the *Exodus* of the children of *Israel* (1). *Perizonius* drawing a very circumstantial parallel between what is recorded of the shepherds by *Manetho*, and what is said of the obscurity of the *Israelites*, the power and dignity of *Joseph*, and the miraculous works of *Moses* which almost utterly destroyed the country; upon the close, pronounces the shepherds so heinously spoken of, to have been the *Israelites* themselves (2). Sir *Isaac Newton* makes the pastors to have been the *Canaanites* who fled from *Joshua* and went into *Africa*, but in their flight seized on the kingdom of the *Lower Egypt* in the reign of *Timaus*, whom the same author calls *Thamus* or *Thammuz* (3). *Greaves*, after

a parallel drawn by him between the history of the shepherds and of the *Israelites*, which seems as natural and as plausible as that of *Perizonius*, will by no means allow them to have been the same (4).

(C) Sir *John Marsham* and Sir *Isaac Newton* think that no such king ever reigned, and that what is said concerning his cruelty is merely fabulous (5). *Perizonius*, on the contrary, that there was such a king of *Egypt*, but who was not so ancient as *Diodorus* makes him; taxing that historian with too great indulgence towards the *Egyptian* vanity (6).

(D) If we rely on Sir *John Marsham*, we should call *Osymandyas*, *Amenophis* and *Memnon*; as also *Imandes*, *Imandes* and *Osmandes*: This perhaps, says he, derived from *Osiris*, and that from *Isis*. What seems to be his chief argument in support of this opinion, is, that in the description of the city they pretend he besieged, it is said to have

(1) Vid. MARSH. ubi supr. (2) PERIZON. ubi supr. (3) Sir ISAAC NEWT. ubi supr. (4) GRAVES'S pyramid: p. 21, 22. (5) MARSH. ubi supr. (6) PERIZON. ubi supr.

His tomb.

sitting of 400,000 foot, and 200,000 horse. Of all the ancient monuments of the kings, for which the city of *Thebes* was so renowned, his was of the greatest note. It consisted of vast courts, portico's, shrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings. The first court, which was of various kinds of stone, was 200 foot in extent, and 45 foot high. Next to this was a square portico, each of whose sides was 400 foot long; and instead of pillars, supported by representations of animals of 15 cubits high, all of one stone, and adorned with figures after the ancient manner. The cieling was blue and bespangled with stars. From this portico they went into a second court, in all respects like the first, except that it was more richly adorned with various sculptures. In the entrance thereof were three statues, all of one stone, the workmanship of *Memnon the Scinite*: One of them was in a sitting posture, and the largest in all *Egypt*, the length of its foot exceeding 7 cubits. This was his own statue; the other two, which stood one at each knee, represented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not so admirable for the exquisite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the stone, which was free from the least flaw or blemish. It had this inscription; *I am Osymandyas, king of kings, he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him surpass me in any of my works.* Here was also another statue of his mother, standing by herself, of 20 cubits high, and cut out of one stone: She had three queens on her head, signifying that she had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court lead to a second portico or piazza, far exceeding the first. On the first wall of this the king was represented with his army besieging a town encompassed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle accompanied by a lion: Concerning which some said he always fought with a tame lion at his side; and others, that the figure of that beast was purely emblematical of his extraordinary courage. On the second wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off, to express their cowardice. On the third were various sorts of sculptures and paintings, which represented his sacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the most beautiful marble, of excellent workmanship, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth side, or wall, were two gigantic statues, all of one stone, in a sitting posture, and 27 cubits high. Near unto these were three passages which gave admission into a great hall, supported by columns after the manner of a music theatre, and 200 feet square. In this place were many wooden statues, representing parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the causes. These last, to the number of thirty, were carved on one side, with their president in the midst of them, at whose neck hung an image with its eyes shut, to represent truth, and with many books about him. By this they chose to signify, that judges ought to be proof against bribery, and respect nothing but truth and equity. From hence they went into a gallery or long walk, in which were apartments stored with the most delicious eatables. Here the king was most curiously wrought, and painted in the most lively colours, as presenting to God the gold and silver annually dug out of the mines in *Egypt*, the amount whereof was 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds sterling. Next was the sacred library with this inscription; *The dispensary of the mind.* Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the *Egyptian* gods, with the king paying the offerings peculiar to each of them; that *Osiris*, and the rest of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he had passed his life with piety towards the gods, and with justice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feast on, and the statues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the king; who was thought to be here intombed. About this were several pavilions, in which most curious pictures of the consecrated animals were seen. From hence was the ascent to the sepulchre, which being ascended, you saw a ring or circle of gold 365 cubits in circumference, and one in thickness, surrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and shewed the rising and setting of the stars, and their aspects, according to the *Egyptian* astrology. This circular border was carried away by *Cambyfes the Persian*. Such

have been surrounded by a river, which he will have to have been the river *Euleus*, and the city itself *Susa*; for *Pliny* says that river surrounded the fortrefs of the *Susians*, and observes, that *Susa* was commonly called, by the *Greeks*, *Memnonia*. He observes moreover, that *Memnon's* expedition into *Asia*, was more celebrated by the *Greeks* than that of *Sesostris*, which he attributes to the poets who sprang first up in or near his time: And con-

cludes, that he dwelt some time in *Susa*. All this, according to his custom, he endeavours to prove from ancient testimony (7).

*Perizonius* uses much argument upon this king's reign, and who he was; but comes to no positive decision, and scarce offers a conjecture, so dark this period appeared to him (8). We have already told you, that *Sir Isaac Newton* takes *Osymandyas* and *Menes* to have been the same.

(7) *Vid. MARSH. ubi sup.*(8) *PERIZ. ubi sup.*

- a was the tomb of *Osymandyas*, whose descendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The last of whom was called *Uchoreus*<sup>1</sup>.

THE building and fortifying of *Memphis*, already ascribed to *Menes*, are likewise attributed to this *UCHOREUS* (E). He is said to have given that city a circuit *Uchoreus* of 150 *stadia*, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have secured it from the insults either of the *Nile* or of an enemy. He adorned it with palaces, which though they surpassed those in any other country, yet fell short of what had been done in that way by his predecessors. For the inhabitants held this transitory life in no estimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to possess hereafter; and were proportionably less splendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former, than  
b in the repositories they founded for the latter. This king translated the imperial seat from *Thebes* to *Memphis*<sup>2</sup>.

AFTER him reigned *SASYCHIS* the second *Egyptian* legislator.

*Sasychis*.

WE have now brought *Diodorus* down to *Myris*; and that we may do the same by *Herodotus*, we must relate what he has recorded concerning *NITOCRIS* (F). She succeeded her brother, an *Ethiopian*, whom the *Egyptians* murdered, but afterwards admitted her to the succession. She meditating revenge for her brother's untimely end, put many of the *Egyptians* to death privately and by stratagem; and is particularly said to have contrived a subterraneous building, whither she invited the principal actors against her brother to partake of a feast, and in the midst of their mirth  
c turned the river upon them by a private passage, and drowned them all, while herself took refuge in a place well fortified with ashes<sup>3</sup>. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her person beautiful; but it appears, that though her mind was great, she was however inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid<sup>4</sup>.

AFTER twelve generations *MOERIS* or *MYRIS* (G) came to the throne. He it was who dug the famous lake which bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which stood in the midst of it<sup>5</sup>: He also built a sumptuous portico on the north side of *Vulcan's* temple at *Memphis*<sup>6</sup>. According to *Herodotus*, he was the 330th king from *Menes*, and the immediate predecessor to *Sesostris*.

- d *SESOSTRIS*, *Sesostris*, *Sesofsis*, *Sefonchis*, *Sefonchosis*, *Sethosis*, and several other *Sesoftris*, appellations are by (H) some held to belong to one man, whose reign is esteemed the

<sup>1</sup> DIODOR. l. 1. p. 44. p. 58. See before, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ubi sup. p. 46. <sup>3</sup> See before, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> HEROD. ubi sup.

<sup>5</sup> SYNCCELL.

<sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi sup. p. 47.

(E) The last mentioned author thinks the works of *Uchoreus* and *Mæris* confers the same genius, and therefore would willingly think these names belonged to one and the same person (1).

(F) Her name signifies *Minerva Victrix*. Sir *John Marsham* places her soon after the *Israelites* came into *Egypt*. He thinks *Josephus* mentions her by the name of *Nic-aule*, queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; but that he is mistaken in alledging that the *Nitocris* of *Herodotus* was she who visited *Solomon* (2). Father *Pezron* thinks much in the same purpose (3). Sir *Isaac Newton* makes her the sister and successor of *Mycerinus* (4).

(G) He recovered *Memphis* from the *Pastors* says *Marsham* (5). *Perizonius* fixes upon nothing concerning him. *Mæris* was also called *Maris*, *Myris*, *Meres*, *Marres*, *Smarres*, and more corruptly by changing *M* into *A*, *T*, *B*, *S*, *TX*, *A*, &c. *Ayres*, *Tyris*, *Byires*, *Sores*, *Uchoreus*, *Labaris*; according to Sir *Isaac Newton* (6).

(H) Sir *John Marsham* allows him to have been called by these several appellations, and others besides, which we may perhaps have occasion to mention hereafter. He is clearly of opinion, that the *Sesostris* of the prophane historians is the *Sesac* or *Shishak* of the sacred: He takes notice, that the more ancient kings of *Egypt*, with whom the patriarchs and *Israelites* were formerly concerned, are always stiled *Pharaohs*; whereas *Shishak* is the first *Egyptian* king in scripture called by his proper

name; except *Rameses* be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that when *Sesostris* or *Shishak* as he terms him, set out to invade *Asia*, he could not well avoid falling upon *Judæa*, and accordingly took the capital thereof *Jerusalem*, which he stripped of its riches, and reduced *Rehobam*; for there is express mention made in the LXX and vulgate versions, that he was followed by multitudes of *Libyans*, *Troglodytes* and *Ethiopians*, nations whom, according to the prophane accounts, he had previously conquered. He then lays a stress upon *Josephus*, who says, That *Herodotus* through mistake ascribed the actions of *Sesac* to *Sesostris*: And again; That *Herodotus* was only mistaken in the king's name. This does not seem to us so conclusive as it appeared to this gentleman; for we do not see how from thence it must naturally follow that *Sesostris* and *Shishak* are the same person. However, our author admits, that since *Herodotus* and *Josephus* agree as to fact, there is no great matter in the difference of the names they use; and because *Herodotus* professes to have seen some pillars of ignominy erected by *Sesostris* in the *Syrian Palistine*; and because it is said by the scripture and *Josephus*, that *Rehobam* gave up the city without the least resistance, he seems to be clearly of opinion that *Sesac* or *Shishak* set them up upon that very account (7).

Let us now see what *Perizonius* says, who, as we have

(1) Vid. Sir ISAAC NEWT. ubi sup. (2) MARSH. ubi sup. (3) PEZRON. ubi sup. (4) Sir ISAAC

NEWT. ubi sup. (5) MARSH. ubi sup. (6) Sir ISAAC NEWT. ubi sup. (7) Vid. MARSH. ubi sup.



most extraordinary part of the *Egyptian* history. He is represented as potent at land, and on sea, wise, just, generous, valiant, magnificent, but ambitious almost beyond

have already observed, makes it his chief business to confute the foregoing chronologer. He then lays it down with great positiveness, that *Sesac* and *Sesoftris* are distinct kings. How he proves this, we shall declare in the briefest and clearest order we are able.

1. He considered the expressions above cited from *Josephus*; and after proving that several of the learned, as well as Sir John Marsham, have taken them wrong, he proceeds thus. First, he insists, that by the common consent of the *Greeks*, *Sesoftris* was much older than the *Trojan* war. So says *Herodotus*; and the same is reported by *Diodorus*, only with this difference, that he makes a much greater space between this king and that war than *Herodotus*. This also is evidently confirmed by *Strabo* (8); and by *Aristotle* (9) who placed him before *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver: As also by the writers of the *Argonautic* expedition, the *Icholiast* of *Apollonius* (10); by *Arrianus* (11), who makes him contemporary to *Jandys* the *Scythian*; by *Jornandes* (12), who says he flourished before the *Amazons*; and lastly, by *Justin* and *Ælian* (13); the former declaring that *Sesoftris* lived before the days of *Ninus*, and the latter that he was instructed by *Mercury*, and so makes him equal to the *Egyptian Mercury*, who must certainly have been more ancient than the time of *Rehoboam*. After these citations, he blames Sir John Marsham for making slight of such abundant testimony, and for pronouncing the whole a mistake which arose from the ignorance of the *Greeks*, and then proceeds. But could the *Greeks* be strangers to the age of *Sesoftris*, if he lived so late? *Memnon* was celebrated, says Marsham, because he lived nearer to the poetical times; but *Perizonius* will have it that *Homer* wrote soon after the death of *Rehoboam*, and therefore must have followed him near enough to have had perfect information and fresh records of the deeds of *Sesoftris*: Besides *Asia Minor* at that time was all *Greek*, by the *Æolic* and *Ionic* colonies which were transplanted thither somewhat before the reign of *Rehoboam*; and the inhabitants must have principally been *Greeks* when *Sesoftris* invaded *Asia Minor*, if Marsham be right. What is here said of the *Asiatic Greeks*, is to clear the way for a farther confutation of Marsham, who observes, that if *Sesoftris* had extended the war into *Greece*, we should have had clearer lights concerning him, nor would he have been involved so much in obscurity; seeing that the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians* had begun to preserve the memory of things, continuing, that the *Greeks* were not at this time very regardful of foreign transactions, were unskilful in letters, and that *Homer* was not yet born, who preceded any *Greek* historiographer very much: And from hence concludes, that we ought not to wonder that the *Egyptian* affairs are almost buried in ignorance. To this it is answered, that the *Asiatic Greeks* were more likely to transmit the history of *Sesoftris* down to posterity, as being superior and senior in learning to the *European*; that if they did not immediately keep written records, they undoubtedly preserved very faithful traditions of past occurrence, which they propagated from one generation to another, and particularly in the case of *Sesoftris*, the monuments of whose conquests they had before their eyes; and if his monarchy descended to his successors, as Marsham thinks it did to the first olympiad; and if *Homer* was not yet born, it is certain that he must

have been born soon after, and whilst the fame and power of this monarchy must have subsisted. In a word, *Perizonius* prefers the *Asiatic* before the *European Greeks*, as to what concerns the remembrance of ancient matters, and proves that the latter received the greatest part of the arts and sciences, nay of their alphabet from the former; observing, that if not all, yet most of the ancientest *Greek* writers were *Asiatics*. He continues; Now if *Sesoftris* invaded *Asia Minor* after the *Grecian* settlement there, the *Asiatic Greeks*, who first of all delivered down the memory of things both in prose and verse, must certainly have known something of this celebrated expedition, either from the writings or the traditions of their forefathers, and have given as just and accurate an account thereof as the *European Greeks* could have given. But nothing of this appears; for *Herodotus*, the most ancient of the *Greek* historians we have, promises to have received the whole story of *Sesoftris* from the *Egyptian* priests. He thinks moreover, that supposing Marsham to be in the right, the *European Greeks* must have had sufficient knowledge of *Sesoftris*, seeing he carried the war into *Asia*, and that *Lycurgus* within an hundred years afterwards must have travelled into *Asia*, whence he brought over with him the works of *Homer*. He certainly would have also brought some account with him of so great a victory from the *Asiatic Greeks*, if it had been obtained only seventy years, or thereabouts before.

2. But, says he, the *Greeks* alone did not put *Sesoftris* many ages more backward than *Sesac*; the *Egyptians* did it also. *Manetho* expressly says that *Aegyptus* and *Danaus* were only different names for *Sethus* [*Sesoftris*] and his brother *Armais*: Now *Danaus* came into *Greece*, as is said, three ages before the *Trojan* war; and he could borrow this from no *Greek* author at least that is extant.

3. The sacred history does not favour the opinion of *Sesoftris*'s being *Sesac*: For by the prophane accounts, *Sesoftris*, in a continued expedition of nine years, ran over all *Asia*: But the scripture mentions nothing farther of *Sesac*, than that he spoiled the temple and the city, and returned back. *Josephus* says expressly, that he returned into his own country.

4. What Marsham lays of the duration of *Sesoftris*'s monarchy, as that it reached down to *Amazias* and *Uzziah* kings of *Judah*, and down to the beginning of the first olympiad; by the scripture it appears that the kings of *Judah* after *Rehoboam*, never served any foreign power, or paid any tribute, till the *Assyrians* came upon them. So that if *Sesoftris* and *Sihabak* be the same as Marsham would have them, it does not appear that the *Egyptian* monarchy was of any duration; so that here he is also mistaken. So far we have given you the substance of *Perizonius* against Marsham. We will now insert his opinion as to the times when this conqueror lived.

And concerning this he speaks with great uncertainty and caution. He begins thus; *Herodotus* declares that king *Mæris* had not been dead quite 900 years when he was in *Egypt*. Now the same historian makes *Sesoftris* the immediate successor of *Mæris*, and moreover says, that the *Trojan* war was about 800 years before the time in which he wrote, and

(8) *Vid. l. 1. p. 38. & l. xvii. p. 824.*  
(9) *Vid. Politic. vii. 10. (10) l. 4. v. 272.*

(11) *Apud Photium cod. 53. (12) Geticis c. 6.*  
(13) *l. 1. c. 1. Var. Hist. l. 12. 4.*

a compare. Both the *Greeks* and *Egyptians* who recorded his actions, whether in prose or verse, differed widely from each other; but they could never differ more, nor sure

and that *Hercules* the son of *Alcmena* went about 900 years before himself. By this chronology *Sesoftris* lived about an age before the *Trojan* war, and was cotemporary with the above-said *Hercules*, or a little later. So it follows from this computation; but in fact he must have been older, if he was the same with *Egyptus*, whose brother *Danaus* was ancestor in the sixth degree to *Perseus*, who was the great grandfather of *Hercules*: And from hence he conjectures that *Sesoftris* may be fixed in the days of the *Judges*. But, continues he it may be objected that there is not the least mention made of *Sesoftris* and what he did in holy writ? To this he answers, that the *Israelites* when *Sesoftris* came into *Palestine*, were under subjection to the various nations which inhabited the country; for that *Palestine* was subdued by *Sesoftris*, appears plain from *Herodotus*, who there saw the pillars of ignominy which he used to raise in countries where he met with no resistance. And since the *Israelites* were not principals in this calamity, they might imagine it not primarily to concern them, but accidentally to have fallen upon them in common with their masters, and therefore took no notice thereof, as thinking it no immediate part of their own history. Add to this, that *Sesoftris* could make no long stay there, considering that they voluntarily submitted to him, and that he had no less a conquest in his eye than all the eastern parts of the world, if not the whole habitable earth, which required dispatch: And thence he takes occasion to speak in the words of *Justin*, that though *Sesoftris* grieved in his conquests, he abstained from empire; and made no change in the government of any country. Finally, he supposes also, that *Sesoftris* might have come into *Palestine* when *Israel* was under the *Amorites*; and owns, that it is no way important whether *Danaus* was the brother of *Sesoftris*; acknowledges what *Manetho* says on that head, to be calculated to please the *Greeks*; and in a word concludes, that he has destroyed Sir *John Marsham's* hypothesis, by proving that *Menes* is not *Hum* or *Mixraim*, or *Sesoftris*, *Shibak* (14).

We will now in general terms insert the opinion of *Pezron*. He teaches, that *Sethosis* and *Sesoftris* are one and the same person, and that he was the *Egyptus* brother to *Danaus*; that he was a prince widely distant from *Sesanchbis*, whom he will have to have been the same with *Shibak*; and that neither *Sesanchbis*, or *Sesunchosis*, was *Sesoftris*, but distinct both from him and from each other. We forbear entering into his reasons, and proceed to another learned man, who has no one notion in common with what has entered into the heads of these three celebrated chronologists (15).

We mean Mr. *Whiston*, who because he is singular in that he takes this king for the very *Pharaoh* who perished in the *Red-sea*, and the very *Typhon* of the *Mythologists*, we will give you his own words. And first he premises this proposition. *Harmesses* *Mi-Amoun*, or *Ramestes* the Great, the grandfather of *Sesoftris*, was king of the Lower-Egypt when *Moses* was born: *Amenophis* III, his son was there king after him, during *Moses's* youth; and *Seth-os*, or *Sethosis*, or *Sesoftris* the Great, the son of *Amenophis* III, was so during the rest of the servitude of the children of *Israel* in *Egypt*; and was that very *Pharaoh* who perished in the *Red-sea*. He then offers thirteen reasons or arguments in support of this proposition; but passing

over to the tenth of them, he there says, that "the preservation of *Moses*, and his education by *Pharaoh's* daughter (16), are very agreeable to what her brother, *Amenophis* III, did about, or soon after the birth of *Moses*; I mean, when he called together and educated with his son *Sesoftris* no fewer than 1700 boys (17), or all the male children that were born in *Egypt* the same day with him; which might well be in imitation of *Thermutis* [the daughter of this *Pharaoh*, who was otherwise called *Harmesses* *Mi-Amoun*, or *Ramestes* the Great] when she drew *Moses* out of the river, and educated him for her own son (18). And, by the way, if this *Thermutis* were but as sagacious and learned as her great niece *Atyries*, the daughter of *Sesoftris*, is described by *Diodorus* (19), we shall have no reason to wonder at what *St. Stephen* informs us, that *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, and was mighty in words and in deeds, even before he received any particular commission from *God* for the delivery of his people out of *Egypt*. Nay indeed, these last words concerning *Moses*, that he was so early mighty in words and in deeds, seem to me to confirm those accounts we have in *Artapanus* an heathen, and *Josephus* the Jew, concerning *Moses's* wife and valiant conduct under the king of *Egypt*, when he was young, against the *Ethiopians*; who attempted the conquest of that country at that time. Which successes of these *Egyptians* under the conduct of *Moses*, might probably enough encourage king *Sesoftris* to undertake those other vast expeditions, which raised the *Egyptian* monarchy, and spread his empire over almost all the then known world. Nor is it impossible to suppose, that the *Ethiopic* war, which is known to have been undertaken both at sea and land by this *Sesoftris*, might be when he was young; and might be that very *Ethiopic* war which was managed by *Moses* under the king of *Egypt*, as mentioned by *Artapanus* and *Josephus*.

Mr. *Whiston's* eleventh argument runs thus: "There are evident remains of this *Sesoftris's* perishing in or near the *Red-sea*, as did this *Pharaoh* at the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*. *Diodorus* assures us, that *Sesoftris* at last became blind; and that he was voluntarily the occasion of his own death; and that he deservedly obtained the admiration of the priests and people of *Egypt* on account of that his magnanimous death. But what sort of voluntary and magnanimous death this was, it seems the *Egyptian* priests did not inform him. But then, if we consider that *Sesoftris's* real or *Egyptian* name was *Seth-os*, or *Seth-ofis*; and that there was an ancient famous *Egyptian* king, whose fictitious name among the *Greeks*, was *Typhon*, the proud; but his real or *Egyptian* name was no other than *Seth*, as *Plutarch* himself, a great master of old *Egyptian* learning, more than once assures us; that *Typho's* own city *Pelufum* was peculiarly the city of this *Sesoftris*, whither he first came when he returned from his famous eastern expedition; and where he and his queen received a sort of miraculous deliverance from the murderous designs of his brother *Armais*, and was by the *Egyptians* called according to his own name *Seth-ron*; and the *Nomos* thereto belonging, the *Seth-roite Nomos*; we shall find that what the *Egyptians* could not, or would not directly in-

form

(14) *Vid.* PERIZON. *ubi sup.*  
PEZRON.

(16) *Exod.* ii.

(15) *Vid.*  
(17) MARSH.

p. 353. (18) *Exod.* ii. 10.  
lib. i.

(19) *Diod.* Sicul.

so much as our modern chronologers and historians do in fixing his age, and in speaking concerning him : However, we shall collect the best account we can of his reign.

“ form *Diodorus* of in the way of plain historical  
“ fact, and thereby concealed the true manner of  
“ his death from foreigners ; yet did some of those  
“ *Egyptians* preserve the memory of it under ano-  
“ ther form ; and that this *Seth*, or *Seib-os*, or  
“ *Seth-osis*, or *Typho*, came to the same end that  
“ the *Egyptian Pharaoh* did, and was drowned in  
“ or near to the same *Red-sea*. For as they, in  
“ some places at least, long kept the memory  
“ of *Osiris*, the usual name of any beloved king  
“ of *Egypt* that was murdered ; as was *Isis*, the  
“ usual name of such a king's wife, or queen ;  
“ and *Typho*, the usual name of such a murderer ;  
“ so was it here. *Osiris* seems to have been some  
“ beloved king that *Sesostris* had slain [perhaps  
“ his own brother *Ramesses*] and himself seems  
“ thence to have had the hateful name of *Typho*  
“ given him by the other's subjects. And cer-  
“ tainly this name *Typho*, or the *Proud*, was ne-  
“ ver applied more fitly than to this *Sesostris* ;  
“ who after his conquest used sometimes to take  
“ his horses out of his chariot, and to harness  
“ a certain number of his captive kings, and to  
“ be drawn in state by them instead of the other.  
“ And as to the death of this *Typho*, the *Egyptian*  
“ records are plain and direct, and assures us, that  
“ he was struck by a *Thunderbolt*, and his blood  
“ run out at *Heroopolis*, a city very near the  
“ place where the *Israelites* entered the *Red-sea* ;  
“ the very same, I suppose, that *Moses* calls by  
“ its elder name *Baalzephon* ; that the same city  
“ was called *Blood*, or the *bloody city*, from that  
“ first shedding of the blood of *Typho* there ; and  
“ that he lies drowned under the waters of the lake  
“ *Sirbon*, which is not far from the *Red-sea* ; and  
“ was anciently supposed to communicate there-  
“ with under ground. The city also itself seems  
“ to me to have had its later name *Heroopolis*,  
“ or the *city of Heroes*, on this very account, that  
“ near thereto the most potent *Egyptian* king, and  
“ his mighty commanders, with their entire army,  
“ those great heroes, became martyrs for the  
“ *Egyptian* idols, idolatry, and tyranny, in op-  
“ position to the God of *Israel* and his people :  
“ Nor do I meet with any other in history for that  
“ appellation. And very remarkable it is, how  
“ exactly all this agrees to the other more direct  
“ *Egyptian* account already set down ; viz. That  
“ *Sesostris's* death was voluntary and magnani-  
“ mous, and such indeed as was highly extolled  
“ both by the priests and people of *Egypt*. And  
“ what *Paulinus* in *Ausonius* could mean, when,  
“ in the distinct mention of two of the most il-  
“ lustrious kings of *Egypt*, *Necrops* and *Sesostris*,  
“ he says of the latter, *Et qui regnavit, sine no-*  
“ *mine mox, Sesostris* ; That he who had been so  
“ great a king, was by and by without a name ; un-  
“ less he refer to some such ignominious death  
“ of his, as we have here described, is hard to  
“ say. Nor is that *thunderbolt*, or *storm of thun-*  
“ *der and lightning*, mentioned in this account of  
“ *Typho's* destruction, other than what we have  
“ hinted at in the case of *Pharaoh's* destruction  
“ in our present copies of the *Pentateuch* ; where  
“ we find, that God looked through the pillar  
“ of fire, and of the cloud, and so troubled the hosts  
“ of the *Egyptians*, that their chariot wheels were  
“ taken off, and they drove heavily ; and the *Egyp-*  
“ *tians* resolved to flee from the face of *Israel*, be-  
“ cause they now perceived that God himself  
“ fought for them against the *Egyptians* ; while  
“ with the blast of his nostrils the waters were ga-

“ thered together ; and directly set down by *Jose-*  
“ *phus* and *Artapanus* in the history itself ; and also  
“ by the psalmist in his celebration of this most  
“ wonderful deliverance and judgment ; who de-  
“ clares, that besides the pouring out of water  
“ from the clouds at that time, the skies then sent  
“ out a sound, and God's arrows went abroad  
“ that the voice of his thunder was in the heaven ;  
“ that the lightnings lightened the world ; and that  
“ the earth trembled and shook : In exact agree-  
“ ment with the heathens account of the destruc-  
“ tion of *Typho*.” To conclude ; the same writer  
“ thinks it a plain solution to the question, of what  
“ became of the famous *Egyptian* monarchy after  
“ the death of *Sesostris* ? that he and his numerous  
“ host was lost in the *Red-sea*, which together with  
“ the loss of 600,000 slaves, as the *Hebrews* were  
“ no better in *Egypt*, he thinks must have given  
“ a great shock to the *Egyptian* power, and natu-  
“ rally ruin their newly acquired monarchy. In a  
“ word, it is his opinion that the sudden extinc-  
“ tion of this vast monarchy at the death of its  
“ founder *Sesostris*, is a demonstration, that he was  
“ that very *Pharaoh* who with all his host perished  
“ in the *Red-sea*, and no other (20).

The great Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion that  
*Sesostris* is the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Bacchus*  
of the *Greeks*, and the *Sesac* or *Sisibak* of the scrip-  
ture ; towards the proof of which he produces the  
following arguments :

“ 1. *Bacchus* the Conqueror loved two women.  
“ *Venus* and *Ariadne* ; by the last of these he had  
“ sons who were *Argonauts* ; therefore the great  
“ *Bacchus* flourished but one generation before the  
“ *Argonautic* expedition. This *Bacchus* was po-  
“ tent at sea (21), conquered eastward as far as  
“ *India*, returned in triumph, brought his army  
“ over the *Hellepont* ; conquered *Thrace*, left music,  
“ dancing, and poetry there ; killed *Lycurgus* king  
“ of *Thrace*, and *Pentheus* the grandson of *Cad-*  
“ *mus* ; gave the kingdom of *Lycurgus* to *Tharaps* ;  
“ and one of his minstrels, called by the *Greeks*  
“ *Calliope*, to *Oeagrus* the son of *Tharaps* ; and of  
“ *Oeagrus* and *Calliope*, was born *Orpheus* who  
“ sailed with the *Argonauts* : This *Bacchus* was  
“ therefore cotemporary with *Sesostris* ; and both  
“ being kings of *Egypt* and potent at sea, and great  
“ conquerors, and carrying on their conquests in-  
“ to *India* and *Thrace*, they must be one and the  
“ same man.

“ 2. *Dicæarchus*, as he is cited by the *Scholias*  
“ upon *Apollonius* (22), represents *Osiris* and *Orus*,  
“ two generations older than *Sesostris*, saying, that  
“ after *Orus*, the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, reigned *Se-*  
“ *fonchosis*. The people of *Naxos* made *Bacchus*  
“ two generations older than *Theseus*, and for that  
“ end feigned two *Minos's* and two *Ariadne's*. Now,  
“ by the consent of all antiquity, *Osiris* and *Bac-*  
“ *chus* were one and the same king of *Egypt* :  
“ This is affirmed by the *Egyptians* as well as by  
“ the *Greeks* ; and some of the ancient mytholo-  
“ gists, as *Eumolpus* and *Orpheus* (23), called *Osiris*  
“ by the names of *Dionysus* and *Sirius*. *Osiris* was  
“ king of all *Egypt*, and a great conqueror, and  
“ came over the *Hellepont* in the days of *Tripto-*  
“ *lemus*, and subdued *Thrace*, and there killed  
“ *Lycurgus* ; and therefore his expedition falls in  
“ with that of the great *Bacchus*. *Osiris*, *Bacchus*,  
“ and *Sesostris* lived about the same time, and by  
“ the relation of historians were all of them kings  
“ of all *Egypt*, and reigned at *Thebes*, and adorn-  
“ ed that city, and were very potent by land and  
“ sea :

(20) Vid. WHISTON's Appendix.  
HERMIPPUM apud Athenæum, l. 1.

(21) Vid.

(22) ARGONAUT. l. 4. v. 272.  
l. 1. p. 7.

(23) DIOD.

■ SESOSTRIS, then is by some thought to have been the son of *Amenophis*; but who ever was his father, it is said that the god *Vulcan* appeared to him in a dream, and admonished him that the son which was or should be born to him,

“ sea: All three were great conquerers, and carried on their conquests by land through *Asia*, as far as *India*: All three came over the *Hellepont*, and were there in danger of losing their army: All three conquered *Thrace*, and there put a stop to their victories, and returned back from thence into *Egypt*: All three left pillars with inscriptions in their conquests: And therefore all three must be one and the same king of *Egypt*; and this king can be no other than *Sesac*. All *Egypt*, including *Thebais*, *Ethiopia* and *Libya*, had no common king before the expulsion of the *Shepherds*, who reigned in the *Lower Egypt*; no conqueror of *Syria*, *India*, *Asia*, *Minor* and *Thrace* before *Sesac*; and the sacred history admits of no *Egyptian* conqueror of *Palestine* before this king.

“ 3. *Bacchus* had *Libyan* women in his army, and they were commended by *Minerva*, herself a *Libyan* (24). *Diodorus* (25) calls her *Myrina*, and faith, that she was queen of the *Amazons* in *Libya*, and there conquered the *Atlantides* and *Gorgons*, and then made a league with *Orus* the son of *Isis*, sent to her by his father *Osiris* or *Bacchus* for that purpose; and passing through *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians*, and *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and came through *Phrygia*, viz. in the army of *Bacchus*, to the *Mediterranean*; but passing over into *Europe* was slain with many of her women by the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Sipylus* a *Scythian*, and *Mopsus* a *Thracian*, whom *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace* had banished. This (says our most sagacious author) was that *Lycurgus* who opposed the passage of *Bacchus* over the *Hellepont*, and was soon after conquered by him and slain: But afterwards *Bacchus* met with a repulse from the *Greeks*, under the conduct of *Perseus*, who slew many of his women, as *Pausanias* (26) relates, and was assisted by the *Scythians* and *Thracians* under *Sipylus* and *Mopsus*; which repulses, together with the revolt of his brother *Danaus*, put a stop to his victories; and in returning home, he left part of his men in *Colchis* and at *Mount Caucasus*, under *Eetes* and *Prometheus*; and his women upon the river *Thermodon* near *Colchis*, under their new Queens *Marthesia* and *Lampeto*; for *Diodorus* (27) speaking of the *Amazons* who were seated at *Thermodon*, faith, that they dwelt originally in *Libya*, and there reigned over the *Atlantides*, and invading their neighbours, conquered as far as *Europe*: And *Ammianus* (29), that the ancient *Amazons* breaking through many nations, attacked the *Asbaniens*, and then receiving a great slaughter retired to *Thermodon*: And *Justin* (28), that these *Amazons* had at first, he means at their first coming to *Thermodon*, two queens who called themselves daughters of *Mars*; and that they conquered part of *Europe*, and some cities in *Asia*, viz. in the reign of *Minerva*, and then sent back part of their army with a great booty under their said new queens; and that *Marthesia* being afterwards slain, was succeeded by her daughter *Orithya*, and she by *Penthesilea*; and that *Theseus* captivated and married *Antiope* the sister of *Orithya*. *Hercules* made war upon the *Amazons*, and in the reign of *Orithya* and *Penthesilea*; they came to the *Trojan* war: Whence the first wars of the *Amazons* in *Europe* and *Asia*, and

“ their settling at *Thermodon*, were but on generation before those actions of *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and but two before the *Trojan* war, and so fell in with the expedition of *Sesostris*: And since they warred in the days of *Isis* and her son *Orus*, and were a part of the army under *Bacchus* or *Osiris*, we have here a farther argument for making *Osiris* and *Bacchus* contemporary to *Sesostris*, and all three one and the same king with *Sesac*.

“ 4. The *Greeks* reckon *Osiris* and *Bacchus* to be sons of *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptian* name of *Jupiter* is *Ammon*. *Minetbo* (30) in his eleventh and twelfth dynasties, as he is cited by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, names these four kings as reigning in order; *Ammenemes*, *Gefongeser* or *Sefonchoris* the son of *Ammenemes*, *Ammenemes* who was slain by his eunuchs, and *Sesostris* who subdued all *Asia* and a part of *Europe*: *Gefongeser* and *Sefonchoris* are corruptly written for *Sefonchoris*; and the two first of these four kings, *Ammenemes* and *Sefonchoris* are the same with the two last *Ammenemes* and *Sesostris*, that is, with *Ammon* and *Sesac*; for *Diodorus* faith, that *Osiris* built a temple at *Thebes* to his father *Jupiter Ammon*, who reigned in that city (31): And *Thymæstus* who was contemporary to *Orpheus*, wrote expressly that the father of *Bacchus* was *Ammon*, a king reigning over part of *Lybia*; that is, a king of *Egypt* reigning over that part of *Libya* anciently called *Ammonia*: Πάσα ἡ Λιβυή ἡτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίου (32). All *Libya* was called *Ammonia* from *Ammon*; that is, that king of *Egypt* from whom *Thebes* was called *No-Ammon*, and *Ammon-No*, the city of *Ammon*, and by the *Greeks* *Diospolis*, the city of *Jupiter Ammon*. Here again our author seems to demonstrate that *Sesostris* and *Osiris* were the same person.

5. And to corroborate what is said in the preceding article; *Sesostris* upon his returning home divided *Egypt*, and this gave a beginning to surveying and geometry: And *Jamblichus* derives this division of *Egypt* and the beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of *Egypt*. And because *Sesostris*, or *Sesac*, to render the *Nile* more useful, dug canals from it, and thereby made a general distribution of its waters; this chronologer is of opinion, that the river was consecrated to him, and he was called by its names, *Agyptus*, *Siris*, *Nilus*; and observes from *Plutarch*, that the syllable *O*, put before the word *Siris* by the *Greeks*, made it scarce intelligible to the *Egyptians*.

6. He thinks it appears “ That *Sesostris* was also *Shishak* or *Sesac*, because the first conquests this king is said to have made were *Troglodytica*, *Lybia*, and *Ethiopia*, and in the first year of *Rehoboam*, *Sesostris* [*Sesac*] came out of *Egypt* with a great army of *Libyans*, *Troglodytes* and *Ethiopians*, and spoiled the temple, and reduced *Judea* into servitude, and went on conquering, first eastward towards *India*, and then westward as far as *Thrace*; for God had given him the kingdoms of the countries (33). ”

7. There is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater stress for the proof of what he lays down concerning *Sesostris*, than the following: “ *Solon* having travelled into *Egypt*, and conversed with the priests of *Sais* about their antiquities, wrote a poem of what he had learned, but did not finish it (34); ”

(24) *Vid.* *DIOD.* l. 3. p. 140. (25) *Lib.* 3. p. 131, 132. (26) *PAUSAN.* lib. 2. c. 20. p. 155. (27) *Lib.* 3. p. 130. & *SCHOL.* *Apolloni.* lib. 2. (28) *Lib.* 22. c. 8.

(29) *Lib.* 2. c. 4. (30) See before, p. 229. (31) See before, p. 239. (32) *STERN.* in *Ἀμμωνία* (33) 2 *Chron.* xii. 2, 3, —8. (34) *PLAT.* in *Timæo.* & *Critia.*

would be lord of the whole earth. Full of this vision, he collected all the males in *a* *Egypt* born on the same day with his son, and appointed nurses and proper persons to take care of them, persuaded that they who were the constant and equal companions of his sons childhood and youth, would prove his most faithful ministers, and most affectionate fellow-foldiers. They were abundantly furnished with every thing needful, and as they grew up they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exercises, and were in particular never permitted to taste of any thing till they had performed a course of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exercise of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute whatever they were commanded. *Amenophis*, after he had been at this vast expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his son's future grandeur, *b* resolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of displaying the good effects of their institution; and therefore he sent him and them with an army into *Arabia*. In this expedition the young *Sesostris* surmounted all the dangers of serpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardships of a dry and barren country, and in the end subdued the *Arabians*, who till that time had never been conquered. His father then ordered him westward, and he subdued the greatest part of *Africa*, nor stopped his career (as should seem) till he saw the *Atlantic* ocean\*. Whilst he was on this expedition his father died: And having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the success which had hitherto attended him, he grasped at no less than universal empire. Or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some reported that his daughter *Albyrte*, a young lady *c* of great wit and sagacity, excited him thereto by her counsel, representing it as an easy matter; others, that she received assurances of her father's success by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air, and the like; so that according to these, he could be no very young man at this time. Lastly, it was said that he was instructed by *Mercury*, who gave him counsels proper for carrying on the war\*.

HAVING this view of a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent, and in countries remote from *Egypt*, he bethought him how he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people: Wisely foreseeing that it would be the most natural means of preparing those who followed him, to lay down their lives cheerfully in his service; and of preventing those at home from attempting any innovations during his absence. He therefore endeared himself to all his subjects, by largesses in money

\* DIOD. lib. i. p. 48. \* LUCAN. 10. v. 27. \* DIOD. ubi sup. p. 49. \* JELIAK. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 4.

“ and this poem fell into the hands of *Plato*, who relates out of it, that at the mouth of the *Straits*, near *Hercules's Pillars*, there was an island called *Atlantis*, the people of which, nine thousand years before the days of *Solon*, reigned over *Libya* as far as *Egypt*, and over *Europe* as far as the *Tyrrhenus-sea*; and all this force collected into one body invaded *Egypt* and *Greece*, and whatever was contained within the pillars of *Hercules*, but were resisted and stopped by the *Athenians* and other *Greeks*, and thereby the rest of the nations, not yet conquered were preserved: He saith also, that in those days, the gods, having finished their conquests, divided the whole earth amongst themselves, partly into larger, partly into smaller portions, and instituted temples and sacred rites to themselves; and that the island of *Atlantis* fell to the lot of *Neptune*, who made his eldest son *Atlas* king of the whole island, a part of which was called *Gadir*; and that in the history of the said wars mention was made of *Cecrops*, *Erechtheus*, *Erichthonius*, and others before *Theseus*, and also of the women who warred with the men, and of the habit and stature of *Minerva*, the study of war in those days being common to men and women. By all these circumstances it is manifest that these gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and lived between the age of *Cecrops* and *Theseus*; and that the wars which *Sesostris*, with his brother *Neptune*, made upon the nations by land and by sea, and the resistance he met with in *Greece*, and the following invasion of *Egypt* by *Neptune*, are here described; and how the captains of *Sesostris* shared their conquests amongst them-

“ selves, as the captains of *Alexander the Great* did his conquests long after, and instituting temples and priest and sacred rites to themselves, caused the nations to worship them after their death as gods: And that the island *Gadir* or *Gades*, with all *Libya*, fell to the lot of him who after death was deified by the name of *Neptune*. The time therefore when these things were done, is by *Solon* limited to the age of *Neptune* the father of *Atlas*; for *Homer* tells us, that *Ulysses* presently after the *Trojan* war found *Calypso* the daughter of *Atlas* in the *Ogygian* island, perhaps *Gadir*, and therefore it was but two generations before the *Trojan* war. This is that *Neptune* who with *Apollo* or *Orus* fortified *Troy* with a wall, in the reign of *Laomedon* the father of *Priamus*, and left many natural children in *Greece*, some of which were *Argonauts*, and others were contemporaries to the *Argonauts*; and therefore he flourished but one generation before the *Argonautic* expedition, and by consequence about 400 years before *Solon* went into *Egypt*: But the priests of *Egypt* in those 400 years had magnified the stories and antiquity of their gods to exceedingly, as to make them 9000 years older than *Solon*, and the island *Atlantis* bigger than all *Africa* and *Asia* together, and full of people; and because in the days of *Solon* this great island did not appear, they pretended that it was sunk into the sea with all its people: So great was the vanity of the priests of *Egypt* in magnifying their antiquities.” (35) These are the most obvious and direct arguments concerning *Sesostris*, which we meet with in *Sir Isaac Newton*.

(35) *The chronology of ancient kingdoms, &c.* p. 228.



- a money, by donations in land, or by the remission of punishments: He discharged all who were charged with treason without inquiry, and paid the debts of all that were thereby incumbered, of which he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair and familiar deportment. In the next place, he divided the whole kingdom into thirty six nomes or provinces; assigned a governor to each of them; and constituted his brother *Armais* supreme regent, investing him with ample power; but forbade him the use of his diadem, and commanded him to be observant to the queen and her children, and to abstain from the royal concubines. Having thus settled the government, he picked out the choicest of his subjects, out of whom he formed an army equal to the vastness of his designs, and bestowed the chief commands in it on his beloved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. As an earnest of his benevolence, and besides the favours he had bestowed on them in common with the rest of their countrymen, and that he and his successors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he settled certain districts by lot, of the most fertile land in *Egypt*, on his army; whence a comfortable income arising to them, neither they nor their posterity might lie under the necessity of seeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themselves to military exercises. His army consisted of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He first marched into *Ethiopia*, and reduced the inhabitants, obliging them to pay a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory. He is generally believed to have been the first conqueror of *Ethiopia* and *Troglodytica*, and is said to have reached the promontory of *Dira*, near the streights of the *Red-sea*, where he set up a pillar with an inscription on it in sacred characters; and went on as far as the country where cinnamon grows, or at least some place from whence cinnamon was brought, where he raised monuments and pillars with inscriptions, which were to be seen many ages afterwards.

- His land forces alone were not answerable to the conquest he intended; and therefore breaking through the ancient superstition of the *Egyptians*, he was the first of their kings who fitted out fleets of tall ships. He had two; the one of 400 sail in the *Arabian Gulph*, if we may credit *Diodorus* who gives us this number, and *Herodotus* who mentions the same fleet in general terms; and the other in the *Mediterranean sea*, if we believe *Manetho*, by *Sethosis* designed *Sesostris*. By these naval armaments, and by the great services they are said to have done, it should seem that *Sesostris* took away the aversion the *Egyptians* had to sea affairs at least for a time, and instituted the order of sailors as he did the military order. But to have done with this conjecture, we shall only add, that the spacious and magnificent ship he consecrated to the supreme god of the *Thebans*, looks as if he designed to bring navigation into credit in *Egypt*. With the first of these fleets he sailed out of the *Arabian Gulph* into the *Red* or *Indian-sea*, and subdued the coasts thereof, and continuing his course till he was stopped by certain shoals and difficult places, returned back to *Egypt*: Or according to another author, he went not on board himself, but sent them out to reduce the islands and maritime places of the continent as far as *India*. With his *Mediterranean* squadron he conquered *Cyprus*, the sea coast of *Phoenicia*, and several of the *Cyclades*. This is what we know concerning his exploits be sea.

- Now as to his further conquests on the land; it is by almost all antiquity agreed that he over-ran and pillaged all *Asia*, and some part of *Europe*. He crossed the *Ganges*, on the banks of which river he erected pillars; and did the same in the mountains of *India*; indeed he is said to have marched on till he was stopped by the ocean eastward. From thence returning he invaded the *Scythians* and *Thracians*; but the accounts of his war with the former, do not agree in giving him a complete conquest over them. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Agathias Scholasticus*, and others represent him victorious; but some relate, that he met with a repulse, and fled from the *Scythians*, and was worsted by the *Colchians*. For *Justin* tells us, that *Vexores* or *Sesostris* dispatching heralds to summon the *Scythians* to surrender, they sent back his messengers with contempt, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. *Sesostris* being informed that they were advancing towards him by hasty marches, suddenly faced about, and fled from them, leaving all his baggage and warlike apparel to the pur-

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 50. <sup>q</sup> MANETH. apud Joseph. contra Appion. l. 1. p. 1041. <sup>r</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. <sup>s</sup> Vid. STRABO, lib. 16. p. 769, 770. Vid etiam lib. 17, p. 790. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. 6. c. 29. <sup>t</sup> Ubi supr. <sup>u</sup> Ubi supra. <sup>v</sup> Apud Joseph. contra Appion, ubi supr. <sup>x</sup> See before, p. 257. <sup>y</sup> See before, ibid. <sup>z</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>1</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. <sup>2</sup> MANETH. apud Joseph. contra Appion. ubi supr. <sup>3</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 51. <sup>4</sup> DIONYS. in Peric. v. 625. <sup>5</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 50. <sup>6</sup> Lib. 2. p. 55.



suers, who followed him till they came on the borders of *Egypt*<sup>a</sup>. *Pliny* relates, <sup>a</sup> that he was overthrown by the king of *Colchis*<sup>b</sup>; and *Valerius Flaccus* insinuates that he was repulsed with great slaughter, and put to flight in these parts<sup>c</sup>.

*BUT* whatever success he had in these countries, it is a common opinion that he settled a colony in *Colchis*, though *Herodotus*, whom we chiefly rely on in this matter, does not decide whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily sat down on the banks of the river *Phasis* in that kingdom. He says, from his own experience, that the inhabitants were undoubtedly of *Egyptian* descent, as was visible from the personal similitude they bore to the *Egyptians*, who were swarthy and frizzle-haired; but more especially from the conformity of their customs, particularly circumcision, and from the affinity of their language with that of *Egypt*. And many ages afterwards at *Æt*, the capital of *Colchis*, they shewed maps of their journies, and the bounds of sea and land for the use of travellers<sup>d</sup>, and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowledged on both sides<sup>e</sup>.

Supposed to settle a colony in Colchis.

His pillars and statues.

WE now attend upon him into *Thrace*, the utmost boundary of his progress westward in *Europe*. Here he was in danger of losing his army through want of provisions and the difficulty of the passes; and therefore he here stopped his progress<sup>f</sup>. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was hastened by advice he received from the high priest of *Egypt*, concerning his brother's revolt and disobedience<sup>g</sup>. However this was, his pillars were no where to be seen in *Europe* beyond *Thrace*<sup>h</sup>. For it was his custom to set up pillars in every country he conquered, with this inscription, or one to the like effect; *Sesostris king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms*. If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, besides the inscription, caused the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baseness<sup>i</sup>; if they had defended themselves bravely, their pillars bore the distinction of the contrary sex, in testimony of their courage<sup>j</sup>. Besides these he left statues of himself behind him, two of which were still to be seen, as we are told by *Herodotus*, the one on the road between *Ephesus* and *Phocæa*, and the other between *Smyrna* and *Sardis*: They were armed after the *Ethiopian* and *Egyptian* manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Across the breast they had a line from one shoulder to the other, on which there was this inscription; *This region I obtained by these my shoulders*. They were vulgarly mistaken for images of *Memnon*<sup>k</sup>.

Return to Egypt.

UPON advice therefore of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who encouraged by his long absence and great distance, had assumed the diadem, violated the queen, and taken to himself the royal concubines<sup>l</sup>, he hastened from *Thrace*, and at the end of nine years came to *Pelusium*, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and laden with the spoils of *Asia*<sup>m</sup>. Here the rebel *Armaïs* or *Danaus* received him with outward submission and joy, but with an inward design to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children to a banquet he had prepared for their refreshment, which they accepting, and drinking very freely, were overcome thereby, and betook them to rest. In the mean time he caused a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they slept, and setting fire thereto he hoped to burn them all together. *Sesostris* perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy and incapable to assist him, lifted up his hands, and imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and children, rushed through the flames, and they followed him. In the thanksgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he presented donations to several gods, and particularly to *Vulcan*<sup>n</sup>, as will be observed hereafter. *Herodotus* <sup>f</sup> seems to have been misinformed in the particulars of this happy escape; saying, that his wife persuaded him to lay two of his sons across the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother *Armaïs*<sup>o</sup>, who is said to have been the *Danaus* of the *Greeks*<sup>p</sup>, and is thought to have been now driven out from *Egypt*, and to have withdrawn into *Greece*.

His works.

THE publick works of *Sesostris* were of three sorts; religious, military, and civil. And first he erected a temple in every city in *Egypt*, which he dedicated to the peculiar and

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 2. c. 3. <sup>b</sup> Lib. 33. c. 3. <sup>c</sup> ARGONAUT. l. 5. v. 420. <sup>d</sup> APOLLON. Rhod. Argon. l. 4. v. 272. <sup>e</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 51. <sup>g</sup> MANETH. apud Joseph. contra Appion, ubi supr. <sup>h</sup> HEROD. DIOD. ubi supr. <sup>i</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>j</sup> Vid. SYNCCELL. p. 59. 60. <sup>k</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>l</sup> MANETH. ubi supr. <sup>m</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>n</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 53. <sup>o</sup> Ubi supr. <sup>p</sup> MANETH. ubi supr.

a supreme deity of each place. In the course of so universal an undertaking as this no Egyptian was set to work ; and therefore upon all these temples there was this inscription : *Built without the labour of a native* \*. In the city of *Memphis*, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he raised six gigantic statues, each of which was of one stone ; two were 30 cubits high, representing himself and his wife ; the other four were 20 cubits, and represented his four sons †. These he dedicated to *Vulcan*, in remembrance of his and his family's preservation at *Pelusium* ‡. Many ages afterwards it was said, that *Darius* would have placed his own statue above this of *Sesostris* ; but the priest of *Vulcan* stiffly opposed it, urging that the *Persian*, though great, had not yet equalled the *Egyptian*, and particularly had never conquered *Stybia* ; and that therefore it was unjust to prefer him to one he had not yet excelled, and thereby checked the attempt. He moreover raised two obelisks of 120 cubits high ; with inscriptions, which described the greatness of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. These are such of his works as may be said particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and lasting welfare of his people.

In order to prevent the incursions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, he fortified the east side of *Egypt* with a wall, which ran from *Pelusium* through the desert to *Heliopolis*, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He moreover raised an incredible number of vast and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed such towns as had before too low a situation, to secure the men and cattle from the dangers of the *Nile*, to which in its inundations they stood exposed. All the way from *Memphis* to the sea he dug canals which branched out from the *Nile*, and not only gave an easy communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade of the kingdom ; but also rendered the country impassable to an enemy, or at least very inconvenient and difficult. So that *Egypt*, which had hitherto been famous for her horses and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the same place in those respects, but put on quite a new face \*. In the mean time it is said that some of the captives grew desperate under the intolerable hardships imposed on them, and that particularly the *Babylonians* resolved at all hazards to shake off their bondage. They seized upon a considerable fortress, and acting offensively against the *Egyptians*, wasted the country round about them. But on the offer of pardon, and a place for their dwelling, they were pacified, and built them a city which they called *Babylon* : The like is said of the *Trojan* captives †. According to *Herodotus* there was a report that this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongst all the *Egyptians* : But as this is inconsistent with what has been said of the lands he bestowed on his army before his irruption ; which we take to be more conformable to the policy of this warlike prince, we therefore are inclined to think that as to this *Herodotus* was misinformed. The same author upon this occasion says ; that the king reserving to himself a small rent out of the lands so divided, whenever it happened that the waters of the *Nile* in their retreat washed away any part of a person's ground, he gave information thereof to the king, who in such case remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and by sending surveyors to measure it, brought to perfection the science of geometry ‡.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes who waited on him with their tribute, was most remarkably insolent ; for upon certain occasions he would unharness his horses, and yoke kings together, and make them draw his chariot † : This practice he continued, as is said, till one day, observing that one of the kings who drew him looked with great steadfastness back on one of the wheels, he asked what took up his thoughts that he kept his eye so fixed on this object ? He answered, *Ob king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the vicissitudes of fortune ; for as every part of the wheel is uppermost and lowermost by turns, so it is with men, who one day sit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the vilest degree of slavery*. This answer brought the insulting conqueror to his senses, so that he gave over the practice, and treated them with great humanity. At length he lost his sight, and in the end laid violent hands on himself. § The manner of his death was extolled by the priests into the highest act of magnanimity ¶ ; and that nothing might be wanting to make his history completely glorious, they reported that the *phoenix* came to *Thebes* during his reign †. By what has been here said concerning *Sesostris*, it may be gathered that he was the first who divided *Egypt* into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and classes ; that he

\* DIOD. ubi supr. p. 51, 52. † HEROD. ubi supr. \* DIOD. ubi supr. p. 53. ‡ HEROD. ubi supr. § DIOD. ubi supr. 52. ¶ Idem ibid. \* HEROD. ubi supr. † DIOD. ubi supr. p. 53. PLIN. lib. 33. c. 3. \* DIOD. ubi supr. ‡ TACIT. Ann. 6. p. 154.

was the first *Egyptian* king who was considerable at sea; and that he erected the first great empire in the world. *Justin* however says he neither aimed at it, nor kept it, being contented with the bare glory of the conquest he made<sup>a</sup>. But all are not of his opinion.

Pheron or Sesostris II.

PERON was the son of *Sesostris*, and succeeded him. He is also stiled *Sesoosis*, [*Sesostris*] II. The story of his reign, as it is handed down to us, favours more of fiction than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way; but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be struck blind. Though this might be properly owing to some infirmity derived from his parent, yet is it reported that his loss of sight was a punishment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river. For upon a time that the *Nile* had overflowed the country to an unusual height, a gale of wind arose and greatly disturbed the waters, whereat he capriciously took offence and insolently darted a javelin among the waves. Upon this he was immediately seized with a pain in his eyes, and soon after by a total darkness, which oppressed him for ten years. In the eleventh year the oracle at *Butus* declared that the term of his affliction was elapsed, and that his sight would return to him if he paid particular devotions to the god at *Heliopolis*, and washed his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man besides her husband. He began with his own wife, but receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till at length a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promised. Her therefore he made queen; but as for the adulteresses he sent them to a city called *Erythibolus*, which, together with them he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in several rich donations, and particularly raised two magnificent obelisks in the temple of the Sun at *Heliopolis*<sup>b</sup>.

Amasis or Ammosis, a tyrant.

MANY ages after the sceptre fell into the hands of AMASIS or AMMOSIS. He oppressed his people with the utmost violence and injustice. Many he condemned to death without a cause; many he deprived of their possessions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will, and towards all he behaved with insupportable arrogance. Under this oppression they groaned for a while, not daring to resist so dreadful a power. But in time *Atifanes* king of *Ethiopia* made war against *Ammosis*, and entering *Egypt* the people joined him, and assisted to drive their unnatural prince d from the throne<sup>c</sup>.

The expulsion of the shepherds.

BUT before we proceed in the history of *Atifanes*, we must observe that a king, whose name nearly approaches that of *Ammosis*, blocked up the shepherds in the city of *Abaris* or *Pelusium* with an army of 480,000 men; but despairing, as is said, to carry the place by siege, he made a capitulation with them, by which it was agreed that they should go out of *Egypt*, and march which way they pleased without molestation (1). This article they executed, and went away with their families to the number of 240,000, and taking the way of the desert entered *Syria*, but fearing the *Affyrians* they built them a strong city in *Judaea* called *Jerusalem*. This favours the opinion of those who take the shepherds to have been the *Israelites* themselves; but the *Egyptian* history being hitherto, and for a considerable time to come, involved in the thickest darkness, we shall only say that this is confessedly a contradiction to the history of *Moses*, by whom it plainly appears that these shepherds could not be the *Israelites*, and him we choose to confide in. This king is called *Amosis*, *Thummosis*, *Tetbmosis*, *Tbmosis*, and *Themosis*, the son of *Halispbragmuthosis*. One *Amosis* is also said to have abolished the custom of sacrificing men to *Juno* at *Heliopolis*, and instead of them to have substituted waxen images. They were examined and sealed like pure calves, and were called *Typhonians*<sup>e</sup>. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their ashes were scattered abroad so as to be no more seen, and this publicly every year during the dog-days. This is said to have been done at the city of *Idithya*<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 1. c. 1. <sup>b</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. DIOD. ubi supr. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>d</sup> JOSEPH. contra Appion. l. 1. p. 352, &c. <sup>e</sup> MANETHO apud Porph. de abst. l. 2. c. 55.

(1) We have already observed, that *Perizonius* reckons what is called the expulsion of the shepherds, and the *Exodus* of the children of *Israel*, to be one and the same event (1).

Sir *John Narsham* is of a quite different opinion, but decides nothing (2).

Father *Pezron* says nothing of the expulsion of the shepherds in particular, but thinks he has suffi-

ciently proved that the *Israelites* went out of *Egypt* under *Moses* in the reign of *Themosis*, the same who is said to have expelled the shepherds (3).

Sir *Isaac Newton* places this expulsion in the year 1070 before CHRIST, or 62 years before the first expedition of *Sesostris* or *Sesac*, as he calls him, into *Africa* (4).

(1) Vid. PERIZ. ubi supr. ubi supr.

(2) MARSH.

ISAAC NEWTON'S short chronology.

(3) PEZRON. ubi supr. (4) Sir

- a As to the 200,000 *shepherds* which we are told came from *Jerusalem* to assist the leprous *Egyptians* under *Osarsiphus*, and the wars they were engaged in with *Amenophis* king of *Egypt*, we refer our reader to *Josephus* against *Appion*, not knowing where to give a place to these transactions in the course of the *Egyptian* history. To this we rather incline, because *Josephus* arraigns the whole story as fabulous<sup>a</sup>.

WE now return to *ACTISANES* who united *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* under him, and <sup>Actisanes the</sup> was the king of both. He used his prosperity with great moderation and prudence, <sup>Ethiopian.</sup> and behaved affectionately towards his new subjects. He caused a general search to be made after the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers, and giving them a just hearing, commanded the guilty to have their noses cut off, and sent them away to the remotest

- b part of the desert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, where he built them a town which was called *Rhinocolura*, from the disfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was so barren, that it scarce afforded any one necessary of life; for even the few wells and ponds there found were brackish, bitter and most unpleasant to the palate. Hither he banished them, that they might not injure their honest neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the innocent. But as frightful and barren as their situation was, necessity, the mother of invention, suggested a means to them of supplying themselves with food; for it is reported, that they made long nets of slit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails which came in flocks from the sea-shore; and of these they had barely sufficient to live upon<sup>a</sup>.

- c *ACTISANES* died, and the *Egyptians* were left to their own disposal; and there- <sup>Mendes or</sup> fore they chose them a king, named by some *MENDES*, and by others *MARUS*, <sup>Marius</sup> He is celebrated for the sepulchral labyrinth he built. It was not so admirable for its extent as for its inimitable contrivance, which was so intricate and perplexing that it was impossible to find the way out but by the help of a most experienced guide<sup>a</sup>.

AFTER *Mendes* there ensued an *inter-regnum* for five generations. At length <sup>Proteus is</sup> a *Memphite* of obscure birth was chosen king. His *Egyptian* name was *CETES*, <sup>chosen king.</sup> which the *Greeks* rendered *PROTEUS* (K). Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* make his reign fall in with the *Trojan* war. The priests gave him out for one skilled in the weather, or a magician, and pretended he could assume any shape or form he pleased,

- d even that of fire. This fable, as it was told by the *Greeks*, drew its origin from a custom among the *Egyptians* (and perhaps introduced by *Proteus*) who were wont to adorn and distinguish the heads of their kings with the representations of animals or vegetables, or even with burning incense, as ensigns of royalty, and to strike the beholders with dread and superstition<sup>a</sup>. Whilst *Proteus* reigned, *Paris* or *Alexander* was driven on the coasts of *Egypt* by a storm, and there landed with *Helen*, whom he was carrying from *Greece* to *Troy*. But when he heard the perfidious breach of hospitality this young man had committed, he seized upon him, his mistresses, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from *Greece*. As for *Helen* and her husband's effects, he detained them, promising to restore
- e both to the injured party whenever demanded, and so he did; but *Paris* and his companions he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. In fine, he had a very rich and sumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, and left a son and successor behind him called *Rhemphus*<sup>a</sup>.

- RHEMPHIS* is also called *RHAMPSINITUS* (L), and had a strong inclination to hoard <sup>Rhemphus or</sup> up money. *Diodorus* reports him to have been so sordidly avaritious, that during <sup>Rhampsinitus</sup> his whole reign he rather acted the part of a mean-spirited steward than of a king; and never could find in his heart to be at the least expence in any thing that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men; and that to this retentiveness it was owing that he left so immense a treasure behind him, no less than
- f 400,000 talents<sup>a</sup>. Now *Herodotus* sufficiently insinuates that he was fond of riches;

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPHUS ubi supr.    <sup>a</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 55.    <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. See before, p. 193.    <sup>a</sup> Idem p. 56  
<sup>a</sup> HERON. ubi supr.    <sup>a</sup> DIOD. ubi supr.

(K) According to *Perizonius* *Proteus* was the *Sethos* of *Manetho* and the *Typhon* of the poets. He thinks that *Homer's Proteus* and this king are the same; and that he was stiled a sea-god, because he had commanded the coasts of *Egypt*. He gives no credit to *Herodotus* as to the arrival of *Paris* and *Helen* under this king, because that is not consistent with his hypothesis (1).

*Sir Isaac Newton*, on the contrary, seems to give credit to *Herodotus* as far as relates to *Paris* and

*Helen*, but makes him cotemporary with *Amenophis*, who, as we have already observed, he makes the same with *Menes*. He thinks he might have been governor of some part of the *Lower Egypt* under *Amenophis*; and observes, that *Homer* places him on the sea-coast, and calls him the servant of *Neptune*, and that his *Greek* name signifies only a prince or president (2).

(L) *Sir John Mayham* is inclined to think him the eldest son of *Sesofstris*, and to be the same with *Rampses*,

(1) Vid PERIZON. ubi supr.    (2) Sir ISAAC NEWTON. Chronol. of anc. kingdoms amended  
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but does not speak of him as sunk to so wretched a degree of baseness as this. Let us <sup>a</sup> hear what he says. *Rhampsinitus* added the western portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, and erected two statues before it, each 25 cubits high; one of them faced towards the north, and was adored by the *Egyptians* under the title of *Summer*; the other looked towards the south, and went by the name of *Winter*, and was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated a far greater wealth than any king of *Egypt* that succeeded him; and being desirous to deposite it in some secure place, commanded a treasure-house to be firmly built for that purpose. The architect employed in this work, placed one of the stones in so artful a manner that it might be taken out and put in again by one man only, it being his intention to participate with his prince in the riches of the place. But about the time that the treasure was lodged in it, this <sup>b</sup> man fell into a violent sickness; and finding himself at the point of death, sent for his two sons. To them he declared the whole artifice, and gave them the most exact directions in the management of the business which he foresaw would never be his fate to accomplish. The father died, and the young men went to the treasury, and finding every thing to be as their father had told them, they gained an easy admittance and robbed the king to a considerable value; and this they repeated every night. Some time after *Rhampsinitus* went in to view his heaps, and was surprized to find a visible diminution of them; and the more, because his seal was whole on the door, the only part of the building that could give entrance. The two brothers continued their nightly pillages, till the king after two or three surveys was perfectly sensible that some how or other his wealth suffered a successive decrease. And <sup>c</sup> now convinced that some body must do this, he ordered snares to be laid all round the vessels which held his money. The Brethren failed not to come at night, and taking out the stone, one of them went in, and going up to a vessel full of silver was immediately ensnared. Under this surprize he called to his brother who stood without, and earnestly besought him to come in to him and cut off his head, that so he might save his own life, and effectually prevent the discovery of their intrigue. The brother perceiving the reasonableness of this request, went in and did as he was desired, and putting the stone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early the next morning the king came in to see the event of his project, but was <sup>d</sup> quite astonished to find a man caught without a head. He went out again in great confusion of thought, but however directed that the body should be hung on the outside of the wall and exposed to publick view; charging the guard appointed to take care of it, that they should make a narrow inspection into the countenances of all spectators, and in whomsoever they perceived signs of sorrow and mourning to bring such person into his presence. When the mother of the deceased heard that the body was exposed in this manner, she was distracted with grief, and upbraiding her surviving son, threatened that if he did not procure her his brother's body, and bring it home, she would let the king know who had robbed his treasury. The young man did his utmost to bring her to some temper, by remonstrating to her the impossibility of gratifying her in her request; but to no purpose; for she persisted still <sup>e</sup> in her threats. Therefore finding that something must be contrived, he consulted how he must succeed in such an enterprize; and at length loading his asses with skins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body hung up. Having reached the guard, he privately opened some of the skins, and as soon as the wine poured down he struck himself upon the head, and counterfeited the trouble and consternation of a person utterly undone. In the mean time the soldiers upon duty ran to the asses with pots, to save as much of the liquor as they could for themselves; which he seeing, fell on them with the most bitter reproaches, and reviled them for

*Rampses*; and this he advances, on the authority of *Manetho* who calls him the son of *Setos*: He thinks also that the famous inscription which was interpreted to *Cæsar Germanicus* at *Thebes*, related to him; and indeed there is no very great difference between the *Rhampses* of *Tacitus* and the *Rampses* of *Manetho*. In fine, that he enjoyed by right what his father had obtained by conquest (1).

*Perizonius* supposes that the *Rhampses* of *Tacitus* is *Sesostris* himself. But *Ramestes* or *Rhampsinitus*, the son of *Protus*, he makes cotemporary with the *Trojan* war, in which he is supported by a passage

from *Pliny* (2).

Sir *Izaak Newton* conjectures him to have been the son of *Amenophis* or *Menes*, and to be intended by the different names of *Rhampsinitus*, *Rampses*, *Ramises*, *Ramefes*, *Ramestes*, *Ramestis*, *Rhampses* and *Rhempsis*; and that the obelisk which was sent to *Rome* by the emperor *Constantius*, with an inscription interpreted by *Hermapion* an *Egyptian* priest, expressing that he was long-lived and reigned over a great part of the earth, as also that pompous intercription mentioned by *Tacitus*, belonged to him (3).

(1) *Vid. MARSH. ubi. supr.*

(2) *PERIZ. ubi. supr.*

(3) *Sir ISAAC NEWT. ubi. supr.*  
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a the pleasure they took in his misfortune, instead of giving him their assistance : But they speaking him fair, he pretended by degrees to be pacified, and leading his affes out of the way, feigned to be very busy in securing the remainder of his wine. Whilst he was doing this the guards stood about him, and laughing and joking with him, he at last consented to give them a skin of wine ; and they in return for so great a favour pressed him to stay and take a part of it with them. He did so, and when this skin was emptied he gave them another ; so that by excessive drinking the whole guard were overcome, and fell into a deep sleep. Then it was that watching his opportunity, and perceiving it to be dead of night, he went to the body, and taking it down, laid it across an ass ; and shaving the right cheek of each  
b of the soldiers in derision, went away with the body and carried it home to his mother. The news of this was matter of additional wonder to the king, who, that he might find out the person who had done it, bethought him of the following expedient. He ordered his daughter to prostitute herself in a certain apartment of the palace to all comers promiscuously ; but under this restriction, that she should previously extort from each of them a confession of the most ingenious intrigue he had ever managed, and the most wicked crime he had ever committed. His daughter obeyed, and did as she was instructed ; and when the thief heard of this extraordinary procedure, he resolved to perplex the king still farther. With this view he took the arm of a newly-dead body, under his cloak, and went in to the king's  
c daughter. She examined him in the same form, and to the same purpose as the rest who had been with her before him ; and in return, he frankly confessed, that the most wicked action of his life was the cutting off his brother's head when ensnared in the treasury ; and that the most ingenious thing he had ever done, was the stealing the body from the guard who were appointed to keep it. She then offered to lay hold on him ; which he perceiving, held out the dead arm to her ; which she grasping, he ran out, and by the favour of the night made his escape. *Rhampsinitus's* rage was now converted into an admiration of the boldness and ingenuity of the man ; and therefore he caused it to be proclaimed in every city, that if the person, who:ver he was, would discover himself, he should not only be pardoned,  
d but also largely rewarded. The young man confiding in this, went directly to the palace, and made himself known. In the end the king gave him his daughter in marriage, accounting him far superior in wisdom to any man then living upon earth. Our authors does not warrant every particular of this story.

AFTER this it was pretended that *Rhampsinitus* descended alive into the infernal *Rhampsinitus* regions, where he played at dice with *Ceres*, but did not either win nor lose ; and that  
at his departure she presented him with a golden bowl. The space between his descent and return was observed with great solemnity by the *Egyptians* many ages afterwards. And now that we may conclude the history of this king with some air of truth and probability, he reigned with great prudence and justice, and was a constant and strict observer of the good order, which, till his death, had without interruption subsisted throughout the kingdom from its first foundation <sup>goes down to hell.</sup>.

THIS king was succeeded by seven others, all of whom performed so little, that *Nilus*. even their names are not recorded except one, called *NILUS*. He is celebrated for the canals he dug thro'out the country, and for his endeavours to make the Nile as universally serviceable as possible. Whence it was that the river which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was thenceforward called after his name <sup>1</sup>.

CHEOPS, CHEMMIS OR CHEMBES, (M) is by *Diodorus* reckoned the eighth from *Cheops*, *Rhampsinitus*. *Herodotus* places no distance between them. This king is branded for *Chemmis* or his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with shutting up the temples, and for-*Chembes*, a bidding all public sacrifices. And thus trampling on the laws and invading the liber-<sup>tyrant,</sup>ties of his people, reduced them to a state of most ignominious slavery. Great numbers he sent to dig in the quarries among the mountains of *Arabia*, and to transport them into *Egypt* <sup>2</sup> : And harrassed them in the end, in raising the largest of the three great pyramids <sup>3</sup>. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the same kind, he was reduced so low, that he exposed his daughter as a common prostitute ; telling her in general terms to earn what she could. She obeyed, and by her father's example desiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants only to contribute a

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. l. 2. <sup>2</sup> DIOD. ubi supr. p. 57. <sup>3</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>4</sup> Idem ibid. & DIOD. ubi supr. See before, p. 184.

(M) Sir *Isaac Newton* suspects that he intended to be worshipped himself after death ; and supposes that he was also called *Chemmis*, *Phiope*,

*Apatbus*, *Apappus*, *Suphis*, *Saaphis*, *Syphoas*, *Syphaasis*, *Sorphis*, *Syphuris*, *Anosphis*, and *Anosis*.



stone towards a building she had in view. With the stones so collected, she built a small pyramid. \* This tyrant reigned fifty years and died \*.

Cephrenes,  
Cephren, or  
Chabryis a  
tyrant.

HE was succeeded by CEPHRENES, CEPHREN or CHABRYIS. It was doubted whether *Cephren* and *Chabryis* were one and the same person; some saying that *Cephren* was the brother, and that *Chabryis* was the son of *Cheops*. But leaving this obscure controversy, let us proceed; this king trod in the foot-steps of his predecessor, particularly in building a pyramid; but it fell much short of the former. He reigned fifty six years. Though both he and his predecessor designed these pyramids for their *eternal mansions*, to use the *Egyptian* phrase, yet neither of them were deposited in them after death: Dreading what the rage of the multitude might prompt them to, their friends buried them where no body could ever find them.

Mycerinus or  
Cherinus, a  
good prince.

AFTER *Egypt* had been thus afflicted by tyranny for one hundred and six years, MYCERINUS or CHERINUS (N) the son of *Cheops*, a serene and merciful prince, ascended the throne. Abhorring the impiety and injustice of his father and his uncle, he opened the temples, revived the ancient sacrifices, and left the miserable people to the pursuit of their private affairs. His clemency is reported to have been such, that if at any time complaint was made to him of a severe decree pronounced in matter of property, he would repair the defendant, out of his own treasure \*. Whilst he was thus intent upon the happiness of his people, a heavy misfortune fell upon him, in the death of his daughter. He mourned her with much sorrow, and honoured her with an extraordinary monument: For causing an hollow image of a cow to be made and richly gilt with gold, he therein deposited her body. This cow was exposed in a magnificent chamber of the palace in the city of *Sais*; where they burned most exquisite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night with lamps; in a room contiguous to this, were twenty naked images of women, which the priests of *Sais* reported to have been the concubines of *Mycerinus*. But, as it generally happens in cases of remote antiquity, this was not the only report that was spread concerning this cow and these statues. A story went that *Mycerinus* falling in love with his daughter, despoiled her; whereupon she fell into a deep melancholy and hanged herself. The twenty naked statues in the next room, said they, were her women who had been instrumental in betraying her to her father's unnatural lust, and therefore had their hands cut off by the queen. They appeared indeed without hands; and our author, who was an eye witness of these things, tells us they were dropped off with age, and lay scattered upon the floor. He tells us also that the cow was in a kneeling posture, and as big as the largest living cow. Its neck and head were richly laid over with gold, and between the horns there was a golden circle in imitation of the sun, and its body had a fine *Tyrian* carpet thrown over it. This sepulchral image was removed once a year from the apartment where it stood, and exposed to the open day, in pursuance of a request the deceased made to her father, that she might behold the sun once every year.

The oracle  
at Butus de-  
clares him to  
be short lived.

Now to return whence we digressed; the death of his daughter was not the only misfortune that befel *Mycerinus*; a more dreadful one ensued: For it was declared by the oracle at *Butus*, that he had but six years to live, and that in the seventh he should certainly die. At this he was greatly troubled, and sent to expostulate with the oracle, and remonstrated, that since his father and uncle, who had been monsters of impiety and cruelty, had been blessed with great length of days, it would be ungrateful to requite his piety and humanity by the execution of so rigid a sentence. To this it was answered; That his father and uncle knew the decree of fate which had condemned the *Egyptians* to an hundred and fifty years of bondage and misery, and acted conformable thereto; but that his ignorance of this, which had induced him to interrupt the course of their affliction, was the cause that he was so suddenly to be cut off. Finding therefore that his doom was irreversible, he considered how to make the most of the small remainder of his life; and commanding a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, he spent his whole time in drinking and revelling. So thence forward making no distinction between day and night, he roved about in the groves and meadows, and spent his whole time amongst merry and jocund company. Thus he went on, thinking to convict the oracle of falshood, and instead of six, to live twelve years. Finally *Mycerinus* is said to have

\* HEROD. ubi sup. See before, p. 185. \* HEROD. ubi sup. † Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi sup. p. 57. 58. \* Idem ibid. HEROD. ubi sup.

(N) The last cited chronologer calls him also *Cheres*, *Bicheres*, *Mofcheres*, *Mencheres*.

a built a pyramid, which from the basis to the middle was *Ethiopian* stone; and on the northern front of it he inscribed his own name. This pyramid the *Greeks*, by a gross mistake, attributed to the courtesan *Rhoapis*, who flourished in the days of *Amasis*, several reigns lower <sup>a</sup>.

WE now proceed to *GENEPHACTHUS* the father of *Bocchoris* the wife. He is also *Gnephaethus*, named *Technatis* by *Plutarch* <sup>b</sup>, and *Necobabis* by *Alexis*. What interval there was between him and *Mycerinus*, or whether any, does no where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abstinence, and for the execration he denounced against *Menes*. For it is recorded of him, that leading an army into *Arabia*, and travelling the vast and barren deserts, he there fell into great straits and want of provision: And being one day obliged to take up with the poor and slender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound sleep. This so delighted him, that he forbade all excess and luxury, and cursed *MENES*, who first introduced them: And so earnestly did he persecute the memory of this his predecessor, that, by the consent of the priests, he engraved his curse upon a pillar, which was seen in the temple at *Thebes* by the curious succeeding generations.

*Bocchoris*, the son of *Gnephaethus*, was surnamed the wife. He was a despicable person to look at, but for prudence and wisdom far beyond any of his predecessors. He is reckoned the fourth *Egyptian* law-giver; but his laws <sup>c</sup> seem not to have concerned any thing, except commerce and the regulation of the public revenue. His judgments were for their excellence retained many ages after his death; but his great qualities were somewhat debased by his propensity to avarice <sup>d</sup>. So great was the veneration his subjects paid him, that they fabled *Isis* to have sent an asp to prevent his sight, that he might judge righteously <sup>e</sup>. However, he drew a general odium upon himself, by letting in a wild bull to the sacred one, called *Mucvis*; but this got the better, and killed his antagonist. At last <sup>f</sup>, he is said to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive <sup>g</sup>.

*Asychis* is by *Herodotus* placed next in order to *Mycerinus*; but in compliance *Asychis* with *Diodorus*, we have put two reigns between them, notwithstanding our full persuasion that *Bocchoris* and *Asychis* were the same king, as we shall hereafter take occasion to observe: In the mean time it is recorded of *Asychis*, that he built the eastern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, with a magnificence that eclipsed the rest. And finding that the riches of *Egypt* were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted that a man might borrow money upon his deceased parent, and deposit the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor. And till it was redeemed, the debtor himself could not be buried in the sepulchre of his father, or put any of his descendants there. This king, to surpass all his predecessors, built him a pyramid of brick, which he charged with a vain-glorious inscription <sup>h</sup>.

AFTER *Asychis*, a blind man named *Anyfis*, from a city of the same name, *Anyfis* became king. In his reign *Sabbaco* king of *Ethiopia* broke into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and *Anyfis* fled for shelter to the fens, leaving the kingdom to the invader <sup>i</sup>.

BUT before we enter upon the reign of *Sabbaco*, let us take a retrospective view of these three last reigns, and perhaps we may find reason to think that *Bocchoris* and *Asychis* are different names for the same king, and that the blind man *Anyfis* was his contemporary. For the law said to have been instituted by *Asychis*, hath so much of *Bocchoris's* genius as to incline our belief that it is the same fact variously related. And if it be true that *Bocchoris* was burnt alive by *Sabbaco*, they must not only have been so, but *Anyfis* must also have been king of another part of *Egypt* at the same time. It is farther declared by *Herodotus* that *Necus*, the father of *Psammitichus* was slain by the same *Ethiopian* <sup>k</sup>. Here we have three kings subdued by one and the same enemy, and all in *Egypt*. From whence it appears, that many of the kings of *Egypt* are placed in order of succession, that were collateral, merely out of ostentation, and to support the pretensions the priests made to the excessive antiquity of their kingdom.

WE now return to *SABBACO*; and if it be true that he dealt so rigidly with *Bocchoris*, those are surely right who suppose he began his reign with barbarity and cruelty towards others. But no sooner was he established firmly on the throne, than he became a new man; so that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency and po-

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. See before, p. 191. <sup>b</sup> De Iside & Osirid. <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 203. <sup>d</sup> Diod. l. 1. p. 59. 85. <sup>e</sup> PLUT. *vel Augustus*, p. 529. <sup>f</sup> *Ælian. de Anim. l. 11. c. 11.* <sup>g</sup> SYNCCELL. p. 74. <sup>h</sup> HEROD. l. 2. See before, p. 185. <sup>i</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>j</sup> Idem ibid.

His first vision. licy. He is thought to have been the *So* in scripture, and to have entered into a league <sup>a</sup> with *Hesbea*, king of *Samaria*, against *Shalmanassar* king of *Assyria*. He was excited to the invasion of *Egypt* by a dream or vision, which assured him he should hold *Egypt* fifty years, and when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into *Ethiopia* again, resigning his conquered kingdom. But whilst he was in *Egypt*, he gave the highest proofs of his wisdom and piety, and yielded to none of his *Egyptian* predecessors in the art of governing. He never would consent to the death of any criminal though capitally condemned; commuting the punishment into hard labour, which purely consisted in raising of mounds, and digging of canals; so that the cities of *Egypt* were raised higher, and rendered more commodious than by *Sejstris*; and particularly the city of *Bubastis*, where stood a most delightful temple to the goddess <sup>b</sup> of the same name, whom the *Greeks* interpreted to be their *Diana*. At length *Sabbaco* had a vision as he slept, wherein the tutelar god of *Thebes* admonished him that he could not hold the kingdom of *Egypt* with safety and happiness, except he massacred the priests as he passed through them with his guards. This vision was several times repeated; but his heart abhorring so dreadful an undertaking, he sent for the priests, and declared to them what the gods would have prompted him to, and that thereby he began to apprehend it was their pleasure he should remain no longer in *Egypt*; wherefore with pure hands and a clear conscience he would return into his native kingdom, rather than be guilty of so general a bloodshed, to preserve himself on the throne of *Egypt*. And upon the whole, considering that the predicted fifty <sup>c</sup> years were expired, he accordingly retired into his own country <sup>1</sup>.

Anyfis again. As soon as *Sabbaco* had departed the kingdom, *Anyfis* came out from his hiding-place, and reassumed the government. He had been absent fifty years, and in that time had formed an island for his habitation, composed of ashes and earth; for when any *Egyptian* came to him with provision, he always desired that ashes might be brought to him unknown to the *Ethiopian*. This island was called *Elbo*, and lay undiscovered seven hundred years and upwards, till the reign of *Amrtaeus*.

Sethon king and priest. AFTER him there reigned one *SETHON*, who was both king and priest of *Vulcan*. He not only neglected the military order, but injuriously divested them of their privileges and lands; whereat they were so incensed that they thought themselves absolved from their allegiance, and entered into a combination not to bear arms under him if he should ever stand in need of them. But he, regardless of their threats and murmurs, gave himself wholly up to contemplation and the functions of religion. This was the state of affairs when *Sennacherib* king of *Assyria* drew near to *Pelusium*, designing to enter *Egypt*. *Sethon* perceiving his danger, and that now his only trust must be in the military order whom he had so unjustly dealt with, he sought their assistance; but in vain: They obstinately persisted in their refusal to march under his banner. The priest now destitute of all other advice and support, repaired to his god, and in the utmost dejection of mind implored his aid. Whilst he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep sleep, during which it seemed to him that the god <sup>c</sup> stood at his side, and exhorted him to take courage, and promised that if he would but go out against the *Assyrians*, he should obtain a compleat victory over them. Full of this vision, he assembled a body of artificers, shopkeepers and labourers; and with this unexperienced multitude, bent his march towards *Pelusium*. The very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field-rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed their quivers, bow-strings, and shield-straps to pieces. This is very consonant to the prophecy of *Isaiab*, if we may be allowed to insert it here: *The king of Assyria shall not come into this city, (meaning Jerusalem) nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield* <sup>a</sup>. For *Sennacherib*, as should seem, had broke up from before *Jerusalem* for a time to fall upon *Egypt*; but whether this *Sethon* be the same with *Tirhakab* or *Sevechus*, is more than we can decide. But to return; when *Sethon* next morning found the enemy thus disarmed, and retiring as fast as they could, he pursued them, and made a great slaughter. In memory of this miraculous event, there was a stone statue of this king erected in the temple of *Vulcan*, with a rat in one of his hands, and these words proceeding from his mouth; *Who beholdeth me, let him be pious* <sup>b</sup>. <sup>f</sup>

The twelve kings. A SHORT time after the death of *Sethon*, *Egypt* was (upon what motive is not precisely known) divided into twelve principalities, and to many of the chief *Egyptian* lords assumed the government of them. These twelve entered into the strictest alliance for the public welfare. The league between them was conceived in the strongest <sup>g</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. DIOD. SIC. ubi supr. p. 59.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xix. 32.

<sup>b</sup> HEROD. ubi supr.   
 terms

- a terms, and cemented by all the methods that could possibly conduce to preserve a perpetual union and harmony among them; because it had been foretold by an oracle, upon their assuming the government, that he of their number that should perform a libation in a brazen cup, would in time be king of all *Egypt*. This new regulation was attended with peace and happiness, and the twelve princes resolved to raise a monument which might perpetuate their names to latest ages; and accordingly they erected the famous Labyrinth near the lake *Maris*. At length it so fell out, that at a stated time they all met together to sacrifice in the temple of *Vulcan*, and being to offer a libation on the last day, the high priest, through mistake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reserved for the use of the twelve princes; and *Psammitichus* standing the last in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of brass (they all twelve wore the like) and performed his libation therewith. This he did inadvertently; but it being observed by the rest, they called to mind the oracle which predicted he should be sole king of *Egypt*, who should happen to perform a libation in this place with a brass bowl. Wherefore, though they were satisfied he had no ill intention, and for that reason would not sentence him to die, yet they were unanimously for driving him to the marshy country, for divesting him of the greatest part of his dominions; and for obliging him not to concern himself in the affairs of the public. The reason of this discord is differently told by some, and the whole is attributed to envy: For
- c at the division of the country into twelve provinces, as has been observed, the sea-coasts fell to the lot of *Psammitichus*; and he greatly encouraging all commerce with the *Grecians* and *Phœnicians*, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired also the favour and friendship of several foreign kings and nations, which drew on him the envy of his colleagues; who fearing he should grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, resolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all declared war against him; and he finding himself unequal to the allies, hired an army of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and repelled force by force, and in the end subdued the other kings, and put an end to the *duodecenvirate*. On the other hand it is related, that, in pursuance of his sentence, he retreated to the fens; but greatly resenting the severity of his usage for so trifling a thing, in which he meant no harm, either present or future, he sent to the oracle of *Latona* at the city of *Butus*, to know how, and when, he might hope for redress. The answer he received was, That *Brazen* men would suddenly rise out of the sea and avenge his cause. This he looked on as an absurdity: But not long after some *Ionian* and *Carian* pirates landed in brass armour. And an *Egyptian*, who had never seen men armed so before, going up to *Psammitichus*, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had risen out of the sea, and were pillaging the land near the sea-shore, he perceived that the oracle was about to be fulfilled: Therefore, persuading them to stay by the large promises he made them, if he succeeded; and joining to them such *Egyptians* as were well affected to him, he subdued and dethroned the eleven confederate princes, and seized on the whole kingdom for himself. It is said, the decisive battle was fought at *Monemphis*, and that some of the kings were slain, and others took refuge in *Afric*. Thus was the government by twelve dissolved after it had subsisted fifteen years.
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- e

f HITHERTO the *Egyptian* history hath continued not a little obscure, we are now coming to a brighter period. *PSAMMITICHUS* of the tribe of *Sais* thus possessed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, reigned with as much wisdom, magnanimity and splendour as any of his predecessors. He was the son of *Nechus*, whom *Sabbaco* put to death when he conquered *Egypt*: And had he not fled into *Syria*, would have shared his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above presented them with certain lands on each side of the *Nile*, and called their settlements *the camp*. He also put several children under their tuition, that they might be instructed in the *Grecian* language; and those who in after times performed the office of interpreters descended from these. They had their habitation near the sea, below the city of *Bubastis* in the *Pelusian* mouth of the *Nile*: And here they continued till *Amasis* removed them to *Memphis*, as will be shewn in its proper place. However, it is here proper to observe, that these *Grecians* are said to have been the first foreigners that were permitted to dwell in *Egypt*; and that from the intercourse and correspondence which was constantly kept up between them and their countrymen

\* See before, p. 193.

† HEROD. *ibid.*

‡ DIOD. SIC. *ubi sup.* p. 60.

§ HEROD. *ubi sup.*

• DIOD. *ubi sup.*

in Greece, we are tollerably well assured of the truth and exactness of the *Egyptian* <sup>a</sup> history from the days of *Psammitichus*.

His public  
buildings.

CONCERNING the public edifices he erected, there is amongst authors some variations: *Herodotus* says he added the southern, and *Diodorus*, that he added the eastern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*. The former says that he built a spacious edifice opposite to this portico for the reception of the god *Apis* whenever he should appear; and that it was enriched with sculptures, and surrounded with gigantic statues of twelve cubits high instead of pillars. The latter, that he encompassed the temple with a wall, in which he substituted colossuses instead of pilasters <sup>c</sup>.

His wars.

Now in consideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, by whose aid he seated himself on the throne, he always kept some of their countrymen <sup>b</sup> in pay, and went so far as to compliment them with the post of honour when he marched his army into *Syria*; where he carried on a war many years. This so incensed the *Egyptians*, that upwards of 200,000 deserted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own subjects, he at first sent some of the chief officers after them to excuse the matter: But finding that their persuasions had no effect, he took shipping with some of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the *Nile*. And there, entreating them to halt, in consideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, their gods, and native seats; they unanimously struck their spears upon their shields, and cried out, that as long as they had arms they did not doubt but they should find a convenient country <sup>c</sup> to settle in: Then betraying their nakedness; that they should never want wives and children whilst they were so perfect. This done, they suddenly marched on till they came into the territories of *Ethiopia*, where they sat down on a fertile spot, and settled there.

Opens the  
ports of Egypt  
to strangers.

To repair this loss, he earnestly applied himself to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all strangers; whom he greatly caressed, contrary to the cruel, tho' political maxims of his predecessors. At the same time that he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he also entered into, or renewed an alliance with the *Athenians*, and others of the *Greeks* <sup>a</sup>. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable

His siege of  
Azotus, and  
transaction  
with the  
Scythians.

than for the long and tedious siege he laid to *Azotus* in *Syria*, on the borders of *Egypt*, and which a short time before had been taken by *Asar-baddon*, king of *Babylon*; for it was twenty nine years before he reduced it <sup>a</sup>. His conduct towards the *Scythians*, who about this time conquered the *Medes*, and possessed themselves of *Asia*, and were now marching with design to pour their armies into *Egypt*, is highly commended: For, instead of opposing them, he joined them in *Syria*, and by his presents and intreaties prevailed on them to march back again <sup>a</sup>. After a reign of fifty four years <sup>b</sup> he died, and was buried in the temple of *Bubastis* or *Minerva*, at *Sais*, the place where the bodies of all the *Saitic* kings were deposited. He is reported to have been the first king of *Egypt* that drank wine <sup>a</sup>, to have sent to discover the springs of the *Nile* <sup>a</sup>, and to have made an experiment to find out which was the most <sup>c</sup> ancient nation in the world: To this purpose he took two new-born children, and brought them up after such a manner that they never heard any body speak; and because when at two years old they pronounced a word (*beccos*) which signified *bread* in the *Phrygian* tongue, the *Egyptians* no longer vaunted of their seniority before all other nations, but submitted to the *Phrygians* <sup>a</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 2383.  
Year before  
Christ, 616.  
Nechus.

*NECHUS* was the son and successor of *PSAMMITICHUS*. He is the *Pharaoh* *Necho* of Scripture. He was a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, and great both at land and sea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea* <sup>a</sup>; and after the loss of 120,000 of those employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to desist, and leave the finishing of it to a *Barbarian* or foreigner. The oracle he obeyed; but thenceforward, turning his thoughts towards warlike enterprizes, he built a fleet of gallies in the northern (*Mediterranean*) sea, and another in the straits of the *Arabian* gulph, where footsteps of his naval armaments were seen many ages afterwards. The warlike actions of this naval force, if any, are no where extant; but, as his mind was bent upon the empire of the sea, he sent some of the expertest *Phœnician* mariners he could procure to go out in order to make a discovery of the *African* coasts. Accordingly, sailing out of the *Red sea* through the straits of *Babelmandel*, as now called, they steered down the eastern shores of *Asie*;

Affects the em-  
pire of the sea.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. DIOD. ubi supr. p. 61.    <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi supr.    <sup>a</sup> Idem  
1. 1.    <sup>b</sup> Idem 1. 2.    <sup>a</sup> Eudox. apud PLUTARCH. de Iside & Osiride, p. 333.    <sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi  
supr. & ATHENÆUS, l. 8. p. 345.    <sup>b</sup> HEROD. ubi supr.    <sup>c</sup> See before.



a and, doubling the *Cape of Good-Hope*, coasted up northward, till they came to the straits of *Gibraltar*; by which they entered into the *Mediterranean*, and so returned into *Egypt*; and this voyage they performed in three years<sup>a</sup>.

He was not only great at sea, but was also formidable by land. *Josephus* following *His wars at land.* *Clefiar*, says, that he made war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; who had just then dissolved the *Assyrian* monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations bordering on their Dominions<sup>b</sup>: But the scripture expressly says, that he went out against the king of *Assyria*, who was then on the river *Euphrates*, perhaps at *Babylon*. In his march thither, *Josiab* king of *Judab*, refused to let him pass through *Judæa*, and drew out an army to prevent his design, which was to besiege *Carchemish*<sup>c</sup>. Finding therefore that *Josiab* opposed him, he sent messengers to him to remonstrate that he had not taken arms with design to do *Josiab* the least prejudice; that the war he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the express command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the anger of providence by withstanding its decree. But, finding that *Josiab* gave no ear to this, he resolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of *Megiddo* (or *Magdolus*, as *Herodotus*, has it<sup>d</sup>) *Josiab* was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks; and perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat, and *Necho* held on his march<sup>e</sup>. He arrived on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and there overthrew the king of *Assyria*, and took the great city of *Carchemish*; where he lodged a sufficient garrison, and after three months, returned towards *Egypt*<sup>f</sup>. As he drew near to *Jerusalem*, he heard that *Jeboahaz* had taken upon him to be king; and sending him an order to meet him at *Riblah* in *Syria*, he there bound him in chains, and sent him away prisoner to *Egypt*. After which he went to *Jerusalem*, and made *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into *Jeboiakim*, king over *Judab*, imposing on him at the same time a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold<sup>g</sup>. And thus he became master of *Judæa* and *Syria*. *Herodotus* say, that he took the great city of *Cadytis* in the mountainous part of *Palestine*, which is very rationally understood to signify *Jerusalem*. It is plain *Nechus* was there; but it is almost as plain that he entered it in a peaceful manner<sup>h</sup>. Hitherto then he was successful in his wars, by which he weakened the declining power of *Assyria*; which very soon after ceased to give name to a monarchy: And in commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is said to have consecrated the garments he wore in these actions to *Apollo*, and sent them to *Branchis* in the land of the *Milefians*<sup>i</sup>.

But he did not long enjoy his new acquisitions; for about three years afterwards, came from *Babylon* *Nebuchadnezzar*, who, in conjunction with the *Medes*, had sub-<sup>His turn of fortune.</sup> verted the *Assyrian* empire, designing to drive the *Egyptians* from *Carchemish*, and recover the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* Provinces, which *Necho* had subdued<sup>k</sup>. But he, no way daunted at the formidable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the *Euphrates* with a very numerous army, against *Nebuchadnezzar*; but in the end *Necho* was routed with a terrible slaughter, and lost *Carchemish*, and all *Syria* and *Judæa*, quite to *Pelusium*<sup>l</sup>. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with *Jeboiakim*, and made as if he intended to renew the war against the *Babylonians*; but he did nothing of moment afterwards, nor stirred out of *Egypt*; and died about eight years after he had been defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar*<sup>m</sup>, having reigned sixteen years, and left his son *Psammitis* to succeed him in the kingdom<sup>n</sup>.

In the reign of *PSAMMITIS* the son of *Necho* there came ambassadors into *Egypt* from <sup>Year of the</sup> the *Eleæans*, to know if the most sage *Egyptians* could add any thing to their regula-<sup>Flood, 2399.</sup> tions concerning the olympic Games, or could perceive any defect in them. When <sup>Year before</sup> the king was informed of their business, he called a council of the wisest heads in the nation; and sending for the ambassadors to come before this assembly, he asked them, <sup>Christ, 600.</sup> if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games: To which they answered in the affirmative. Whereupon the *Egyptians* pronounced, that they erred from all the rules of hospitality; observing, that it was natural for them to favour their fellow-citizens more than strangers. That if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, or ought not to be done in the matter they had proposed, the most equitable law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. • *JOSEPHUS* Antiq. l. 10. c. 6. <sup>f</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxv. 20. <sup>g</sup> *HEROD.* ubi sup. <sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. xxxv. *JOSEPHUS* Antq. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. <sup>l</sup> Vide *PRIDEAUX* Connect. p. 56, 57. *HEROD* ubi sup. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>n</sup> *Jerem.* xvi. 1, 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 9. <sup>o</sup> *JOSEPHUS* ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 9. *JOSEPHUS* ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> *HEROD.* ubi sup.



but strangers to contend for the prizes. *Psamis* reigned six years, and died in an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, leaving his son *Apries* to succeed him.

Year of the  
Flood, 2405.  
Year before  
Christ, 594.  
Apries.

His affairs  
with the  
Jews.

*APRIES* is the *Pharaoh-hophra* of scripture. The first part of his reign was great and prosperous, the last, insolent and miserable. In the first year of his reign he received ambassadors from *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and with them he concluded a treaty, promising to assist their king against the king of *Babylon*; in consequence of this about two years afterwards he marched out of *Egypt* with intent to relieve *Jerusalem*, then closely besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who no sooner heard of his motions than he raised the siege, and resolved to meet *Apries* half way. He did so; but the *Egyptians*, afraid of venturing a battle, retreated as fast as the *Babylonians* approached, and so continued till they had fallen back into their own country, leaving the *Jews* to the merciless rage of their enemy, in violation of the most solemn engagements. And for this breach of faith it was that *Ezekiel* denounced the heavy doom against them, that they should be confounded and desolate for forty years ensuing: And that afterwards they should degenerate to so base a degree, as not to have it in their power ever to set up a king of their own for the time to come; the accomplishment of which will be seen in the course of this history. The scriptures paint him in very disadvantageous colours, and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which came to pass, as we shall see anon. In the mean time it may not be amiss to take notice, that *Herodotus* gives this king twenty five years of greater prosperity than any of his predecessors, except *Psammiticus*, had enjoyed; though *Diodorus* allows his whole reign no more than twenty two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a martial prince, and speak of successful wars which he waged, both by sea and land, against the *Tyrrians* and *Sidonians*, and *Cypriots*. The city of *Sidon* he took by storm, and vanquished both the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a sea-fight; and returned with immense spoil into *Egypt*. And all this no way clashes with what the sacred writings say of him; but is rather agreeable thereto: For sure it must have been a mighty king, in whom the *Jews* dared to confide against the monarch of *Babylon*? And as to the saint *Apries* made to relieve *Jerusalem* and his shameful retreat, that rather reflected dishonour on him, than amounted to a misfortune.

His victories.

BUT now, in order to reconcile the sacred and prophane historians, let us hear the former denounce judgment against him, and then see how the latter execute it; which is the most obvious and distinct method we can think of, in this case where we are obliged to resort to both. We have already in general terms observed that the scripture threatened this king with a violent death, let us attend to the words of the prophet himself: *Thus saith the Lord, Behold I will give Pharaoh-hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon his enemy, and that sought his life*. Many predictions of the same kind are uttered against him in *Ezekiel*, but there he is only involved with the rest of his subjects, and therefore we shall pass them over. We are now to see how his destruction was brought about. The *Cyrenæans*, a colony of the *Greeks*, had a very numerous accession of their countrymen under their third king *Battus the Lapp*; and being led thereto by an oracle from the *Pythian*, fell to sharing the lands, and unjustly driving the *Libyans*, their neighbours, from their possessions, their king *Andrian* sent an embassy of submission to *Apries*, and implored his protection from the violence of these new comers. *Apries* condescended to his request, and sent a powerful army to relieve him. But the *Egyptians* were beaten by the *Cyrenæans* with so cruel a slaughter, that the few who escaped were incensed with the fiercest rage against their king, as if he had sent them to certain destruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize at will over the remainder of his subjects. What ground there was for this clamour does not appear, but so it was that the multitude were so taken with it, that almost an universal defection ensued. Upon news that they were assembled in a tumultuous manner, and were talking loud of a revolution, *Apries* sent a trusty friend, as he thought and one much respected by the people, called *Amasis*, to appease them. He went; but instead of reconciling them with *Apries*, he made application to them himself; and as he was pretending, to reproach them and recall them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on his head, and saluted him king of *Egypt*; and from that instant he prepared himself to carry on the war against his

The cause of  
his ruin.

Is betrayed by  
Amasis.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>2</sup> Ezek. xvii. 15. <sup>3</sup> Jerem. xxxvii. 5. <sup>4</sup> Idem ibid. c. 7. <sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxix. <sup>6</sup> Idem xxx. 13. <sup>7</sup> HEROD. ubi. supr. <sup>8</sup> DIOD. ubi. supr. p. 62. <sup>9</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>10</sup> Jerem. xlv. 30. master.

a master. Apries finding himself so foully betrayed, commanded one Patarbemis, the most considerable of all the Egyptians, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the camp of the rebels, and bring Amasis to him alive. He obeyed; and coming in sight of Amasis, called out to him, and charged him to attend on him to the king. At this, Amasis, who was sitting on horseback, lifted up his thigh with the utmost scorn, and breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his master. Notwithstanding this, Patarbemis still urged him to obey the royal summons; but all he could obtain was this answer from Amasis, That indeed he had been some time preparing to visit the king, but that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a suitable equipage along with him. Patarbemis had now heard and seen too much to imagine he should succeed in the business he was charged with, and began to think, that the best service he could do for Apries, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the most early notice of the posture and temper of the rebels. He therefore returned back; but when the king saw him come into his presence without Amasis, he spoke not one word to him, but ordered his ears and nose to be cut off. This insolent and tyrannical behaviour compleated his ruin: For when the rest of the Egyptians, who had continued faithful to him, beheld the inhuman mutilation of so worthy and noble a person, they all withdrew from him and went over to Amasis. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the usurper on the other, prepared for war; the one having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only such Carians, Ionians, and other mercenaries and foreigners as he could engage in his service.

c DURING these intestine broils, and these divisions, which must have greatly weakened Egypt, it is probable that Nebuchadnezzar, who much about time broke up his thirteen years siege of Tyre, and had at last nothing but an empty town for his pains, took advantage of the troubled state of this kingdom, in hopes here to acquire such spoil as might make amends for what he missed at Tyre. And this is perfectly consonant to the scripture, where it is said; *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus . . . yet had he no wages nor his army for Tyrus . . . Therefore, saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon . . . and it shall be the wages for his army.* A nation in such distraction as the people of Egypt must have been in at this time, was an easy prey to a number of experienced veterans; and besides, must have been in the most proper condition to gratify an army already worn out with fatigue, as the Babylonians doubtless were. Nebuchadnezzar therefore entered Egypt, and miserably harassed the country, and slew, and led away great numbers of its inhabitants; so that some think it did not recover this incursion for forty years, as had been foretold. At length he left the ruined land of Egypt; but whether he appointed Amasis for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to say; any more than whether Amasis and Apries stood their ground at last, and made head against the enemy; or whether they left him to act his pleasure in Egypt. This alone is certain, d that the Babylonian carried away immense spoil with him.

e AND now we resume the history of the civil war, which we have been obliged to interrupt, by taking a view of the devastation of the country by a foreign enemy. Apries marched from Sais, where he had a most sumptuous and delightful palace, at the head of 30,000 Carians and Ionians, and Amasis, on the other hand, was in motion at the head of an army of Egyptians. They met in the fields near Memphis; and Apries was so far from doubting the victory, that he is said to have entertained a notion, That it was not in the power even of any god to divest him of his kingdom, as he is upbraided by the prophet, *the river is mine, and I have made it*. Yet his confidence availed him nothing; the armies engaged near Memphis, and though the foreigners did wonders, yet they were overpowered by the multitude of the Egyptians, and were utterly overthrown, and Apries himself taken prisoner.

f AMASIS of the tribe of Sais now possessed the whole kingdom. He confined Apries in the palace of Sais, formerly his own; and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and could not rest whilst Apries enjoyed life: And therefore, murmuring against Amasis, and remonstrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himself under a necessity of delivering Apries into their hands. And being thus fallen under the power of those who sought his life, they strangled him, and laid his body

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. DION. ubi supr. <sup>c</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>d</sup> Ezek. xxix. 18, 19. <sup>e</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. DION. ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> HEROD. ubi supr. <sup>g</sup> Ezek. xxix. 3. <sup>h</sup> PLATO in Tim.

<sup>a</sup> Jerem. ubi supr.

in the sepulchre of his ancestors, which was in the temple of *Minerva*, adjoining to the palace, on the left hand going in. Here it was that all the princes of the tribe of *Sais* were intombed<sup>1</sup>.

WE know it is said that *Amasis* did not thus seat himself on the throne; and that he did not succeed *Apries*. It was one *Partamis*, say they, whom *Amasis* succeeded, and that, by the following incident. *Partamis* celebrated his birth-day, *Amasis*, as yet a private person, presented him with a most beautiful and elegant garland of flowers: Whereupon, being invited to the table as a guest, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends; he was at last sent at the head of an army to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had rebelled; but the army made him king out of the hatred they bore to *Partamis* \*. We are inclined to think, that the *Partamis* here, and the *Palarbemis* above, are the same man; and, if so, he was rather the idol of the people's affections, than the object of their hatred. But we forbear enlarging any farther on this, and shall only say, that the author, in whose writings we find this, is not always the most faithful transcriber.

WHOEVER *Amasis* succeeded, and which way soever he came by the crown, it is universally allowed, that he was of plebeian extraction. And perceiving at first that it was with reluctance, the people payed him the respect due to the sublimity of his station, he took a golden cistern, in which his guests were used to wash their feet, and ordered it to be melted down, and cast in the shape of a god. This precious idol was set up in the most frequented part of the city; and all paid devout reverence and honour to it. He then called an assembly of the *Egyptians*, and acquainted them, That the god they now worshipped was made of the vessel in which they had often pissed, vomited, and washed their feet: That his own case was the same; formerly he was a mean person, but, being now their king, he expected and required they should honour and obey him as such. It was a rule with him to attend closely to business every morning, and to divert himself with his friends the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry with them: But his mirth was mixed with somewhat of too base an alloy for a king; at which some of his friends were scandalized, and assured him, that such forgetfulness of his dignity would draw the contempt of all his subjects upon him. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly lose much of its spring and force, and in the end be wholly useless; so a man who should, uninterruptedly, attend to serious matters, would grow stupid and lose his senses: And being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between business and diversion. And indeed it is said of him, that when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jest; and was so averse to business, that he supported himself in his riot and luxury by thieving. And in consequence of this heinous practice, being oftentimes accused, and continually denying his guilt, they were wont to carry him to the oracle of the place, wherever he was, by which he was sometimes convicted, and sometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former transactions of his life, and calling to mind the deceitfulness and ignorance of the oracles, who had pronounced him innocent, he slighted the temples of such gods, abstained from their sacrifices, and refused to present them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered those for veracity and sapience who had not spared to disclose his crime.

The public  
works of  
*Amasis*.

HE built a portico to the temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, which was of the utmost magnificence, both in respect to its grandeur, and the wonderful materials which composed it, adorning it with colossuses, and the monstrous images of *Androsphynges*. Part of the stones of this building were taken out of the quarries at *Memphis*; but the largest of them came by water from the city of *Elephantis*, twenty days passage on the river, and a great many of these he prepared for other works. But what is most to be admired, he removed a house all of one stone from the same city to *Sais*. The exterior dimensions of it were twenty one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high: The interior measures were eighteen, twelve, and five cubits. Two thousand mariners were employed three years in transporting this extraordinary edifice. It stood near the entrance of the temple, and was never carried quite in, either, as was said, because the chief engineer sighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work, and therefore *Amasis*, who stood by, taking offence, would never suffer him to have any thing more to do with it; or, because rolling it in towards the temple, one of the men was crushed to death by it, and therefore it might not be advanced any farther. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he bestowed upon

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. ubi supr.

\* HELLANIC. apud Athen: *Deipno*. l. 15. p. 680.

- a the other celebrated temples, and particularly at *Memphis*; where, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he caused a colossus of seventy five foot in length to be laid on its back, the face looking upwards: And on the same basis or pavement whereon this lay, he erected two statues of twenty foot high, cut out of the same stone, and standing one on each side of the great one. In *Sais* there was just such another colossus as this. To conclude this head, It was this *Amasis* who built the great temple of *Isis* at *Memphis*.

- Moreover, *Egypt* is said to have been perfectly happy during his reign, in the regular overflowing of the *Nile*, and to have contained no less than 20,000 populous cities. And, that good order might the better subsist in the midst of so vast a multitude, *Amasis* enacted a law, whereby every *Egyptian* was bound once a year to inform the governor of the province by what means he earned his living, and in default thereof to suffer death; which also was the punishment now ordained for those who were not able to give a very satisfactory account of themselves<sup>1</sup>: And for this, and for other laws he enacted, he is stiled the fifth law-giver of *Egypt*<sup>2</sup>.

- He was a great friend to the *Greeks*, received a visit from *Solon*<sup>3</sup>. And, besides the favours he conferred on particular persons and cities of that nation, he allowed as many as pleased to come into *Egypt*, and to settle, either in the most celebrated mart of *Naucratis*, or drive on their trade upon the sea-coasts; and granted them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected several temples, the most frequented and noted of which was called the *Grecian* temple, being built at the joint charge of the *Ionian* cities of *Chio*, *Teos*, *Phocæa*, and *Clazomene*; together with the *Dorians* of *Rhodes*, *Cnidus*, *Halicarnassus*, *Phaselis*, and of the *Eolians*, except the city of *Mytelene*. Those of *Ægina* also built a temple to *Jupiter* at their sole expence; the *Samians* another to *Juno*, and the *Milesians*, a third to *Apollo*. And to conclude, the *Greeks* elected officers to preside over their commercial affairs, and over their religion, and from henceforward were a considerable body in *Egypt*.

- So great was the fame of *Amasis* for his generosity and humanity, that when the *Delpbians*, whose temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raise such a contribution as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was imposed on them, they applied not only to the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, but also to *Amasis* himself, who gave them a thousand talents of *Alom*. He made an alliance with the *Cyrenæans*, and being desirous of a *Grecian* woman, or else willing to give an ample testimony of the affection he had for that people, he married *Ladice*, the daughter of *Battus*, according to some; but others said she was daughter of *Arcefilaus*; and others again, of *Critobulus*, a person of high authority among the *Cyrenæans*. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and could not be consummated without the intervention of a deity. For *Amasis*, though he at the same time found no impediment in himself with regard to other women, was sensible of a total inability in reference to his wife. Whereupon he, after some time, concluded she had enchanted him, and practised some infernal art to debilitate him; and therefore told her one night as they lay together, That as deeply verfed as she was in supernatural contrivances, she should not have it in her power to escape the vengeance he intended to take on her, for the wickedness and ingratitude she had been guilty of towards him. She earnestly denied the unkind accusation, and endeavoured to give him a better opinion of her; but in vain. In this distress she sighed out a prayer to *Venus*, and implored her aid, vowing, in case of deliverance, to send a statue of her to *Cyrene*, and erect it there. The goddess was propitious, and *Amasis* found himself like other men (the only expedient that could be effectual in this extremity) and continued to use *Ladice* as his wife, with the greatest tenderness and affection. *Ladice* performed her vow to the goddess, whose statue set up by her was seen without the gates of *Cyrene* some ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was doubtless called, brought the gods of the *Grecians* into as much credit with *Amasis* as themselves; as should seem by the consecrated donations he sent into *Greece*. To the city of *Cyrene* he sent a gilded statue of *Minerva*, and his own picture done from the life. To the city of *Lindus* he gave two stone statues of the same goddess, with a linnen pectoral or stomacher wonderfully wrought and adorned. To *Samos* he sent two wooden images of himself, which remained standing, several ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of *Juno*. This donation he made to *Samos* for the sake of *Polycrates*, with whom he was in especial alliance. As for *Lindus*, it was reported that the daughters of *Danaus* founded the temple of *Minerva*.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 202. *HEROD.* ubi supr.<sup>2</sup> *DION.* ubi supr. p. 85.<sup>3</sup> *HEROD.* lib. 1.  
nervæ

Conquers Cy-  
prus.

nera there, when they fled from the sons of *Egyptus*. And add to all the great things <sup>a</sup> which have been hitherto said of him, he was the first that subdued *Cyprus*, and that exacted tribute from its inhabitants \*.

His latter days  
unhappy,

HITHERTO we have represented this reign in the pompous colours the *Egyptian* priests bestowed on it; and under so prudent a prince as it is likely *Amasis* was, the greatest part of what they said may be true enough: But they dwell so much on the glory of this reign, as well as of those that preceded it, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. *Xenophon* writes, that *Cyrus* conquered *Egypt*<sup>o</sup>; and if so, it must have been during this long reign; and *Herodotus* says, that *Amasis* and *Cresus* were leagued together against *Cyrus* \*. It is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzar* almost ruined the whole kingdom; but we find no acknowledgment of it among profane <sup>b</sup> authors, who, so far as they have touched upon the *Egyptians*, have copied their archives, or depended upon the oral traditions of their priests. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their dishonour, they frankly confessed it. For, according to themselves, the latter days of *Amasis* were darkened by a dreadful storm, which threatened the utter ruin of *Egypt*; and though he died just soon enough to escape the rage of it, yet his dead body was so cruelly abused and destroyed, that could he have been sensible of the hard fate he was doomed to in that particular, he, according to the *Egyptian* superstition, would have thought the loss of his kingdom a trifle, if compared with it.

and why.

FOR by some means or other *Amasis* had incensed *Cambyfes* the *Persian* (who was <sup>c</sup> naturally a rash and hot-headed prince) against him to so implacable a degree as has scarce its parallel in the history of any nation. The seeds from whence this enmity sprang are not positively, nor perhaps at all known to us. On the one hand it is said, That *Amasis* sending an *Egyptian* oculist to *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, who had desired to have the best in his kingdom; the man whose fortune it was to be chosen by the king for this purpose, took it much at heart that he should be thus as it were exiled from his wife and children, and sent into *Persia*; and especially since *Cyrus* had desired the best oculist in *Egypt*, which he was conscious himself was not. The angry *Egyptian* continuing in *Persia*, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of *Cambyfes*, prevailed on him to send an herald to *Amasis*, to demand his daughter to wife, assured <sup>d</sup> that whether *Amasis* complied with this request or not, he should have his full measure of revenge on him. *Cambyfes* hearkned to this man, and did as he had suggested. When the *Persian* herald came to *Amasis*, he knew not which way to resolve: He dreaded the *Persian* power if he refused, and was ashamed of the dishonour which must be reflected on his family if he complied, knowing, that instead of being a wife, his daughter would be no better than the *Persian's* concubine. At last he be-  
thought him, that his predecessor was survived by an only daughter, of great beauty and majestic deportment, called *Nitetis*. Her therefore he sent with all the pomp and splendor befitting his own daughter, to *Cambyfes* in *Persia*; who, when he saw her, saluted her by the title of daughter to *Amasis*. To this she immediately answered, <sup>e</sup> that *Amasis* had deceived him; that she was not his daughter; but the unhappy child of the unfortunate *Apries*, whom *Amasis* had put to death, and whose throne he had ungratefully usurped. At this *Cambyfes* was fired with indignation, and vowed destruction to *Amasis*. This was the story the *Persians* told: But this is not likely to be true; for at this time *Nitetis* must have been somewhat upwards of forty years old, or at least near it; and therefore but ill qualified for the bed of *Cambyfes*. But secondly, the *Egyptians*, to give themselves some credit, even in this destructive mis-  
understanding, claimed kindred with *Cambyfes*, and said, that it was *Cyrus* who sent for the daughter of *Amasis*, and that *Cambyfes* was the son of *Nitetis*. This may give a better account of the dreadful malice he wrecked upon *Amasis* in revenge of <sup>f</sup> his unhappy grandfather *Apries*; which, as is said, he was excited to by his mother. But *Herodotus* declares it was contrary to the custom of the *Persians* to admit of a son of the half-blood to succeed as heir to the kingdom. Thirdly, it was reported, that a *Persian* lady being admitted to the presence of the king's women, and admiring the children of *Cassandana*, was answered by her, That notwithstanding she was the wife of *Cyrus* and the mother of those fine children; yet he neglected her, and preferred an *Egyptian* servant, meaning *Nitetis*, before her: Which *Cambyfes* her eldest son, at that time but ten years of age, hearing, told her, that when he came to be a man he would for her sake ruin all *Egypt*. This, say they, he remembered, and acted accordingly: But, notwithstanding what is here said, we choose to think <sup>g</sup>

\* HEROD. ubi supr. DIOD. ubi supr. ° CYROPÆDIA sub fine. ° HEROD. l. i.



a with Dean *Prideaux*, that *Amasis* having subjected himself as a *tributary* to *Cyrus*, upon his death withdrew his obedience from his successor. Having thus laid before you the several causes of this war, as we find them, we leave *Cambyfes* to his preparation for it, and return to *Amasis*.

WHILST this cloud was gathering, *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*, a commander of *Amasis* is betrayed by *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*. the *Grecian* auxiliaries, in the pay of *Amasis*, took some private disgust, and quitted *Egypt* to go into *Persia*. He was a prudent counsellor, a valiant captain, perfectly well acquainted with every thing that related to *Egypt*; and besides, had great credit with the *Greeks* in these dominions. *Amasis* was immediately sensible how great the loss of this man would be to him, and how much he had it in his power to strengthen the hands of *Cambyfes*, or any prince else, who should undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haste he sent a trusty eunuch with a swift galley to pursue him; and he was taken in *Lycia*. However, he was not brought back to *Egypt*; for making his guard drunk, he continued his journey to *Persia*, and presented himself to *Cambyfes*, as he was meditating the downfall of *Egypt*, which he forwarded by his counsel and discoveries, as *Amasis* had rightly foreseen.

We have already observed, that there had been an especial harmony between *Amasis* and *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*; but a misunderstanding arising between them, *Polycrates*, when occasion offered, joined *Cambyfes* against the *Egyptian* his former ally. For *Amasis* receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted successes and depredations of this *Samian*, feared that in the end some heavy disaster would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore sent him this letter, to the following purpose: *Amasis* to *Polycrates*, greeting. . . . It is with pleasure I hear of the happy state of my friend and ally. Nevertheless I fear for thy great prosperities, knowing the unsteadiness of fortune. For my part, I should rather choose, that my affairs and those also of my friends should be sometimes prosperous, and sometimes unhappy, than have them go on with continued success. Therefore do thou now bearken to my counsel, and do as I shall bid thee, to take away from thy happiness: Consider then with thyself what thou possessest of greatest value to thyself; and what would the most bitterly grieve thee, if lost: And when thou hast found it, cast it away from thee, so that it may never more be beheld by man. If thy happiness, after this, knoweth no mixture of evil, preserve thyself against the sorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the remedy I have shown thee. When *Amasis* heard that *Polycrates* had taken his advice, and had accordingly thrown a very valuable signet into the sea, but that it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fish, and restored to him; he gave him over as the most unhappy of men, and dreading to partake as a friend in some dismal calamity, which he feared must befall him, he dispatched a herald to *Samos* to renounce the alliance, and all the obligations between him and *Polycrates*, that he might not mourn his misfortune with the sorrow of a friend. *Amasis*, by thus dissolving the league between him and the *Samian*, left *Polycrates* to act against him, if his inclination led him so to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ships to *Cambyfes*, to assist him in his invasion of *Egypt*. Thus we see *Amasis* in danger from an inexorable, cruel, and most powerful enemy, in concert with a disgusted and formidable friend. But before the dreadful day came his life ended, after he had reigned forty four years. His dead body was embalmed, and deposited in a sepulchre he had built for himself in the temple at *Sais*; but there, to speak in the ancient *Egyptian* phrase, he enjoyed but a short repose, as will be seen hereafter. He was succeeded by his son, called *Psammenitus*. His death.  
Year of the  
Flood, 2474.  
Year before  
Christ, 525.

THE following reign, in which *Egypt* submitted to a foreign yoke, was of very short duration, and deeply calamitous. For *PSAMMENITUS* the son of *Amasis* was scarce seated on the throne, when he was forced to put himself at the head of an army, with which he marched to *Pelusium*, and there encamped to give battle to the *Persian*, who now drew near, to vent his fury upon *Egypt*. Under this new king a fearful prodigy happened; showers of rain fell at *Thebes*, where it had never been known to rain before. This was doubtless construed to portend a change, and a great one soon followed it: For now *Cambyfes*, by the aid and assistance of the king of *Arabia*, and the politic counsel of *Phanes*, had crossed the dry and sandy deserts, and coming in sight of the *Egyptian* camp, immediately drew up to give them battle. The *Egyptians* prepared themselves for an assault, and in the interim their *Carian* and *Ionian* auxiliaries gave a dreadful instance of their zeal in the cause of *Psammenitus*, and detestation of their traiterous countryman *Phanes*. For they led his



*He is over-  
thrown by  
Cambyses.*

sons he had left behind him out of the camp, and butchered them over a bowl, <sup>a</sup> which received their blood in sight of the father and his new friends; and pouring wine and water into the same, drank off of that cruel and unnatural mixture, and then began the onset. The fight was obstinately maintained on both sides; but in the end the *Egyptians* gave ground, and fled in great confusion to *Memphis*. Here they soon after were guilty of a horrid and imprudent outrage towards a herald whom *Cambyses* sent to them in a ship of *Mytelene*; for they no sooner saw her come into the port than they flocked down to the shore, destroyed the ship, and tore the *Persian* herald and all the crew to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. Not long after, they were closely besieged by the *Persians*, and in the end obliged to surrender; and therewith fell the glory of *Egypt*. <sup>b</sup> The news of this struck such a terror upon the minds of the *Libyans*, *Cyrenæans* and *Barcæans*, that they humbled themselves to *Cambyses*, and implored his protection.

*Taken prisoner, and loses his kingdom.*

*The particulars of his captivity*

UPON the tenth day after *Memphis* had been taken, *Psammetus* and the chief of the *Egyptian* nobility were sent ignominiously into the suburbs of that city to act a part in one of the most doleful tragedies that can be conceived: For, being there seated in a proper place, he saw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor slave, with a pitcher, to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the greatest families in *Egypt*, all in the same miserable garb, and going on the same errand, with pitchers in their hands; all weeping and wailing with the utmost lamentation. When the fathers saw their children in this distress, and reduced to so fordid a degradation, they burst out into tears, and could not contain themselves, all but *Psammetus*, who, though ready to sink under the burthen of his grief, only cast his eyes towards the ground, and there fixed them. These past by; came the son of *Psammetus* and two thousand of the chief *Egyptian* youths, all with bits in their mouths, and halters round their necks, going to be executed, to expiate the murder of the *Persian* herald, and *Mytelenean* sailors. But *Psammetus*, like one perfectly stupified, as they passed by, observed the very same conduct as before, whilst the *Egyptians* about him cried out with the loudest lamentations. A short space afterwards he saw an intimate friend and companion, who now that he was advanced in years, was plundered of all he had, and walking up and down the suburbs begging his bread. <sup>c</sup> As soon as he perceived this man he wept bitterly, and calling out to him by his name, struck himself on the head as one frantic. Now *Psammetus* had spies privately set over him to mark his behaviour, and they instantly repaired to *Cambyses*, and gave him a particular account of it; and soon after a messenger came from him to the captive king to know what might be the reason of it. To this he answered, "That the calamities of his own family confounded him, and <sup>d</sup> were too great to be expressed by any outward signs of grief; but the distressed necessity of a bosom friend gave him more room for reflection, and therefore extorted tears from him." By this answer he wrought so much upon *Cambyses*, that he sent to stop the execution of his son; but his orders were given too late; for the young prince was the first put to death. At the same time *Psammetus* himself was sent for into the city, and restored to his liberty: And had he not betrayed a desire of change and revenge, he might have been entrusted with the administration of *Egypt*; but being vindictively disposed, he was seized, and condemned to drink bull's blood; and so ended his life after a dismal reign of six months, and a short captivity; and with him fell the ancient splendor and liberty of *Egypt*.

*and death.*

*The dead body of Amasis burnt; and the god Apis slain.*

THE *Egyptians* now felt the heavy pressure of conquest in a very extraordinary manner. They saw their late king *Amasis* inhumanly taken out of his tomb, cruelly mangled, and finally burnt. They saw their god *Apis* slain, and their priests ignominiously scourged; all which made such dreadful impressions on the minds of the whole nation, that they afterwards bore a most uncommon aversion to the *Persians*, and never remained quiet under their dominion. <sup>e</sup>

*Egypt a province of the Persian empire.*

THUS were the *Egyptians* reduced to the lowest degree of submission; their royal line was extinct; their religion was trampled on in the most outrageous manner; and themselves persecuted and despised for the profession they made of it.

A PEOPLE who had been bred up to such a solemn observance of the institutions of their forefathers, must needs think themselves unhappy under such governours as held their laws in derision; and therefore they continually consulted how they might shake off the intolerable yoke of their *Persian* oppressors. <sup>f</sup>

a AT length they broke out into an open revolt in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes* and *The Egyptians* continued in a state of rebellion against the *Persians* all the first year of *Xerxes*<sup>1</sup>; but <sup>revolt from</sup> in the second year<sup>2</sup> of the same prince they were reduced to harder subjection than <sup>the Persians;</sup> before, as is usually the case; and had one *Achæmenes*, brother to *Xerxes*, for their <sup>but subdued</sup> again. governour.

BUT the more severity they suffered, the more they were exasperated. In the <sup>Year of the</sup> fifth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* they revolted again, chose *INARUS* king of *Li-* <sup>Flood, 2539.</sup> *bya* to fill their throne; and called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who cheerfully <sup>Year before</sup> embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Persians* out of *Egypt*<sup>3</sup>. The *Egyptians* <sup>Christ, 460.</sup> almost succeeded in their design. The *Athenians* falling on the *Persian* fleet at sea, <sup>Revolt a se-</sup> took and destroyed fifty sail of them; and then sailing up the *Nile*, landed under the <sup>cond time, and</sup> command of *Chiritimis*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Libyans* under *Inarus*. They <sup>of Inarus</sup> all attacked *Achæmenes* the *Persian* general, though his army was 300,000 strong; <sup>for the 1. 2.</sup> of whom there fell 100,000, together with the general himself. The rest betook themselves to flight, and returned to *Memphis*; but being pursued by the *Egyptians*, they took refuge in a very considerable, and by much the best fortified part of that city, called the *white castle*. The *Egyptians* had the rest of it, and blocked up the *Persians* three years within this citadel.

BY this success the *Egyptians* hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themselves and descendants; but their prosperity was by no means of long duration. c They were at the end of three years obliged to raise the siege of the *white castle* by the *Persian* army, under the command of *Artabazus* governour of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governour of *Syria*<sup>4</sup>. Yet in the mean time, when *Inarus* heard of the formidable preparations which were making by these *Persian* governours to relieve the besieged, he redoubled the attacks on this strong castle, and made the utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place<sup>5</sup>.

IN the third year of this siege, and the ninth of *Artaxerxes*, *Inarus* and his auxiliaries were not only obliged to raise the siege of the *white castle*, but also defeated with a fearful slaughter, which fell chiefly on the *Egyptians*. In this fight *Inarus* was d wounded by *Megabyzus*; but nevertheless he retreated with his *Athenian* confederates, and such of the *Egyptians* as adhered to him, to the city of *Biblus* in the island of *Prosopitis*, which being washed on each side by navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenian* fleet was stationed in one of them; and here they held out a siege of a year and a half. But the bulk of the *Egyptians* submitted to the conqueror, and acknowledged *Artaxerxes* for their sovereign; all but *Amyrtæus*; he retreated with a party into the *Fens*, where he ruled many years; not in the least molested by the *Persians*, who were never able to get at him through the inaccessibleness of the place.

IN the mean time *Inarus* and his auxiliaries on the island of *Prosopitis* were busy <sup>Inarus taken</sup> in defending themselves against the *Persians*, who attacked them with great-vigour: <sup>prisoner, and</sup> But these finding that bare strength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the be- <sup>Egypt reduced</sup> sieged, had recourse to art and stratagem; for, draining the branch of the *Nile* in <sup>again to the</sup> which the *Athenian* fleet rode, they at once rendered the shipping useless, and made a passage, by which the whole body of their army might march over to the island. When *Inarus* saw this, he, and all the *Egyptians* and fifty of his *Athenian* auxiliaries delivered themselves up to *Megabyzus*, on the condition of being secured in their lives: The rest of the *Athenians*, being six thousand in number, set fire to their ships, resolved to die sword in hand; which the *Persians* perceiving, thought it advisable to offer them some reasonable terms: And this they did, and their proposals were accepted<sup>6</sup>. The *Athenians* had sent a fleet of fifty sail to relieve the island of *Prosopitis*, where their citizens were in conjunction with the *Egyptians*; but they arrived f too late, and as soon as they entered the river, were assaulted by the *Persians*, both on the river, and from the shore; so that they all perished<sup>7</sup>. And thus ended the war between *Inarus* king of *Egypt* and *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia*, under whom the *Egyptians* ever afterwards remained quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. *Sartamas* was appointed governour of *Egypt*, and *Inarus* was carried prisoner to *Susa*, and was there crucified, notwithstanding the promise he had of his life when he surrendered<sup>8</sup>.

AMYRTEUS the *Saïte* in the mean time held the *Fens*, and in the fifteenth year

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. lib. 7.    <sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>3</sup> THUCYDID. lib. 1. CTESIUS.    <sup>4</sup> THUCYDID. ubi sup. CTESIUS. DIOD. SIC. l. xi.    <sup>5</sup> CTESIUS DIOD. ubi sup. p. 281.    <sup>6</sup> THUCYDID. ubi sup. CTESIUS. DIOD. ubi sup. p. 282.    <sup>7</sup> THUCYDID. ubi sup.    <sup>8</sup> CTESIUS.

of *Artaxerxes*, was joined by a fleet of sixty sail of *Athenian* ships<sup>c</sup>; but nothing of moment was transacted at this time to the prejudice of the *Persians* in *Egypt*.

The Egyptians  
revolt a third  
time, and  
Amyrtæus  
heads them.

In the tenth year of *Darius Nolbus* the *Egyptians* revolted once more from the *Persians*. For *Amyrtæus* being apprized of the discontents of the *Egyptians*, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty and independance, sallied out of his *Fens*, and being joined by all the *Egyptians*, he drove the *Persians* out of the kingdom, and became king of *Egypt* in its full extent<sup>d</sup>.

Year of the  
flood, 2583.  
Year before  
Christ, 416.

Amyrtæus  
king.  
Pausiris.

*AMYRTÆUS* thus in possession of the kingdom of *Egypt* by the total expulsion of the *Persians*, resolved to attack them in *Phœnicia* also, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him in this undertaking<sup>e</sup>. But he was engaged by *Darius* in person and overthrown; about which time *Amyrtæus* either died or was slain in the battle.

*PAUSIRIS* his son succeeded him in the kingdom, with the consent of the *Persians*<sup>f</sup>. And now the *Egyptians*, though perhaps tributary to the *Persians*, had a governour of their own nation to alleviate the burthen of it.

*PSAMMITICHUS* succeeded *Pausiris*. He was descended from the famous *Psammitichus*, whose history we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign; For *Tamus*, who had been admiral in the *Persian* service, though he was a *Memphite* by birth, thinking it advisable for reasons of state to leave the *Persian* service, and confiding in the friendship of *Psammitichus*, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, put all his family and effects on board his ships, and sailed for *Egypt*. But when *Psammitichus* heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he, unmindful of what *Tamus* merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hospitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and having slain him, his family and all his followers, seized on those treasures which *Tamus* hoped to have enjoyed in his native country<sup>g</sup>. This is all we know concerning this cruel prince.

Nephereus.

*NEPHEREUS* was his successor. This king was invited by the *Lacedæmonians* into a confederacy against the *Persians*; and he sent them a squadron of an hundred gallies to carry on the war by sea, and 600,000 measures [*busbels*] of corn for the subsistence of their army; but the vessels which were laden with this valuable present ignorantly putting into *Rhodes*, whose inhabitants had just then thrown themselves under the protection of the *Persian* fleet, which then rode at anchor there under the command of *Conon* the *Athenian*, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the *Lacedæmonians*<sup>h</sup>.

Acoris.

*ACORIS* succeeded *Nephereus*. He joined in league with *Euagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and the *Arabians* and *Tyrians*, and *Barcæans*, a people of *Libya*, against the *Persians*. *Acoris* sent some forces to the assistance of *Euagoras*, the chief of this confederacy, who being defeated, came into *Egypt* to engage *Acoris* to assist him with his utmost strength; but *Acoris* could not be prevailed on to come so totally into his measures, and dismissed him therefore with a supply of money, by no means equal to the necessities of that distressed prince. Soon after *Gaus*, the only survivor of the family of *Tamus*, whom *Psammitichus* murdered for the sake of his wealth, and as well as his father had been now promoted to the degree of an admiral in the *Persian* service, being disgusted at the ill usage of *Tiribazus* the king of *Persia*'s general in the former part of the *Cyprian* war against *Euagoras*, revolted from the *Persians*, in which he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army; and entered into a league with *Acoris* and the *Lacedæmonians*. But the year after *Gaus* was treacherously slain by some under him; and *Tachos*, who had undertaken to execute the same project, dying in the midst of it, the whole fell to the ground, and the *Persians* were freed from the troublesome effects which threatened them from this new alliance<sup>i</sup>.

It was now thirty years since the *Egyptians* had shaken off the *Persian* yoke under *Amyrtæus*, and had all along, upon all occasions, signalized their aversion to the *Persian* government. But *Artaxerxes Mnemon* being at full leisure to chastise them, they once more were threatened with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both sides. *Acoris* joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Cabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own subjects<sup>j</sup>; but the *Persians* being

<sup>c</sup> PLUTARCH in vita Cimon. THUCYDID. ubi supr. DIOD. ubi supr. p. <sup>d</sup> EUSEBIUS in Chronico. <sup>e</sup> DIOD. SIC. lib. 13. p. 355. <sup>f</sup> HEROD. lib. 3. <sup>g</sup> DIOD. SIC. lib. 14. p. 415. <sup>h</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 438. JUSTIN. lib. 6. c. 2. OROSIUS lib. 3. <sup>i</sup> THEOPOMP. in Excerpt. Photii. DIOD. SIC. lib. 15. p. 459. <sup>j</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 471.

- a dilatory in their proceedings as usual, *Acoris* died before it commenced, and was succeeded by

PSAMMUTHIS, who reigned only a year<sup>a</sup>

Psammuthis.

AFTER him NEPHEROTES (who is called the last of the *Mendesian* race) reigned four months<sup>b</sup>.

AND then NECTANEBIS, the first of the *Sebennytic* race\*. In the second year of his reign the *Persian* army and fleet came upon his coasts and borders, and made attempts first upon *Pelusium*: But *Nectanebis* having had time sufficient to prepare himself, that city and the county about it, were so well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impression could be made there. The commanders on the *Persian* side differing in their counsels, and entertaining jealousies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for, though they entered the *Mendesian* mouth of the Nile, and possessed themselves of the fortress that guarded it, and struck the *Egyptians* with the utmost consternation; yet they gave them time to recover heart again: For *Nectanebis* lodged a sufficient garrison in *Memphis*, and taking the field, with the rest of his forces, so annoyed *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* general, that he could make no considerable progress up the country; and the Nile, at the accustomed period, overflowing the land, the *Persians* were obliged to march off; which they did with considerable loss<sup>c</sup>. Thus ended this war.

- b an side differing in their counsels, and entertaining jealousies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for, though they entered the *Mendesian* mouth of the Nile, and possessed themselves of the fortress that guarded it, and struck the *Egyptians* with the utmost consternation; yet they gave them time to recover heart again: For *Nectanebis* lodged a sufficient garrison in *Memphis*, and taking the field, with the rest of his forces, so annoyed *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* general, that he could make no considerable progress up the country; and the Nile, at the accustomed period, overflowing the land, the *Persians* were obliged to march off; which they did with considerable loss<sup>c</sup>. Thus ended this war.

- c ABOUT five years afterwards *Agésilas* king of *Sparta* came as an ambassador to *Nectanebis* to solicit succours for the *Lacedæmonians*, then driven to great distress by the *Thebans*<sup>d</sup>. Seven years after this *Nectanebis* died.

TACHOS succeeded him. He gathered together all the strength he was able, to defend his country against the ambitious designs of the *Persians*, who, notwithstanding their many miscarriages, had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting *Egypt* to their dominion once more. To strengthen himself the better, he sent to *Greece* to raise mercenaries; and succeeded so well in his application to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they dispatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of *Agésilas*<sup>e</sup>. *Tachos* had promised this king, that he should be generalissimo of all the forces; but upon the first interview, he conceived such disadvantageous ideas of the good old Monarch,

- d that he thenceforward slighted his counsels, and despised his person. He expected to have seen a gay and magnificent man, whose habit and train were equal to the same and splendor of his exploits, and not a plain, mean-looking old man. This hasty and ill-grounded impression may be properly enough said to have been the ruin of *Tachos*, as will be plainly seen. For *Tachos* allowed *Agésilas* to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first cause of his aversion to *Tachos*. The command of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias* the *Albenian*, reserving to himself the supreme direction of all. Having joined his mercenaries and *Egyptians* together, he marched out of *Egypt*, designing to attack the *Persians* in *Phœnicia*, contrary to the advice of *Agésilas*, who represented to him the unsettled state of *Egypt*, and remonstrated how much more it would be for his interest to manage the war by lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom. The event shewed, that *Agésilas*'s counsels was the result of a very prudent forecast; for while *Tachos* was in *Phœnicia* the *Egyptians* revolted, and set up his kinsman *Nectanebus* in his stead. *Agésilas* taking this opportunity to vent his resentment against *Tachos*, joined *Nectanebus*, and deprived the other of his kingdom, who fled through *Arabia*, and went to the king of *Persia*.

- f NECTANEBUS was scarce seated on the throne when a *Mendesian* rose up in opposition to him with a force consisting of 100,000 men. *Nectanebus* was now advised by *Agésilas* to fall on them immediately, and disperse them before they had formed themselves into a regular body by discipline: But he took it into his head, that *Agésilas* intended to betray him, as he had betrayed *Tachos*, and therefore gave no ear to him. In the mean time the enemy gathered strength and regular order, every day, and became so formidable a body, that *Nectanebus* was constrained to shut himself up in one of his towns, and endure a siege. He would now have urged *Agésilas* to sally out upon the besiegers, that putting them into disorder, he might in

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 253. <sup>b</sup> See before, *ibid.* <sup>c</sup> See before, *ibid.* <sup>d</sup> DIOD. *ubi sup.* p. 478, 479. CORNEL. NEPOS, in *Iphicrate*. <sup>e</sup> PLUTARCH. in *Agésilas*. <sup>f</sup> *Idem.* *ibid.* DIOD. *ubi sup.* p. 506.

the mean time march out himself and take the field : And because he refused to comply, *Neftanebus* grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy had run their lines almost round the town ; which when *Agefilaus* perceived, he told *Neftanebus*, that now was his time to sally out ; that by the line the besiegers had raised, they would not be able to encompass him ; and that the gap which was not yet filled up, was wide enough for him to march through with safety and convenience. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which the besiegers were defeated ; and the remaining part of the war being left to the management of *Agefilaus*, *Neftanebus*'s competitor was every where driven out of the field, and at length taken prisoner. And thus was *Neftanebus* settled in the full and quiet possession of the kingdom of *Egypt*.

He is joined by  
the Sidonians,  
Phœnicians,  
and Cypriots,  
against the  
Persians.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians* revolted from the king of *Persia*, and entered into a confederacy with him against that monarch. This happened very opportunely for him ; for as the *Persians* had been in constant agitation against him, and were now making vast preparations to reduce *Egypt*, he had a very good barrier, seeing the *Persian* forces could not approach his borders, but by marching through *Phœnicia*. Therefore, to keep up their spirits, *Neftanebus* detached a body of four thousand *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a distance. The *Phœnicians*, encouraged by this supply, drove the *Persians* out of their territories ; and immediately after, the *Cypriots* joined in the alliance against *Persia*. *Darius Oebus* finding that his lieutenants made no progress in the suppression of these revolters, resolved to head his troops in person, keeping his eye chiefly upon *Egypt*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian* when he heard this, and the prodigious numbers of the *Persian* army, went over to the king of *Persia*, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him signal service by his knowledge of the country of *Egypt*, and every thing that related to it : But we are not now on the affairs of *Persia*, which will be particularly treated in their proper place ; let us therefore turn our eyes towards *Neftanebus*. When he found that the king of *Persia* was thoroughly resolved to ruin him, and that he was by all means endeavouring to do it without interruption, and effectually, he got together an army of 100,000 men, consisting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians* ; but all of them did not amount to a third part of the

Is invaded by  
the Persians.

*Persian* army. With some of them he garrisoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the passes through which the *Persians* were to march. The *Persian* detached three bodies from his army. The first of them commanded by *Lachares* the *Theban*, sat down before *Pelusium*, garrisoned by five thousand *Greeks*. The second, under the command of *Nicostratus* the *Argive*, embarked on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, and sailing up the *Nile* into the midst of the country, landed there, and entrenched themselves strongly. Hereupon the whole country being alarmed, *Clinius* of the island of *Cos* mustered all the neighbouring garrisons, and offered to dislodge *Nicostratus* from his intrenchments. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy ; but at last the *Egyptians* gave way, having lost *Clinius* and five thousand more of their number, and were utterly broken and dispersed. The loss of this battle was the ruin of *Egypt*. For when *Neftanebus* heard it, he drew off from the passes, where he had very prudently posted himself, and marched for *Memphis* to defend that city against *Nicostratus*, who he feared had a design upon that capital with his victorious fleet and army. When the *Greek* garrison in *Pelusium* heard that *Neftanebus* had deserted his post, they thought there was no further room for hope ; and therefore they came to a parley with *Lachares*, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian* who commanded the third body of the *Persian* detachment, finding the passes unguarded, entered the country through them, and causing it to be universally spread abroad, That *Oebus* would graciously receive all that submitted ; but put to the sword such as resisted, as he had been known to have done before ; but the *Egyptians* and the *Egyptian Greeks* strove which should make the most early, and humble submission. This when *Neftanebus* saw, he was driven to despair, and taking what treasure he could carry with him, he fled from his palace in *Memphis* into *Ethiopia*, and never returned more. He was the last native *Egyptian* who governed *Egypt*, which has ever since been under foreign subjection.

And thus into  
*Ethiopia*.  
*Egypt* finally  
reduced by the  
*Persians*.  
Year of the  
Flood, 2642.  
Year before  
Christ 337.

*Neftanebus* lost his kingdom by relying too much on himself. He, as hath been shewn, was seated on the throne by *Agefilaus* : His wars against *Persia* (for they were always attempting a reduction of *Egypt*) were managed by the prudence and va-

Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. ubi supr. \* DIOD. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, 533. † Idem ubi supr. p. 532.



a our of *Diopbantus* the *Albenian*, and *Lamius* the *Lacedæmonian*; but arrogating to himself a share of their successes, he took upon him to act from his own notions and so brought ruin upon himself, and ignominy and slavery upon his subjects. For henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Persia*, till *Alexander* subverted that monarchy and was received by the *Egyptians* with open arms, as their deliverer from the *Persian* tyranny. They never had any tolerable understanding with that nation; which, it is likely, may have partly, if not chiefly, been owing to the wide difference between them in religious matters. We now conclude this section with the severe prediction of the prophet; *There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt*.\*

\* Idem ubi supr. p. 534, 535. \* Ezek. xxx. 13.

## SECT. VI.

*The succession of the kings of Egypt, according to the oriental historians.*

b **T**HE oriental history of *Egypt* differs so widely from that which is derived to us from the *Greeks*, that as it would be inexcusable to pass it entirely by; so to have mixed it with what we have lately transcribed from western historians, would have served only to increase that confusion which we have seen to be inexplicable already. Here therefore we intend to treat distinctly of the *Egyptian* history as it is represented to us by oriental authors; but we do not pretend to vouch for what we copy from them, or to make ourselves accountable for the difficulties which will at first sight arise from the accounts we are about to give. The *Arabian* and *Persian* writers pretend to draw their materials from the *chronicles* of the ancient *Copts*; they have therefore a just right to our attention, provided what they relate be credible in itself; if not, we are sure it cannot be more fabulous than the tales we have already heard from *Manetho* and the *Greeks*. No reason therefore can be assigned why we should prefer those to these, or why we should account the study of *eastern fables* folly at the same time that we dignify the reasonings of able men, on the unintelligible stories of the *Greeks*, with the specious name of learning<sup>a</sup>.

c It must be allowed, that there are many more original *histories* of this country to be found (even in *Europe*) in the *oriental* tongues, than are yet to be met with in *Greek*. It must likewise be granted, that the former are more methodical, more copious, and though in many things they may be as fabulous, yet experience hath demonstrated, that they contain as much, or more truth. The nature of this work will not allow us to unravel again the geography, natural history, and antiquities of *Egypt*, in order to demonstrate the justice of this assertion; and therefore, we shall content ourselves with a note on this subject, and pass on immediately to the proper matter of the section, (*viz.*) the history of the *Egyptian* kings in that order in which the most celebrated of the oriental writers have given them. (A)

<sup>a</sup> See the whole III. and IV. § in this chapter, and compare them with what follows.

(A) It is certainly without any great justice, that some over nice writers amongst the moderns, inveigh with such bitterness against the oriental authors in general, as if they wrote altogether without method, and delighted in nothing but prodigies and fables. What we have asserted above, is a fact of such unquestionable truth, that several sheets might be spent in forming the catalogue of all the oriental writers who have come even to our knowledge; but as we are by no means fond of perplexing our readers with useless citations, we will content ourselves with only marking a few, that they may be assured they are not imposed upon, but that the thing is as we represent it. The famous *Khondemir* wrote in the *Persian* tongue a universal history, under the title of a collection of the purest and most authentic accounts of the most remarkable events, drawn from the best ancient historians. This body of history was divided into twelve parts. The first, which was a kind of preface, contained the *cosmogony*. The second, the history of the prophets. The third, a chronological history of learning and learned men. The fourth, an account of the ancient monarchs of *Persia*, and of their kingdoms before *Mohammed*, in which we have an account of *Egypt*. This author finished his work A. D. 1471. and we beg leave to say, there were few authors in *Europe*, at that time, who could have wrote more methodically. As to

the particular histories of *Egypt*, we will mention only two. The first, relating to the country, the latter, to its monarchs. The first is that of *Abmed Al Makrizi*; he divided his book into seven parts. 1. He treated of the land of *Egypt* and its revenues. 2. Of its inhabitants. 3. Of the ancient *Babylon* in *Egypt*. 4. Of the city of *Caire* as it was in the time of the author. 5. Of the revolutions which had happened in *Caire*. 6. Of the castle of *Caire*, and of the princes who have resided therein. 7. Of the causes which have induced the ruin of *Egypt*. He wrote besides a copious history of all that happened in this country from the time it fell under the dominion of the *Caliphs*, to the year in which he died, *viz.* of the *Hefira*, 845. A. D. 1441. The other, *Joussuf Ben Tagri Wirdi*, who obtained the glorious surname of *Monazakh Mejr*, i. e. The historian of *Egypt*, by a work he composed in four volumes, containing the entire history of this country to the year 1449. Of which work he also made an abridgment, fearing, as he expresses it in his title, that it might be mutilated by another. The larger history was translated into *Turkish* by the command of the emperor *Selim*, which is sufficient to shew, that in the east there is no want either of historians, patrons, or critics, however barbarous we are pleased to think them. (1)

(1) Vid. HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Mejr, Macrizi, Joussuf Ben Tagri.*



In the first place we must take notice, that these authors divide the ancient Egyptian monarchs into three classes. The first of these are said to have ruled in this country before the creation of Adam, and amongst these they place *Gian Ben Gian*, to whom they ascribe the pyramids<sup>b</sup>. We shall not dwell at all upon this opinion, because it is certainly void of all foundation; that is, taking it in the light in which we are here obliged to consider it, viz. of an historical fact; but in itself this notion is no more ridiculous than that of *Descartes* concerning the origine of this world, which does not differ very far from it: For, if the earth was heretofore quite a different mass from what at present it is, and was afterwards reduced into a chaos from whence this world arose in the state it now is<sup>c</sup>, that body of matter, might, for ought we know, be inhabited by a race of beings such as the *Arabs* stile *Gin*, the *Persians* *Gin-mian*, and the *Turks* *Ginber*; that is to say, these stories, in our opinion, are alike incredible, and alike ingenious.

The second class of Egyptian kings are said to have reigned before the deluge. The account that is given of the people of this country in these early times stands thus: *Kraus*, who stood in the fifth degree from Adam, growing into dislike of the conduct of these who inhabited the country wherein he was born, drew together a company of seventy eight persons, and removing into Egypt, cleared that country of its woods, and finding it equally pleasant and fruitful, built the city of *Mesr*, so called from the name of his father, which he made the capital of his new kingdom. Authors are not agreed whether he derived from Cain, or from some other son of Adam; but the greatest part of them incline to think he was a Cainite of a gigantic stature, which opinion of theirs seems not altogether irreconcilable to the writings of *Moses*<sup>d</sup>. He is said to have reigned 180 years, but in what year of the world he acceded to the throne is not said. To him succeeded his son *Tegur*, or as others call him *Natras*, of whom we find nothing recorded that deserves mention.

*MESRAM*, whom some call the son, others the brother of the last mentioned prince, succeeded him; he was a great magician, and is said to have performed many strange things, and dying, left both his skill and his crown to his son.

*GANCAM*. He was a priest, a philosopher and magician, and in his reign it is said *Enoch* was translated. He had for his successor his son<sup>e</sup>.

*ARTAK*, who excelled all his predecessors in his skill in the occult sciences, by dint of which, it is pretended, that he did many wonders. We must remember that all the eastern historians agree in this notion, that the study of magic, and commerce with spirits, was the great crime of the *Antediluvians*; in which, if we may so speak, they are supported by those writings which go under the name of the patriarchs, particularly, that treatise which is ascribed to *Enoch*. It is likewise said, that in the reign of this Egyptian monarch, the angels, *Harut* and *Marut*, descended from heaven, and conversed with men, which is likewise of a piece with what is recorded in the book beforementioned; whence it appears, that these fables are very ancient, and have been generally received, no doubt, because they were forged from some hints in the mosaic writings<sup>f</sup>.

His son *Louchanam* succeeded him, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

*CHASALIM*, or as some call him, *Hafsim*, the son of *Louchanam*, is celebrated for his invention of the *Nilometer*; which, without question, passed for a wonderful effect of magic in those days.

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*IADONSAC* succeeded *Harsal*; of him we are told, that he first thought of rendering the Nile of greater use by cutting canals, which is thus far probable, the inland parts of Egypt being by this time thoroughly peopled, must necessarily require such an assistance.

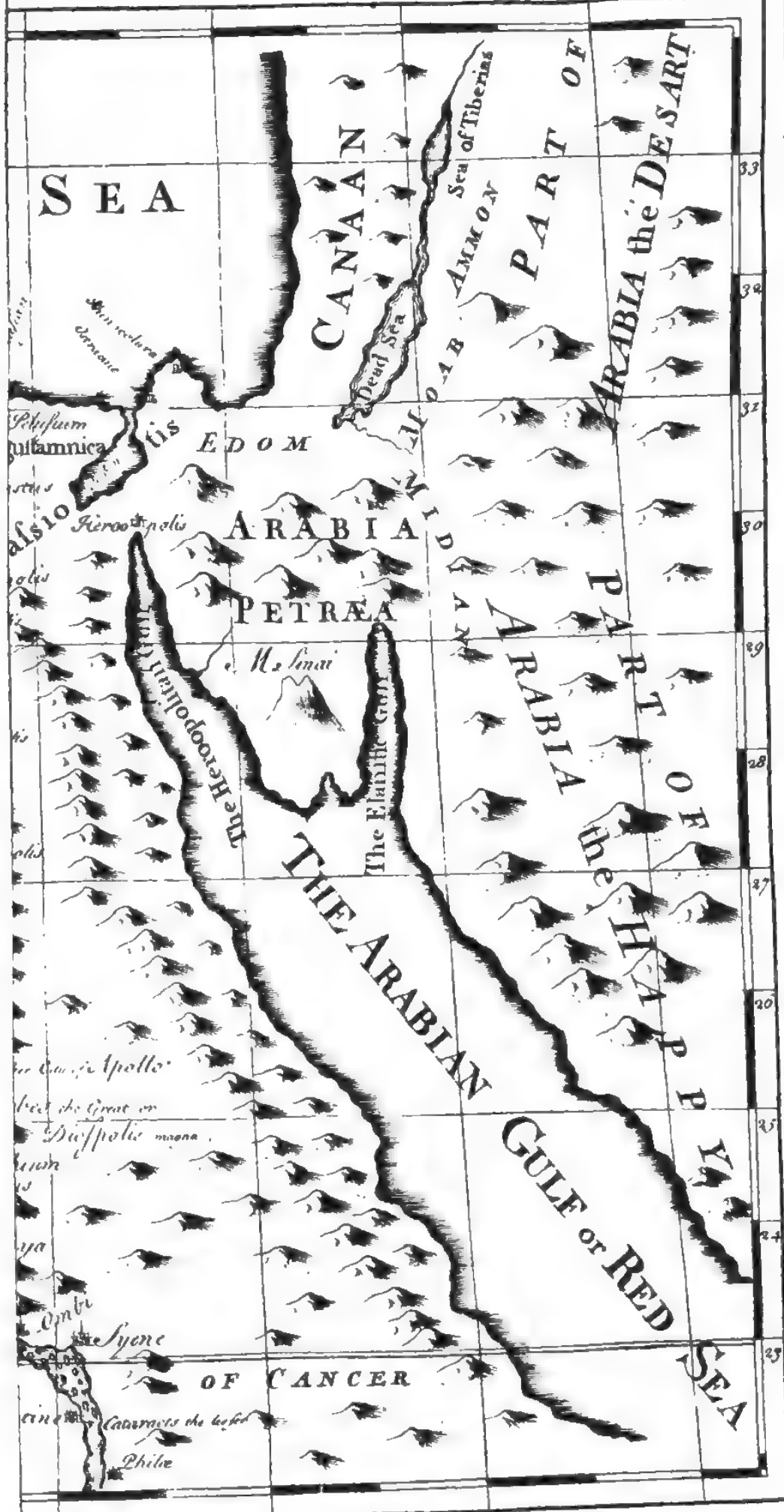
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*SAURID*, a monarch equally remarkable for his wisdom, justice and power. He

<sup>b</sup> *TARIEH AL THABARI*. <sup>c</sup> See *CHAMBERS's* dictionary Artic. *VORTÈX*. <sup>d</sup> *EBN. ABD AL HOKM.* ap. *Greaves* pyramid: & *MURTAD EBN GAF.* in mirabil. pyramid. <sup>e</sup> *EBN ABD AL HOKM.* ubi supra *Khondemir* in *Khelassat Alakhar.* mirabil. pyramid. <sup>f</sup> Vid. lib. *Enoch.* ap. *Fabric.* Pseudepigraph. veter. testament. *HERBELOT*, biblioth. orient. art. *Edris.* mirabil. pyramid.



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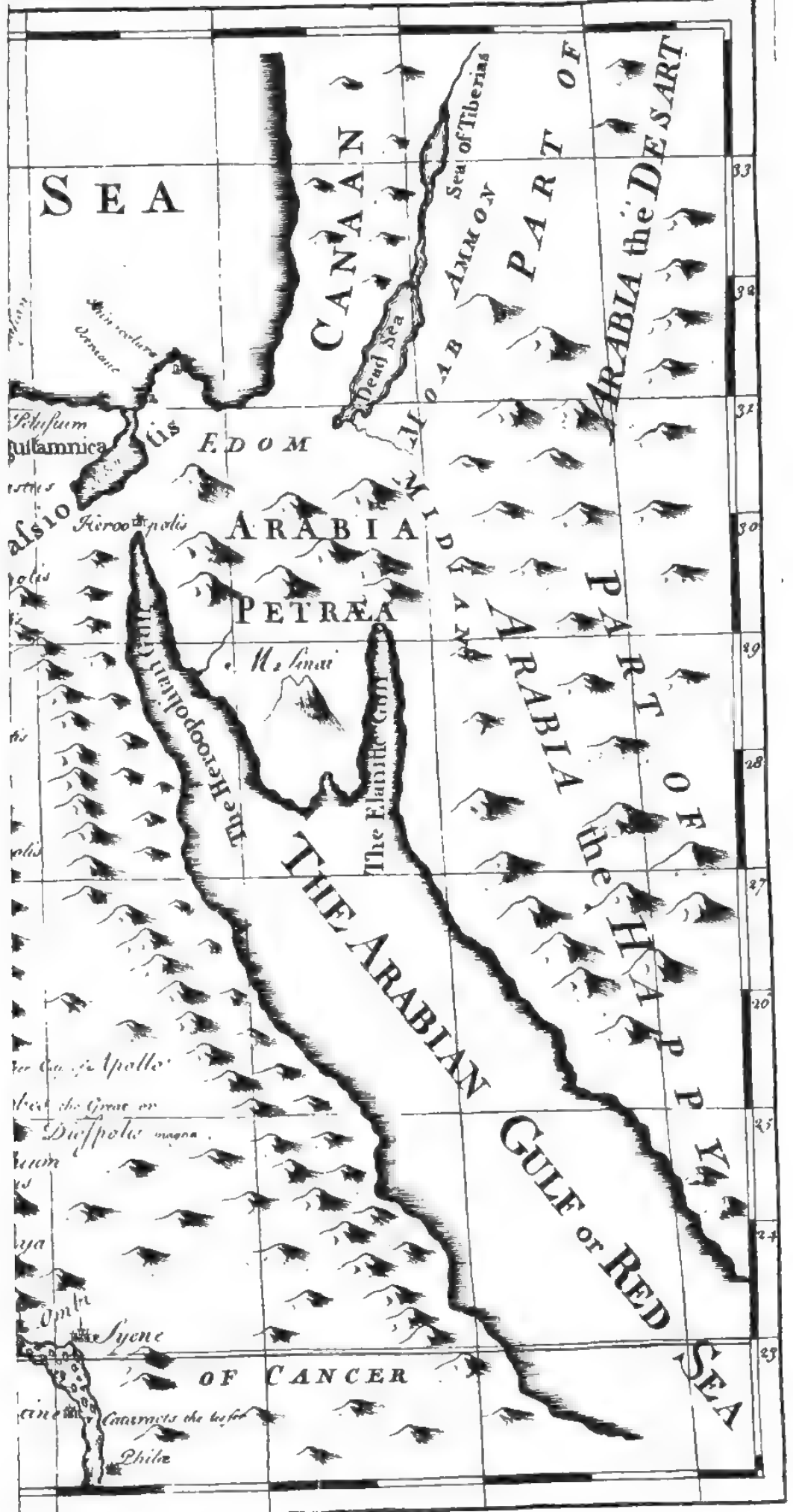
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adjacencies according to this History





- a is said to have dreamt that he saw the earth with all its inhabitants subverted; the men lying on their faces, the stars falling from heaven, and all things filled with discord and confusion. A year after he had a second dream of this sort, which so affrighted him, that he immediately summoned the most learned of the priests together, with all the wise men and professors of the occult sciences in *Egypt*. To them he related his dreams, and besought them to inform him what they portended. These sages having consulted together, and having taken all the necessary precautions for satisfying the king's request, declared to him at length, that a mighty deluge would cover the earth, and that the effects thereof had been represented to him in his dreams. The king, when he had heard and considered this, caused pyramids and other prodigious
- b structures to be erected, to serve for places of refuge for himself and his domesticks, as also for sepulchres wherein to conserve their bodies. He likewise designed to cover the roofs and the walls of these places with hieroglyphick lectures, explanatory of all the various sciences known to the *Egyptians*, as invaluable treasures set apart, and consecrated to the service of posterity. He likewise designed to represent the figure of the stars, the celestial signs, with their Effects and significations, the secrets of nature, the productions of art, the virtues of drugs, and the fundamental propositions in geometry. In consequence of this project, he built the three great pyramids; and of the manner of building of these, and of the subterraneous apartments allotted to each of them, the author from whom we take this account, gives a large and parti-
- c cular description. He concludes it with observing, that the *Egyptians* built these prodigious structures in the fulness of their prosperity, when they were extremely numerous, and proportionably rich. When they were compleated, *Saurid* caused them to be covered with silks of several colours from the top to the bottom, proclaiming on this occasion a general feast which lasted a considerable time, and to which, our author tells us, all the inhabitants of *Egypt* resorted. When this feast was over, the king caused thirty great vessels made of a kind of artificial green stone, to be placed in the bottom of the eastern pyramid. These vessels he filled with all kinds of jewels and precious stones, and then placing covers over them, he poured over these melted lead, scattering on the floor a considerable number of pieces of gold to delude the
- d eyes of any greedy intruder, and to hinder them from prying into the vessels. The second pyramid he made the receptacle of all that related to civil history, laying up the books and records in such vessels as he had laid up his jewels. In the third pyramid he collected whatsoever related to their ecclesiastical history, and to the sublime sciences. In all of them he laid up mighty treasures, and disposed in them all things fit for the reception of a prince who should fly thither for shelter, and appointed also in the middle of them convenient places for the interment of him and his domesticks. These, and many other particulars, are said to be taken from the ancient books of the *Copts*; wherein it is also recorded, that *Saurid* reigned three hundred years before the deluge, and that he governed *Egypt* one hundred and seven years. When
- e he found himself near the time of his dissolution, he sent for his son into his presence, and having made before him a long discourse of the duty of a king, and of the regard which he owed to him as his father and his sovereign, he then directed that his corps should be carried into his pyramid; that the room in which it should be laid, should be strewed with camphire and santal-wood; that his body should be embalmed with spices, and that his rich armour, and whatever valuable things he had used about his person, might be left in the same room. All which directions were punctually complied with.

His son and successor *HARGIB*, whom some writers call *HUGIB*, and will have to be his brother, governed according to the instructions the deceased king *Saurid*

f had given him, being no less careful to secure the hearts of his subjects by a kind and gentle administration, than he was to secure their prosperity by ruling wisely and justly. He is said to have built the first of the pyramids of *Debasoura*, into which he caused immense wealth, and a vast quantity of precious stones to be brought, and there interred, as his father *Saurid* had done. His favourite science was chymistry; and it is reported, that he had the art of multiplying gold, whereby he filled his Treasury, after he had adorned his kingdom with many magnificent structures. He governed *Egypt* ninety nine years, and after his death was interred in the pyramids. His successor was his son

*MENAS*, or as others call *Mankaus*, one who deviated widely from the Exam-

g ples of his father and grandfather, being excessively proud, intollerably insolent, and outrageously cruel. Many women of quality he ravished, slew many of the most

\* *SEN ABD AL HOKM.* ubi supra, mirabil pyramid.



deserving of his subjects, and wasted in scandalous debauches a large proportion of a that treasure which his ancestors had drawn together, and set apart for publick uses. At last, he came to such a height of folly and extravagance, that he built palaces of gold and silver, into which he brought canals from the Nile; the bottoms of which were covered with precious stones, that glittered through the water in the eyes of the spectators. To maintain all this, he had recourse to all the arts of tyranny and oppression, whereby he became excessively hated by his subjects, who were wonderfully rejoiced when the king's horse started, threw him, and broke his neck: However, they did not alter the succession, but raised to the throne his son

ECROS, of whom we have little or no account; only it is rendered probable, that he was as great a tyrant as his father by the course his subjects took to secure b themselves: For either on his death or deposition, they laid aside hereditary sovereignties, and made choice of a person who was of the royal family, on whom they bestowed the crown.

ERMELINOUS, whom some call *Malinus*, having thus attained the regal dignity, governed with lenity and justice; and on his decease the Egyptians submitted to

FIRAOUN, who was the cousin of the late king, and the last monarch in Egypt who ruled before the deluge. He was a most tyrannical prince, and looked upon his subjects in no other light than that of slaves, destined to do whatever he thought fit to command them. Religion and justice were almost forgotten under his base and luxurious administration; and when he was informed that Noab had preached c repentance and amendment of life, threatening the disobedient with destruction by water, he wrote to king Darmasel, in whose dominions the prophet dwelt, to put Noab to death, and burn the ark which he was building. However the high priest of Egypt, who had read and considered the sacred books carefully, being persuaded in his mind, that what Noab had threatned would certainly come to pass, procured himself to be sent to enforce the counsel given to Darmasel, whereby he had an opportunity of joining himself to Noab, and of matching his daughter in his Family, as will be hereafter shewn. When the deluge came, Egypt was overspread with d luxury, and the king was so excessively drunk, that he had not a perfect idea of his danger till the moment that he was swallowed up and drowned. The description these writers give of the deluge is very frightful; and they affirm, that the waters continued upon the earth for eleven months, and that it happened two thousand one hundred fifty six years after the creation <sup>e</sup>.

#### *The Kings of Egypt after the deluge.*

WHEN Noab and those that were with him came out of the ark, the high priest of Egypt besought him to send their grandson Banfar or Beifar, with him into Egypt, speaking to him wonderful things of the pleasantness, fertility and riches of that country, which quickly induced Noab to grant him his request. On their arrival in his native country, the Egyptian priest explained to them the nature of the Nile, the necessity of cutting canals, the peculiar method of cultivating and improving that soil, the means of opening the pyramids and other sacred edifices, and the manner of reaching the true sense of the inscriptions, and of acquiring the sciences which the ancient Antidiluvians had possessed. Banfar, by the direction of this priest, settled himself in this country, which he wonderfully improved, or rather retrieved, building for the place of his residence, and the capitol of his dominions, a large and beautiful city, which was afterwards called Memphis; but had then no other name than that of Masar or Mefr, which signifies the great city; and a son being born to him while he was employed in this work, he called him Masar or Mefr, who succeeded f him in the kingdom, and was the great restorer of Egypt.

SOME oriental writers vary in their account of this matter, attributing the settlement of Egypt entirely to Masar, to whom they say it was solemnly assigned by his sovereign ancestor Noab, to whom he was not a little dear, on account of his great capacity, and the innocency of his manners; insomuch, that Noab having cursed Cham his Grandfather, and breathed out many bitter execrations against him and his posterity, on Masar's interposition he retracted them with regard to him; and in a pathetick address to God, besought him to bless and preserve this young man, and to give him all the riches of the land of the river. However this might be, Masar g

<sup>a</sup> TARIRK AL THABABRI. mirabil. pyramid: AL SOYUT. <sup>b</sup> Mirabil. pyramid: TARIRK AL THABARI.

- a certainly established the form of government which afterwards subsisted in *Egypt*, built various cities, and amassed together great treasures. When he found himself near his end, he, by his will, divided the kingdom into several little sovereignties. One district he gave to his son *Coptim*, or rather *Kibt*, whose descendents are called *Copts*. To his son *Asmoumus*, whom some call *Asmun*, he gave the *Upper Egypt*. And to his son *Abribus*, or *Attrib*, he gave the flat country, and the fens beyond *Barod*, directing each of them to erect a fair city in his territory for the place of his residence, and to take all imaginable pains to improve and fertilize the adjacent country. He likewise gave orders about the manner of his own burial; pursuant to which, when he expired, his sons laid his body in a cave a hundred and fifty cubits long; which cave they filled with treasures and precious stones, causing this inscription to be engraven on a plate of gold, which was placed upon the marble monument within which the body lay. *Masar* the son of *Bansar*, the son of *Cbaus*, the son of *Noah*, died aged seven hundred years from the days of the deluge. Of this king they report, that he was a most wise, just and pious person, having never done the least wrong to any of his subjects, or bent his knee to any idol, but living without care, sorrow or sickness, till by the course of nature he was removed from this into another state, having first seen a multitude of people descended from his own loyns, and leaving several flourishing kingdoms to his children\*.

- To *Masar* succeeded his son *Coptim*, but how long he governed, or what he performed, is not known. He was succeeded by his son

*COPTARIM*, of whom likewise we have no memoirs; and therefore we shall only say, that his son *Budefir* succeeded him, as he was succeeded by his son *Gad*, or *Gadim*; after whom, *Sedeth* his son ascended the throne, whose son and successor was *Mancaous*, whose son *Casaous* reigned after him, and on his decease his son *Marbis*, in whose stead reigned *Asmar*, then *Citin*, whose son *Elfabas* was his successor, who left the throne to *Sa*. This monarch built the city of *Sais*, and settled the *Egyptian* constitution. He was succeeded by his son *Malil*, after whom reigned *Hadares*; then his son *Cheribas*, to whom succeeded *Calcan*.

- TOTIS*, or as he is generally called *Tulis*, succeeded his father *Calcan*. He it was who governed the kingdom of *Egypt* when *Ibrahim* came down thither with his wife *Sarab*, whose beauty, even after she was past her bloom, struck all beholders with wonder. On their coming to *Mesr*, the capital of the kingdom, notice was presently given to *Tulis*, that a stranger was arrived, who had with him a woman the most beautiful that had ever been beheld. The king presently sent for *Ibrahim*, and having demanded of him what relation the woman stood in towards him, the prophet answered, that she was his sister. Then *Tulis* directed that she should be brought to him, which was accordingly done; but when he put out his hand with an intent to touch her, he found it suddenly shrunk and withered; whereupon apprehending that he was deceived, he besought *Sarab* to pray for him that his hand might be restored, which she did, and the king drew back his hand sound and well. *Tulis* then demanded of her in what degree she was related to *Ibrahim*. *I am*, said she, *his wife*. *Why then*, said he, *did he deceive me, in saying that you was his sister?* *He did not delude thee*, O king, replied she: *For in that I am of the same religion, I am his sister in God, and the sister of every man who believes the unity of the godhead*. Which answer so well pleased the king, that he sent for *Ibrahim*, and was instructed in his religion. We are farther informed, that this king of *Egypt* had an only daughter, a princess of great parts, and of a mild and pleasant temper; she was extremely delighted with the company of *Sarab*, and would have made her many and great presents, had she not, by the command of her husband positively declined them. The princess however obliged her to accept a female slave whose name was *Hagar*, and who was afterwards the mother of *Ishmael*. After the departure of *Ibrahim* and his wife out of *Egypt*, *Tulis* became a most intollerable tyrant, insomuch that his daughter perceiving that his subjects hated him extremely, and that there was some danger of their changing the succession, poisoned him when he had reigned seventy years, and after a short *Inter-regnum* succeeded in his stead.

- THE name of this princess was *Juriak*, tho' some writers call her *Charoba*. She governed with great art, pretending to be alike the mother of all her subjects, but in fact posing the power of the soldiery by that of the priests, and securing the quiet of her reign by a dextrous management of parties. Under her reign, or under the reign of her daughter, some historians affirm, that the *Amalekites* entered *Egypt*, which they held in subjection for a considerable time; but we have a very imperfect account of

\* ΚΗΟΡΕΜΙΝ ubi supra. Mirabil. Pyramid: ΑΙ ΣΟΥΤΙ.

the monarchs of that *Dynasty*, amongst whom, however, they reckon the following <sup>a</sup> princes :

**RIYAN**, He is said to have differed from all his predecessors, that is, from all the *Amalekite* kings of *Egypt*. For whereas they were idolators in respect to religion, and tyrants, with regard to their administration, this *Riyan* was on the contrary a worshipper of the true God, and a very just and good prince. In his time it is affirmed that *Joseph* came into *Egypt*, and very probably it was from him that he received instructions, which wrought upon him so powerfully, as to make him act in quite a different manner from his ancestors. We have many long and fabulous stories concerning the administration of that *Patriarch*; but as these would swell our work excessively, and are in themselves not at all worthy of credit, we think <sup>b</sup> it better to omit them, and to pass on to the successor of this monarch, who was his son

**DAREM**, a person altogether unlike his father. He was, as to religion, an impious person, one who affected to despise and affront divine providence, and therefore no wonder that in his government he was a tyrant and an oppressor. He did not however enjoy, or rather abuse the regal dignity long, but by the just judgment of God was drowned in the *Nile*. To whom as some historians write succeeded

**CATHIM** an *Amalekite*, who was a magnificent prince, and rendered himself famous by a variety of noble buildings, with which he adorned this country. Others <sup>c</sup> allege that this *Riyan* left no son, but a grandson, whose name was

**KABUS**, who succeeded him, and reigned in the time of *Moses*, but this is absurd or rather impossible, and therefore rejecting this notion, we ought rather to take up with what other oriental writers have said on the same subject, tho' that too come but indifferently recommended either in point of authority or credibility; however as it will take up no great room, it is proper to insert it, tho' it may be doubted. <sup>d</sup>

**VALID**, or rather *Walid*, the brother of *Kabus* is by most of the *Arabian* authors said to be the king of *Egypt*, with whom *Moses* had to do, and who perished in the *Red Sea*. He was, say they, an *Arab*, and of the *Tribe* of *Ad*, tho' others <sup>d</sup> say of that of *Amlak*, i. e. an *Amalekite*. Here it is necessary to take notice that tho' *Walid* be truly a proper name, yet it is also used by the oriental writers to signify such a one. Hence whenever they meet with the actions of a Prince without finding his name, they presently substitute that of *Walid*. We must not therefore be surprized to find that some authors have given this prince another name, because that will make no alteration in the history, neither will it at all affect the credit of one relation, or the other. This prince is represented as a most cruel tyrant; but at the same time as a man of great abilities, and of much cunning. With respect to the *Israelites* he pretended, they were all his slaves; and thus he made out his title. *Joseph* said he who brought them here was himself a slave, and <sup>e</sup> purchased with the money of *Egypt*. He brought his kindred hither, who could not therefore be better than himself, consequently they and all their descendants were slaves. Upon this pretence he refused to set them at liberty when *Moses* demanded them. But if he treated them harshly, he treated his own subjects no better; on the contrary, after having impoverished them by excessive taxes, and wasted them in many foolish expeditions, he at length pretended to exact divine honours from them; and tho' he was apparently one of the worst of men, would needs pass for a god. On this account, if we may believe these writers, the *Almighty* was pleased to punish him in so exemplary a manner, as he did by drowning him in the *Red Sea*, the justice of which, according to their Notions, will be more <sup>f</sup> fully explained in a note. <sup>a</sup> (B)

DALUKA

<sup>a</sup> *TARIKH AL THABARI.* Mirabil. Pyramid. <sup>b</sup> *KHONDEMIR. AL SOYUTI.* <sup>c</sup> *AL SOYUTI.* *KHONDEMIR TARIKH AL THABARI.*

(B) The oriental writers in general agree in a story they tell us concerning the destruction of *Pharaoh*. As they relate it, it takes up a great deal of room, but as we have it not to spare, we shall deliver it in as few words as we can. When *Pharaoh* was in the height of his glory, the angel *Gabriel* presented himself before him under the appearance of a shepherd, and after having made obeis-

fance to him, complained that he had a servant, upon whom he had heaped continual favours, which he particularized, and that notwithstanding all this, that servant had deserted him, and was even so ungrateful as to endeavour to do him a mischief. When *Pharaoh* had heard his complaint; endeavour said he to have him apprehended, and I will order him to be thrown into the *Red Sea*. Great king

- a DALUKA, the daughter of *Walid* succeeded him, she was a Woman of great wisdom, and is said to have surrounded the city of *Messer* with Walls of an amazing extent, and of stupendous thickness. Some authors assert that she was not the daughter of the last king, but a distant relation, and that upon her death she bequeathed the crown to a *Coptish* prince of the ancient blood royal. His name was ° (C)

- b DARKUN, a young man of an excellent disposition, who ruled mildly, and with great wisdom; after him we find in the oriental histories, the names of five or six kings, but without any account of their actions, excepting only *Asbyaf*, who appears to have been the *Sbybak* of the scriptures: Then there follows another, large chafin in the history the last king mentioned being *Feraoum al Araj*. That is *Pharaoh* the lame, who we are told was invaded by *Nebuchadnezzar* whom the eastern writers call *Baltaknassar*, and after sustaining a long Siege in his capital, *Mesr* was taken by the conqueror, and put to death. \* After this the oriental agrees better with the western history of *Egypt*, as will appear in its proper place.

\* Mirabil. Pyramid.

° KHONDEMIR. TARIKH AL THABARI. Mirabil. Pyramid.

king said *Gabriel* will you give me this in writing. I will, answered *Pharaoh*. Then the angel wrote such an order, and *Pharaoh* subscribed it. Afterwards when at the passage of the *Red Sea*, *Pharaoh* found himself in danger of drowning, he cried out to the *Almighty*, and besought mercy and forgiveness. Then *Gabriel* appeared, and producing his own writing. Thou art the rebellious slave, said he, and thus is thy own judgment executed on thyself. Some of our readers may be surprised when we intimate that this is no fable, but rather a parable or allegory, which is, however an opinion that may be well justified by reason and authority. (2)

(C) The eastern historians are unanimous, as to the invasion and conquest of *Egypt*, by the *Amalekites*, but they differ extremely as to the time when this conquest was made. For some say that it happened so early as in the days of *Coptarim* the

third king of *Egypt* after the deluge, and they give us a particular account both of their invasion and expulsion. Others again place this revolution as low as the times of *Abraham*, or rather lower, and according to these, *Joseph* was *Wafir* or first minister to an *Amalekite* king of *Egypt* (3). These variations are not however greater than the critics have observed in the ancient *Greek* historians, with respect to the shepherds who subdued *Egypt*. The truth therefore is most likely to be discovered by comparing the best historians of both sorts; and this might be easily done if the *Egyptian* histories in the *French* king's library were printed. But what hope is there of this, while after spending our youth in the study of *Greek* and *Latin*, we acquire from thence an aversion and contempt for all writers of another stamp.

(2) TARIKH AL THABARI. KONDEMIR. Mirabil. Pyramid.

(3) KHONDEMIR. Mirabil. Pyramid.

## C H A P. IV.

### *The History of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philistines.*

#### S E C T. I.

##### c *The History of Moab.*

DESIGNING in this chapter to write the histories of those nations with whom the children of *Israel* had to do, before or upon their settling in the land of the Moabites. *Canaan*, we shall begin with that of the *Moabites*.

THIS people were descended from *Moab* the son of *Lot*, by his eldest daughter: But before we mention the occasion of that incest, it may be proper to take the history a little higher.

LOT was the son of *Haran*, the brother of *Abraham*; and after his father's death was brought by his grandfather *Terah*, together with the rest of his family, from *Ur* their ancestor.

of

of the *Chaldees*, their native city, to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*<sup>a</sup>; where *Terah* dying, *Abraham* afterwards took his nephew under his protection, and, as *Josephus* tells us<sup>b</sup>, adopted him, despairing of any children of his own. He therefore carried him with him into *Canaan*<sup>c</sup>; where, after they had dwelt some time, they were obliged by a famine to go into *Egypt*<sup>d</sup>; soon after their return from whence, they parted: For their flocks and herds were so much increased by this time, and their substance was so great, that they could not dwell together any longer; the pasture and water not being sufficient for both; which occasioning disputes between their herdsmen, *Abraham* proposed, to prevent any misunderstanding between so near relations, that they should separate; and gave *Lot* the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Whereupon *Lot* chose the plain of *Jordan*, lying eastward of *Bethel* and *Ai*, between which *Abraham* and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, was so fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of *Egypt*, and even to *Paradise* it self<sup>e</sup>. To this delightful plain or valley therefore *Lot* came, and pitched his tent not far from *Sodom*, infamous for the unnatural wickedness of its inhabitants; and afterwards dwelt in the city it self<sup>f</sup>: But that city, with others in the same plain, being not long after taken by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies, *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* tells us<sup>g</sup>, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his substance; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his goods<sup>h</sup>. Notwithstanding this warning, and the abominable wickedness of the inhabitants, *Lot* still continued to live in *Sodom*, and had been involved in the fearful catastrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculously preserved, and that partly for *Abraham's* sake<sup>i</sup>. Two angels, who were sent to destroy the place, came to *Sodom* in the evening under the appearance of travellers; and *Lot* sitting in the gate, so sooner saw them than he invited them to be his guests that night, according to the hospitality of the eastern nations. They had scarce refreshed themselves when the inhabitants of the city, both old and young, being informed that *Lot* had strangers with him, and in all probability tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had assumed<sup>j</sup>, encompassed the house, and demanded them to be delivered to them, that they might abuse them. *Lot* endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose; and, rather than violate the rights of hospitality, offered to give up his two virgin daughters to their discretion, if they would not molest his guests; but instead of accepting this offer, they came to violence, and pressed forward to break open the door: Whereupon the angels suddenly pulled *Lot* into the house, shut the door, and struck the riotous assembly with blindness (A); so that they fought in vain to find the door, till they were tired.

WHILST they were thus busied, the angels acquainted *Lot* with their commission; that they were sent to execute the divine vengeance upon that sink of iniquity; and advised him, if he had any friends, for whose safety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their danger, and warn them to depart in time. Whereupon *Lot*, before it was light, went to his sons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (B), and telling them what they must expect if they staid longer in the city,

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 132. <sup>b</sup> Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. <sup>c</sup> Gen. xii. 4, &c. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. v. 10. & ch. xiii. 1. <sup>e</sup> Gen. xiii. 10. <sup>f</sup> Gen. xiv. 12. <sup>g</sup> Antiq. l. 1. c. 10. <sup>h</sup> Gen. xiv. 16, &c. <sup>i</sup> Gen. xix. 29. <sup>j</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(A) It is a very probable opinion, that those men were struck, not with actual blindness, but with a dizziness, which disturbed their sight, and represented objects falsely, and in confusion (1), as were the *Syrians*, who were sent to take *Elisba* (2): And this is the sense of the *Septuagint*. The author of the book of *Wisdom* supposes some change in the air, saying, that they were compassed about with horrible great darkness, which he compares to that with which *Moses* plagued the *Egyptians*: He adds, that they could not even find the way home; but every one sought the passage of his own doors (3).

(B) The *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other translations, and some of the *Rabbins* suppose these

were the husbands of other daughters of *Lot*, who were married, and had left their father's house: Which seems to be confirmed by the angels ordering *Lot* to take with him his wife and his two daughters which were there present (4). But the original words, which in our version are rendered his sons-in-law which married his daughters (5), may be translated, according to the interpretation of *Onkelos*, his sons-in-law, which were to marry, &c. the contract having been passed, but the marriage not consummated: And there is no mention in scripture of any daughters *Lot* had, except the two who were saved with him; but if he had, they must have perished with their husbands.

(1) Vid. AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei. l. 22. c. 19. HILDEGG. Hist. Patr. T. 2. Extr. viii. § 16.

CLERIC. in Loc. (2) 2 Kings vi. 18. (3) WIL. xix. 17. (4) Gen. xix. 15. (5) Ibid. v. 14.

- a earnestly persuaded them to leave it: But they thinking he either laughed at them; or was out of his wits, rejected his advice <sup>b</sup>.

THIS circumstance is the only one which *Moses* mentions of *Lot's* admonishing his fellow-citizens; though it is probable this just person omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation; for it is said, that *in seeing and bearing he vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds* <sup>c</sup>: Which words give countenance to the traditions adopted afterwards by *Mohammed*, of *Lot's* being sent to preach to the inhabitants of *Sodom* <sup>d</sup>.

- Lot* not having been able to prevail on his sons-in-law to save themselves; as soon as it was day-break, the angels ordered him immediately to depart, with his wife and two daughters, lest they should be involved in the common ruin: But he delaying to go, being probably intent on preserving some of his most valuable goods, the angels hastily laid hold on them, and brought them out of the city, commanding them to make a speedy escape, for that their lives were in danger; and in particular directed them not to look behind them, nor to stay in the plain; but to make the best of their way to the mountains. Upon which *Lot*, considering the mountains were at a good distance, began to fear he could not reach them time enough, and begged he might be permitted to escape to a small city not far from *Sodom*, then called *Bela*, but from this accident *Zoar*, or *the little*, which was else to have been destroyed with the other cities of the plain. This request was granted; and the angels promised him that their commission should not be executed till he got thither; which he did by sun-rise. Immediately upon which the fearful destruction of those cities ensued: And *Lot's* wife, contrary to the express command of the angel, looking back, was changed into a pillar of salt <sup>e</sup> (C), which *Josephus* <sup>f</sup> tells us was remaining in his days, and that himself had seen it.

AFTER this dreadful judgment, *Lot* staid not long in *Zoar*, fearing some further misfortune; but went with his daughters to the mountains on the east of the *Dead Sea*, and dwelt in a cave there. In this solitude the two young women seeing no

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xix. 1—14. <sup>c</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 8. <sup>d</sup> *Korân*. c. vii. v. 81, c. xxvi. v. 159. c. xxvii. v. 55. c. 29. v. 28, &c. <sup>e</sup> Gen. xix. 15—26. <sup>f</sup> *Antiq. l. i. c. 11.*

(C) It is not agreed by commentators what was the crime for which *Lot's* wife was thus severely punished. Some are of opinion she deserved it merely for disobeying the command of the angel, and expressing too much concern for a people who deserved no compassion (6): Which yet she might be the more apt to entertain, as she was probably a native of *Sodom* (7), and had near relations among them. Others say, that being anxiously solicitous for her daughters, who were married there, and turning about to see whether they followed her, she saw the divine *Shechinah* or majestic appearance of God, descending to destroy the place, which was the occasion of her metamorphosis. The writer from whom we take this, calls her *Adith* (8). *Mohammed*, from some traditions he met with, goes farther, and represents her as rebellious to her husband (9); and the commentators on the *Korân*, who name her *Wailab*, say she was in confederacy with the *Sodomites*; telling them her husband was distracted, and giving them notice when any strangers came: to lodge with him, by a sign of smoke by day, and of fire by night (10); or, according to others, by knocking at the wall, and crying, *Give me some salt* (11). Others however think the scripture does not represent the fate this woman met with as a punishment for any crime; but suppose it merely accidental, as will be observed immediately.

The manner of her transformation or death is also differently apprehended. From the various

acceptations of the word we render *pillar*, some have fancied she was turned into a *heap of stones* (12); others into a *pillar* (13), without any resemblance of human shape: And a third party have imagined she was changed into a *statue* (14), having the perfect form of a woman. Nor is there any better agreement as to the matter of this monument, than the figure of it. Some suppose it to have been of rock salt, which lasts a long while, and is not subject to be waited or dissolved by the weather, as common salt is (15). *Aben Ezra* is of opinion that *Lot's* wife was burnt with fire mixed with salt; and *Grotius* is of the same sentiment (16). But others think the word *salt* does not relate to the matter of the pillar or statue, but either describes the place where it stood; and then the meaning of the passage is no more, than that it was in a *salt*, or barren soil (17); or else that it signifies only the permanency of the statue's duration; as a *covenant of salt* is elsewhere (18) used to express a *lasting or perpetual covenant* (19). Hence the *Rabbins* take occasion, according to their custom, to carry the matter farther, and say this statue was designed for an everlasting monument of divine justice, and shall remain till the day of judgment (20). They add, that though it is continually licked by the cattle, yet it is always miraculously repaired again (21); that it has not only the lineaments of a woman, but also the distinction of sex, and regular purgations, as if it were alive (22): Which fable has been swallowed by some *Christian* writers

(6) *JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 12.* HEIDECK. *ubi sup.* § 18, p. 23. (7) *Targum Hierosol.* (8) *R. ELIEZER, Pirke, c. 25.* (9) *KORÂN, c. 66.* (10) *JALLALODDIN, &c.* (11) *Pentat. Ebn Sina.* (12) *SULPIC. SEVER.* (13) *SEPTUAG.* (14) *HIERON. ONKELOS.* (15) *Vide WITSII Miscell.*

*Tom. 2. and HOWELL's Hist. of the Bible.* (16.) *Deut. xxix. 22.* (17) *Psal. cvii. 34.* (18) *Numb. xvii. 19.* (19) *Vide CLERICI Dissert. de statua salina.* (20) *Targ. Hierosol.* (21) *R. ELIEZER, ubi sup.* *BENJAM. Itim. p. 44.* (22) *R. ELIEZER, ibid.*



hopes of their ever being married (D), and being very desirous of having children, <sup>a</sup> the want of which was reckoned a great reproach and scandal in those days, plotted together to deceive their father, and have issue by him. Accordingly they put their project in execution; and making him drink wine plentifully one evening, the eldest daughter lay down by him the first night, and the old man knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose: Not that we suppose he was so far overcome as not to be sensible of what he did, which would have rendered him rather unfit than fit for their purpose; but he knew not who it was he lay with, imagining, probably, that it was a servant, the use of whom was in those days lawful. The next night they employed the same artifice, and the youngest took her turn. They both proved with child; and from this incestuous commerce proceeded two sons; that of the eldest daughter was therefore named *Moab*, signifying (though not in pure *Hebrew*, yet perhaps in some dialect of that tongue) *Of a father*, and was the progenitor of the people we are now speaking of.

*Of the country  
possessed by the  
Moabites.*

THE posterity of this person settled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which some authors make part of *Calii Syria* <sup>b</sup>, others of *Arabia* <sup>c</sup>; and, having driven out the old inhabitants, possessed a large tract, thence called *Moabitis*, or the land of *Moab*, bounded on the west by the mountains on the east of the lake *Asphaltitis*, or the *Dead Sea*, and by the river *Jordan*; on the north by the country possessed by the *Ammonites*, the descendants of *Lot* by his younger daughter; on the south by the brook, or little river *Zered*, which runs into the *Dead Sea*, and by the countries of *Midian* and *Edom*; and on the east by the deserts of *Arabia*; which tract might be about forty miles long, and as many broad. This country, which is chiefly mountainous, intermixed with vallies proper for pasturing of cattle, was given by God to the children of *Moab*; and the *Israelites*, notwithstanding the great provocations they received from them, were expressly forbidden to disturb them <sup>d</sup>. However, by the time of *Moses*, the *Amorites*, who had possessed themselves of great part of the land of *Ammon*, took also the adjoining part of the land of *Moab*, reducing their limits on that side to the brook *Arnon*, called also the river of *Gad*, which empties itself into the lake *Asphaltitis*, and before passed through the midst of their territories. This the *Israelites* seizing on as part of *Sibon's* kingdom, which was theirs by right of conquest, kept it for several centuries, till recovered by the *Moabites*, when they brake into the borders of *Ruben* and *Gad*, on the declension of the kingdom of *Israel*, as will be hereafter observed.

THE chief city of *Moab* was *Ar* <sup>m</sup>, situate on the river *Arnon*, called also *Rabbab* <sup>n</sup>, or, *The Great*; and to distinguish it from a city of the same name in the land of *Ammon*, *Rabbath Moab* <sup>o</sup>. In after-times it was called *Arcopolis* <sup>p</sup>, by addition of a

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xix. 30—37. <sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. <sup>c</sup> STEPHAN. de urb. in *Maced.* <sup>d</sup> Deut. i. 6. Judg. xi. 15. <sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 5. <sup>f</sup> Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29. Numb. xxi. 15, 28. Isaiah xv. 1, &c. <sup>g</sup> Josh. xiii. 25. <sup>h</sup> Hieron. in *Moab.* <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.

writers (23). Some late commentators (24), after all, think that there was no miraculous metamorphosis at all in the case; but that she either turned back out of curiosity to see the burning nearer, and so perished in the dreadful shower, or by some poisonous vapour; or else that the horror of the sight, when she looked back and plainly beheld the terrible destruction of a place she had but just quitted, struck her stiff and motionless like a statue, and that she died of the fright. And as to what is urged from *Josaphus* (25) and some books of travels (26), that this statue or pillar was many ages after or is now to be seen, it is answered, that *Josaphus* might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature. Which really seems to have been the case; because the more intelligent and credible travellers say they could never see it; and when they have asked the

people of the country after it, they either assured them there was no such thing (27), or pretended it stands somewhere in the mountains, where the access to it is very dangerous, because of the wild beasts and serpents, but more so on account of the *Arabs* (28).

(D) Several writers (29) excuse this act of *Lot's* daughters, by supposing what they did was for the reparation of mankind, which, as they thought, had been utterly destroyed, and none left, except their father and themselves. But there is no manner of foundation for such an opinion; wherefore St. *Austin* very justly condemns the action, saying, they ought never to have been mothers, rather than to have made such use of their father (30). One of these daughters a Jewish writer calls *Pelotish* (31).

(23) TERTUL. vel Auctor Carm. de Sodoma. IRENÆUS, l. 4. c. 51. (24) VATABLUS BODINUS, P. SIMON, Bibl. Crit. T. 4. Let. 44. CLEMIC. Dissert. de statua salina. (25) See also *Wisd. dom x. 7.* (26) Vide QUARESIM Elucid. terræ sanctæ. Tom. 2. l. 6. c. 14. (27) RADZIVIL, Itiner. Hierosol. p. 95. (28) BROCHARD, Descr. terræ sanctæ.

p. 1. c. 7. Numb. 24. (29) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. CHRYSOST. Hom. 34. in Gen. IRENÆUS, l. 4. c. 51. AMBROS. de Abrah. l. 1. c. 6. THEODOR. in Genes. quæst. 69. c. 5. (30) AUGUST. cont. Faust. l. 22. c. 43. (31) R. JEHUDA, apud Eliczer, Pirke, c. 25.

a Greek word signifying a City. The other cities of Moab were *Mizpeh*, *Lubith*, *Horonaim*, and some others, whose situations are not certainly known.

THE customs and manner of life of these people we know very little of. They were governed by kings, used circumcision<sup>a</sup>, and seem to have employed themselves mostly in pasturage, and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose good the Jews were forbidden to seek<sup>b</sup>; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the Israelites, even to their tenth generations<sup>c</sup>. However, they appear to have cultivated a good understanding with that people after their settlement in Canaan, as is evident from the sojourning of *Elimelech* there<sup>d</sup>, and the reception *David* met with in his troubles at *Mizpeh*<sup>e</sup>. What language they used we cannot say; but suppose they spoke a dialect of the Canaanitish or Hebrew.

THAT this people had once the knowledge of the true God, we may not only conclude from the piety of their great ancestor, who, without doubt, instructed his offspring in their duty; but it appears from scripture; for they retained this knowledge till the time of *Moses*, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion by introducing the worship of false gods<sup>f</sup>; which they seem to have done very early, though the exact time cannot be fixed.

THE idols of the Moabites taken notice of in scripture are *Chemosh*<sup>g</sup> and *Baal-peor*<sup>h</sup>, sometimes simply *Peor*<sup>i</sup>; or, as the Septuagint write the name *Pbegor*. But what gods these were, the learned are not agreed. St. *Jerom* supposes that they were both names of one and the same idol<sup>j</sup>; and from the debaucheries into which those fell who defiled themselves with their worship, several writers, both ancient and modern, have represented them as obscene deities, not much different from *Priapus*<sup>k</sup>. This opinion they endeavour to support from the etymologies of the names, and fancy some filthiness is implied therein (E). Others<sup>l</sup> however imagine, that though the Israelites and *Solomon* were drawn in to worship those idols by debauching themselves with Moabitish women<sup>m</sup>; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodest ceremonies were used in their worship; nor are any such mentioned in the most ancient authors<sup>n</sup>; and the etymologies, we think are not much to be built on. *Peor* was the name of a mountain, where the high places of *Baal*<sup>o</sup>, which word signifies no more than *Lord*, and was a title of the sun, were situate; and probably was added to that name by way of distinction, to denote the deity adored in that place<sup>p</sup>, though he had probably also a temple in *Beth Peor*, which stood in the plain<sup>q</sup>. *Vossius*<sup>r</sup> supposes *Baal-peor* to be *Bacchus*; and Dr. *Cumberland*<sup>s</sup> says he was properly called *Meon*, and will have him to be the same with *Menes*, *Mizraim*, and *Osiris* (F), who, according to his hypothesis, were all one and the same man<sup>t</sup>. *Chemosh* seems to have been a different idol. *Nebo* =

<sup>a</sup> Jerem. ix. 25, 26. <sup>b</sup> Deut. xxiii. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. v. 3. <sup>d</sup> Ruth i. 1, 2. <sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. xxii. 3, &c. <sup>f</sup> See Numb. xxiv. 11. <sup>g</sup> Numb. xxi. 29. <sup>h</sup> Kings xi. 7. Jerem. xlviii. 13. <sup>i</sup> Numb. xxv. 1, and 3. <sup>j</sup> Ibid. v. 18. Josh. xxii. 17, &c. <sup>k</sup> Hieronym. in Esai. l. 5. <sup>l</sup> Idem in Oseam, & contr. Jovin. i. 1. c. 12. <sup>m</sup> ORIGEN. in Numer. Homil. 20. <sup>n</sup> THEOPHYLACT. in Hoseam. <sup>o</sup> CUMBERLAND on Sanchon. p. 67, &c. <sup>p</sup> SELDEN de diis Syris, Syntag. 1. c. 5. <sup>q</sup> CLERIC. in Numer. PATRICK'S Comment. on Numb. xxv. <sup>r</sup> Numb. xxv. <sup>s</sup> See PATRICK'S Comment. ubi supr. <sup>t</sup> Numb. xxiii. 38. <sup>u</sup> THEODORET ad Psal. cv. Vid. SUID. in *Etymologia*. <sup>v</sup> See Josh. xiii. 17 and 20. <sup>w</sup> De idololatr. l. 2. c. 7. <sup>x</sup> On Sanchon. p. 67. <sup>y</sup> See before, p. <sup>z</sup> Isai. xv. 2. Jerem. xlviii. 1—22.

(E) *Peor* they derive from *פער* *paar*, to open or stretch, because they used an indecent posture before the idol (*distendebant coram eo foramen pedicis*) and offered him dung, which the Jews pretend was the worship proper to this idol (32). If this derivation be true, it was most probably a name of contempt imposed by the Jews; and the nasty ceremonies they mention may have been invented to give some reason for the name.

*Chemosh*, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb *חשח* *Mashech*, to feel: But Dr. *Hide* derives it from the Arabic *Khamush*, which signifies gnats, though in the particular dialect of the tribe of *Hodan* supposing it to have been an astrological Talisman in the figure of a gnat, made to drive away those insects

(33): And *Le Clerc*, who takes this idol for the sun, from *Camosha*, a root in the same tongue, signifying to be swift (34).

(F) This learned prelate supposes *Peor* was not his true name; and finding *Baal Meon* (35), and *Beth Meon* (36), and *Beth Baal Meon* (37), mentioned in scripture, as a place lying within the old territories of Moab, concludes *Meon* was the proper or honourable title of this deity, whom he will have to be the same with *Osiris*, because of the obscene processions used in honour of the latter, agreeing very well with the immodest ceremonies used in the worship of the former, and from the affinity between the names of *Meon* and *Menes*. The chief reasons he gives why *Meon* was the name of an idol, and the same with *Peor* are, 1. The

(32) SOLOM YARHI in Numer. 25. 3. MAIMONIDAS More Nev. part. 3. c. 46. Vid. PHILON. Jud. de nomin. mutatione, p. 1061. (33) HIDE de rel. vet. perf. c. 5. p. 131. (34) CLERIC. in Numb.

xxxii. 28. (35) Numb. xxxii. 38. 1 Chron. v. 8. Ezek. xxv. 9. (36) Jerem. xlviii. 23. (37) Josh. xiii. 17.

is thought by some to have been another deity of the *Moabites*. It was without dispute an idol of the *Babylonians*, and possibly the same with *Mercury*: But whether the *Moabites* worshipped it is not so certain. There was a town of this name in that part of the ancient dominions of *Moab*, conquered by *Sibon*, which the *Israelites* rebuilt, and changed its name<sup>a</sup>; and a part of mount *Abarim* in the same tract was also called *Nebo*.

Of their religious rights and ceremonies we can say very little. The obscenity attributed to them by some authors we have already mentioned; of which, however, the *Psalmist* takes no notice in speaking of those who were joined to *Baal-peor*; but says only that they eat the offerings of the dead: By which words he may either mean that the idol to which they impiously gave divine honour, was no more than a dead man; or else that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They sacrificed both in the open air, on mountains dedicated to that service<sup>b</sup>, and also in temples built to their idols in their cities; and besides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occasions, offered human victims, according to the *Phœnician* custom; an instance of which will be hereafter given.

The Moabites drive out the Emims.

THE first inhabitants of the land, afterwards possessed by the posterity of *Moab*, were the *Emims*, a great and powerful people, and of extraordinary strength and stature<sup>c</sup>. They were, most probably, descendants of *Ham*, and of the same gigantic race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*, though the *Moabites* called them by the name of *Emims*<sup>d</sup>, which in *Hebrew* signifies terrible. These having been much weakened by the invasion of *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and his allies<sup>e</sup>, became the easier conquest to the *Moabites*; who drove them out, and took possession of their country; but when is uncertain. However, they kept not their new dominions long entire; for in the days of *Moses*, *Sibon* king of the *Amorites*, who bordered on them eastward, fought against the king of *Moab*, the predecessor of *Balak*, and took from that nation all their land, to the north of the river *Arnon*<sup>f</sup>.

Balak sends for Balaam to curse the Israelites.

Year of the Flood, 1547.  
Year before Christ, 1452.

BALAK the son of *Zippor*, was on the throne of *Moab* when the *Israelites*, having subdued *Sibon*, were incamped in part of their new acquisitions, called the plains of *Moab*, because they had lately belonged to that nation<sup>g</sup>. This prince being exceedingly dismayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to resist, and not knowing that God had forbidden them to attempt the conquest of his remaining territories, assembled the nobles, and also the princes of the *Midianites* (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of *Moab*, as we shall observe hereafter) and acquainted them with his apprehensions, that the *Israelites* should, as he expressed it, lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. Having consulted together, and not daring to trust to their arms alone, the assembly agreed to send for *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, a famous prophet (G) or diviner of that time, in the prevalency of whose prayers and imprecations they

<sup>a</sup> Isai. xlv. 1. <sup>b</sup> Psal. cvi. 28. <sup>c</sup> See Numb. <sup>d</sup> Deut. ii. 10. <sup>e</sup> Ibid p. 10, 11. <sup>f</sup> Gen. xiv. 5. <sup>g</sup> Num. xxi. 26. <sup>h</sup> Numb. xxii. 1.

The *Septuagint* and *Arabic* versions have *Meon* for a proper name or title of a deity (38). 2. The *Targum* of *Jonathan* (39) calls *Baal Meon* a city of *Balak*, in which *Israel* destroyed the idol *Peor* in the house of altars. 3. *Meon* was so great a title of honour, that it is given to God himself in scripture (40), though it is translated dwelling place. But we think nothing can be concluded from passages where the word is plainly an appellative. 4. *Beth Meon* signifies the house or temple of *Meon*; and no other than a supposed deity can be said to have a temple dedicated to it. Yet there are several names of places compounded with the word *Beth*, which have no relation at all to idols. 5. The *Israelites* changed the name of the city *Baal Meon*, when they had rebuilt it, as they did that of *Nebo*, because they were so named from false gods (41). But this is no necessary consequence.

(G) Some *Jews* imagine this *Balaam* was an astrologer, who observing when men were under a bad aspect of the stars, pronounced a curse upon

them; which sometimes coming to pass in neighbouring nations, gained him a great reputation. Several of the ancient fathers suppose him to have been no more than a common soothsayer (42), who pretended to foretell future events, but by no justifiable arts. *Origen* will have it that he was no prophet, but only a forcerer, who went to enquire of the devil; but that God was pleased to prevent him, and to put what answer he thought fit into his mouth. It cannot be denied however, but that the scripture expressly calls him a prophet; and therefore some later writers (43) are of opinion that he had been once a good man, and a true prophet, till, loving the wages of unrighteousness (44), and prostituting the honour of God to his covetousness, he apostatized from God, and betaking himself to idolatrous practices, fell under the delusion of the devil, of whom he learned all his magical enchantments; though at this juncture, when the preservation of his people was concerned, it might consist with God's wisdom to appear to him, and vouch-

(38) Ibid. 1 Chron. v. 8. *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (39) On Numb. xxxii, xxxviii. (40) *Psal.* xc. 1, and xci. 9. 41 See CUMBERLAND on *Sancton*.

Chap. 2. (42) See JOSEPH. 13. 22. (43) See PATRICK'S *Comment.* on Numb. xxii. (44) 2 Pet. ii. 15.

- a had great confidence, that he might come and curse the people, which gave them so much uneasiness (H). Accordingly ambassadors of both nations were sent, not empty handed, but with presents, as usual in such cases, to *Balaam*, who dwelt at *Peibor*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, situate on the *Euphrates*, and told him the occasion of their coming. The prophet desired them to stay with him that night, that he might enquire of God whether he should go with them and curse the *Israelites* or not: But being commanded not to go, nor to curse a people whom God had determined to bless; the next morning he told them, he could not disobey the divine command, and so dismissed them. On their return with this answer, *Balak*, whose sole hopes lay in the prophet, sent a second embassy to him, consisting of persons of more distinguished quality, and in greater number, with promises of great riches and preferment if he would comply with his request. *Balaam* told them, that if he might gain ever so much wealth, he durst not act contrary to the divine directions: However, being willing to gratify *Balak*, and tempted by the large offers which had been made him, notwithstanding he knew it was a thing disagreeable to God, yet he consulted the oracle once more, and had then leave given him to go, provided he said nothing but what God should put in his mouth. *Balaam* therefore went with the ambassadors, resolving, as it seems, with himself, to do his utmost for the service of those who had employed him. But his intentions being displeasing to God, he sent an angel to withstand him by the way, who placed himself in the road with a drawn sword in his hand, as *Balaam* came riding on his ass, attended by two servants only, and at a distance from the rest of the company; the ass seeing the angel (though her master did not) turned out of the way into the field; on which *Balaam* struck her: Then the angel went forward, and stood in a path between two walls; against one of which the ass thrusting her self to avoid the angel, crushed *Balaam's* foot, and provoked him to strike her again. At length the angel went farther, and stood in a place so narrow, that there was no room for the ass to turn out of the way; but she fell down under the prophet, and enraged him so that he struck her a third time. Whereupon God miraculously opened the ass's mouth (I), and she spoke to her master with an articulate voice, and asked him why he had given her those three blows?
- d *Balaam*, in the heat of his passion not considering the prodigy (K), angrily answered, that she had purposely provoked him; and wished he had a sword to kill her. But on the ass's demanding if ever she had served him in that manner before, he confessed that she had not. Immediately on this *Balaam's* eyes were opened, and he saw the angel standing before him armed with a naked sword; whereupon he fell prostrate on his face, and the angel told him, that he had struck his ass without cause, since it was he that opposed him because of his perverseness; and that if the ass had not

\* Genes. xv. 10, 18. Josh. xxiv. 2—15.

vouchsafe him revelations. *Balaam* indeed was a man of no great probity, and might by profession be a diviner; but by the free access he had to God, it seems apparent that he was no common forcerer or magician (45).

The Jews say *Balaam* was not his true name; but that he was so called, because by his counsel *בלע עמ* *Bala am*, i. e. he destroyed the people of God (46): And some have taken him to be the same person who in the book of *Job* is named *Elifaz* (47). The prophetic traditions of *Balaam* the *Perfian Magi* are said to have had (48), and it is thought, that from his prophecy (49) the wise men knew the signification of the star which appeared of our Saviour's birth (50).

(H) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made which would have effect, not only on private persons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpose (51).

(I) This was so extraordinary an event, that some Jews, as great lovers of miracles as they are, have not been able to persuade themselves that it

really came to pass. *Philo* (52) in relating the story of *Balaam*, wholly omits this circumstance; and *Maimonides* (53) pretends it happened to *Balaam* in a prophetic vision. But as there is no doubt of God's power to effect such a miracle, and the words of scripture are very express, there can be no reason for disbelieving it. The heathens cannot reproach *Moses* with any absurdity in this story, since they themselves relate so many of the like nature, but not near so well supported. Witness what they say of the ass upon which *Bacchus* rode; of the ram of *Phryxus*; the bull of *Europa*; the horses of *Achilles* and *Adrastus*; the elephant of *Porus* in *India*, and the lamb in *Egypt*, when *Bocchoris* reigned there (54).

(K) This seems to be the true reason why *Balaam* expressed no more surprize on this occasion. But some suppose *Balaam* might have imbibed the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which was, and still is too common in the east, and from thence might be the less astonished to hear a brute speak (55). *Josephus* indeed tells us, but without authority, that he was affrighted at the accident (56).

(45) STACKHOUSE'S *Body of Divinity*, p. 465, &c.  
(46) Vid. HOTTINGER. *Smegma Orient.* p. 444.  
(47) See PATRICK'S *Comment.* ubi supr. (48) D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 528. (49) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (50) THEODOR. TARSENSIS, apud Hyde de *rel. vet. Pers.* p. 384. (51) Vid. MACROB. *Satura*

l. 3. c. 9. PLUTARCH. in *vita Crassi*, p. 553.  
(52) *De vita Mosis*, l. 1. (53) *More Nevoch: part.* 2. cap. 42. (54) See PATRICK'S *Comment.* ubi supr. (55) Vid. CLERICI *Comment.* in locum. (56) JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. 1. c.

turned out of the way he should have killed him, and saved her alive (L). The a prophet on this reprimand offered to return home again; but the angel bid him go on, taking care only to say no more than what God should direct him \*.

BALAAM being come to the borders of Moab, Balak went out to meet him; and after some expostulations for not coming on the first message, brought him to *Kinjab-buzzoth*, where the king offered sacrifices and feasted Balaam and the princes who were with him. The next day Balak brought the prophet up into the high places of Baal on mount Abarim, where he might have a full prospect of the camp of the Israelites, whom he had hired him to curse \*. There Balak, by the prophet's direction, built seven altars, in which number there might possibly be some superstition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true God, to whom they offered a b bullock and a ram on each altar; and the same they did afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The two first times Balaam sought for enchantments \*, or used such means as he was able, to obtain leave of God to curse the children of Israel; but without success; for on the contrary he was commanded to bless them, sore against his inclination, and to the great mortification of Balak \*. Wherefore the third time, finding that no enchantments could prevail against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel, he omitted his former arts, and not only blessed them a third time, but pronounced those cursed who should utter any imprecations against that people. Balak was exceedingly enraged at this disappointment, and ordered him to depart immediately; but Balaam before he went, pronounced in Balak's presence a noble and magnificent prophecy of the future successes of the Israelites, and what should befall several nations and kingdoms \*. As to Moab in particular, he foretold, that a star (M) should come out of Jacob, and a sceptre should arise out of Israel, which should smite the corners (or, as it may be better translated, the princes) of Moab, and destroy all the children of Setb (N). Which prophecy the most judicious interpreters take to be primarily spoken of David, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed also secondarily, and in a more exalted sense, to refer to the Messiah. After this Balaam returned home c; but not without giving a most wicked counsel (O) to Balak and the Midianites, which proved very pernicious to the children of Israel: For he told them that it was in vain to expect that God would ever desert that nation, so long as they d continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and distress them, would be to tempt them to idolatry and disobedience, which he thought no means so proper to effect, as by enticing them to debaucheries with the Moabitish and Midianitish women. And therefore he advised them to send the most beautiful virgins they could find to the Israelitish camp, with proper instructions \*.

THIS was put in execution; the chief men among them making no scruple to prostitute their daughters on this occasion \*: And the stratagem succeeded but too well. For the Israelites were immediately smitten with the charms of these fair idolatresses; and having begun to commit whoredom with them, were easily seduced to another false step, and prevailed on to comply with the worship of their idols. e This occasioned a dreadful plague, which destroyed 24,000 of them, besides those who were put to death by the order of Moses \*.

\* Numb. xxii. 2, 35. \* Numb. xxii. 36—41.

† See before, p. 220, 221.

\* Numb. xxiii.

† Ibid. c. 24.

† Ibid. v. 17.

† Ibid. v. 25.

\* JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6.

\* Numb. xxv. 15.

† Ibid. v. 1—5.

(L) An instance of a prophet's being slain for disobedience, and his ass being saved alive, we have in the first book of Kings (57).

(M) The eastern nations denoted a king by a star or comet, the appearance of which they thought portended the rise of great princes, and revolutions in empires (58).

(N) According to the genius of the Hebrew tongue, wherein it is elegant to repeat the same sentence in different expressions, by the children of Setb, the Moabites should be intended; but why they are so called we cannot find. There is a passage in *Jeremiah*, which seems to prove, that in his time this place was differently read. A fire says that prophet, shall come out of Heshbon, a flame from the midst of Sihon, which shall devour

the corner of Moab, and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones, or, as is better rendered in the margin, of the children of noise (59). The former part of this passage is taken from another text (60), and the latter from that which we are now speaking of. The difference between them is very little in the original: *Jeremiah* instead of קרקר *karkar*, shall destroy, having קרקר *karkad*, the crown of the head (which is the reading of the Samaritan pentateuch in this very place) and instead of שש *Sesh*, שש *Sesh*, noise. But we dare not hence make any correction.

(O) Though *Moses* mentions not this where he describes the interview between Balaam and Balak, yet in another place (61) he lays the whole blame on

(57) Chap. xiii. 23, &c.

(58) *Vid.* CLERIC. in loc.

(59) *Jerem.* xlviii. 45.

(61) *Numb.* xxxi. 16.

(60) *Numb.* xxi. 28.

See also *Revel.* ii. 14.

- a THEIR hiring of *Balaam* to curse *Israel* was the reason why the *Moabites* were not to be admitted to mix or intermarry with that people, as has been observed<sup>1</sup>; but the *Midianites*, who seem to have been more particularly the instruments of seducing them to idolatry, were more severely punished soon after, as will be related in a more proper place: And *Balaam* himself had his reward, being slain by the *Israelites* when they took their revenge on *Midian*<sup>2</sup>.

- THE next action which is recorded of the *Moabites*, is that they were the instruments of the second oppression of the *Israelites* after their settlement in the land of *Canaan*. For that people, on the death of *Othniel* the son of *Kenaz*, being without a head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon God raised up *Eglon* king of *Moab* to punish them. This prince therefore having entered into an alliance with the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* his neighbours, with their assistance, successfully invaded *Israel*, and seized on the eastern part of their country, and particularly on a city called by *Moses* the city of palm trees, by which is generally understood *Jericho* (P), which was in the lot of the tribe of *Benjamin*; and having left garrisons to keep the inhabitants in subjection, obliged them to pay tribute, and exercised great tyranny over them for no less than eighteen years. At the expiration of which time, the children of *Israel* returning to a better mind, had recourse to God in their distress, who raised them up a deliverer, a *Benjamite*, named *Ehud*. This person being deputed by his countrymen to carry a present, or rather the tribute which was exacted of them, to *Eglon*, formed the design of freeing them from that excessive load of oppression they had so long undergone, by taking off their tyrant; he therefore provided himself with a dagger fit for the execution of his purpose, though short enough to be hidden under his garments; and, being left-handed, he girt it on his right thigh, which hindered any suspicion of his being armed. Having delivered the tribute to the king, he sent away those who had brought it, and followed them so far homewards as the quarries near *Gilgal* (Q); but when he came thither he turned back again, and being admitted into the king's presence, who was then in a summer apartment, he pretended to have something particular to impart to him in private. Whereupon *Eglon* ordered his attendants to withdraw: And *Ehud* told him, that he had a message to deliver him from God; which the king rising from his seat to receive, *Ehud* stabbed him with his dagger in the belly, and that with so violent a thrust, that the haft went in after the blade; and *Eglon* being a very fat man, the fat closed upon it, so that he was obliged to leave it in his body. Having thus executed his purpose, he locked the door of the apartment upon the king, and went out unsuspected (R). The servants, after *Ehud* was gone, coming, and finding the door locked, concluded the king was easing himself, and therefore waited at the door till they were ashamed; but at length they opened it, and found their master breathless on the floor. *Ehud* in the mean time escaped beyond *Jordan*, and gathering together what forces he could, attacked the *Moabites* that were garrisoned on the west side of the river within the land of *Canaan*, and slew ten thousand of their best men; which utterly broke the power of *Moab*, and freed the *Israelites* from the yoke of that nation<sup>3</sup>.

WE hear no more of the *Moabites* after this disaster, till the time of *Saul*, who

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 285. <sup>2</sup> Numb. xxxi. 8. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 5. c. 5. <sup>3</sup> Judges iii. 12—30.

on *Balaam*, saying, that the *Israelites* trespassed through his counsel. *Josephus* is very particular in relating this circumstance; and tells us, that *Balaam* bethought himself of it when he came to the *Euphrates*, and thence sent to speak with *Balak* and the princes of *Midian* (62). The *Targum* of *Jonathan* and that of *Jerusalem* suppose he gave this counsel just before he pronounced the last prophecy; and that the same is intimated by these words, *I will advise or counsel thee* (63).

(P) *Jericho* was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm-trees of different kinds which grew in its neighbourhood (64). *Josephus* says, that *Eglon* removed his court to this city (65): But he seems to have been mistaken: For after it had been burnt by *Joshua* (66), who cursed the person that should rebuild it (67), it lay in ruins

till the days of *Ahab* (68). However, the place might serve for a garrison to keep the country in awe, for which use it was very well situated.

(Q) The word *Penfilim*, which in our version is rendred the quarries, is by the *Septuagint* translated *τὰ γλυφῆματα*, and in the vulgate, *the idols, the sculptures*, which some suppose to have been set up there by *Eglon* (69).

(R) This action of *Ehud* some justify, by supposing he had God's express command for it (70). But as the scripture intimates no such thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjustly enslaved it, by any means (71). A position which may encourage assassinations in every case, where the actor judges the cause he engages in to be righteous.

(S) This

(62) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6. (63) Numb. xxiv. 14. Vid. etiam CLERIC. in loc. (64) Deut. xxxiv. 3. JOSEPH. de bello Jud. l. 5. c. 4. (65) Idem Antiq. l. 5. c. 5. (66) Josh. vi. 24. (67)

Ibid. v. 26. (68) 1 Kings xvi. 34. (69) CHYTRAËUS, &c. See before, p. 81. in the notes. (70) Vid. PATRIC, in loc. (71) CLERIC. in loc.



warred against them with success<sup>k</sup>. The enmity which subsisted between him and this nation probably induced *David*, when persecuted by that prince, to ask the king of *Moab*'s protection for his parents, till his affairs should be in a better posture<sup>l</sup>; which the *Moabite* readily granted, and treated them with great hospitality, while *David* lay in the cave of *Adullam*. However, when he came to the crown the *Moabites* entered into a confederacy against him with several of the neighbouring nations<sup>m</sup>: Whereupon he declared war against them; and having obtained a signal victory, put two thirds of them to the sword (S), and made the rest his vassals and tributaries<sup>n</sup>.

FROM this time they continued subject to *Solomon* and *Rehoboam* till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which it seems they became tributaries to the kings of *Israel* b though they had all along kings of their own, which were little better than viceroyes. *Mesha*, one of them, paid *Ahab* a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many weathers, with the wool; his wealth consisting chiefly in sheep<sup>o</sup>. But when *Ahab* was dead he rebelled against his son *Ahaziah* p, whose short reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and successor *Jehoram*, assisted by *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah* and the king of *Edom* his tributary, made an expedition for that purpose, and took a compass of seven days march through the desert of *Edom*, in order to surprize the enemy. Having reached the land of *Moab*, the army was distressed for want of water, and must have perished, had not the prophet *Elisba* obtained a sudden and large supply for them by a land flood. The *Moabites* being by this time alarmed, got together all that were able to bear arms, and early in the morning, seeing the water to the westward look red, like blood, by reason of the reflection of the sun, and never suspecting it to be water in that dry desert, and in so great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood, and supposing the confederated princes had fallen out, and turned their arms one against another, concluded they had no more to do than to take the spoil. On this suspicion they ran in confusion to the camp of *Israel*, but soon found their mistake; for not being able to sustain the first attack of the *Israelites*, they presently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were slain by the enemy, who pursued them into the very heart of their country, wasted their lands, and demolished their cities, except *Kir-baraseth*, where the king d of *Moab* shut himself up. *Mesha* being besieged and closely pressed, made a sally with 700 choice men, and endeavoured to escape, by breaking through the quarters of the *Edomites*, which were the weakest; but failing in the attempt, in the height of despair he took his eldest son, who should have succeeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-sacrifice on the wall (T). Which barbarous act struck such horror and indignation into his enemies, that they immediately raised the siege, and returned home<sup>q</sup>.

IT was not long before the *Moabites* attempted to revenge the losses they had sustained in this invasion, on *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah* (U), by whose assistance chiefly *Jehoram* was enabled to undertake it; and to strengthen themselves, entered into c

<sup>k</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 47. <sup>l</sup> 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 6. c. 14. <sup>m</sup> Psal. lxxxiii. 5, 6, &c. <sup>n</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xviii. 2. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 7. c. 5. <sup>o</sup> 2 Kings iii. 4. <sup>p</sup> 2 Kings i. 1, & iii. 5. <sup>q</sup> Ibid. v. 6, 27. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 9. c. 1.

(S) This is the meaning of the sacred historian, when he says, *That David measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he, to put to death; and with one full line to keep alive*. It seems to have been a custom in the east, to order the prisoners of war to lie down, and to measure by a line such a part of them as they designed to put to death. *Le Clerc* thinks this probably was a just retaliation for some cruelties of the same kind which the *Moabites* had been guilty of. As the scripture does not say whether *David* put to death two thirds of the whole nation, or only of those who appeared in arms against him; it is more for the honour of that prince to suppose the latter (72).

(T) Several writers (73) suppose *Mesha* did not sacrifice his own son, but the son of the king of

*Edom*, whom they say, he took in the sally; and that this is the same action with that mentioned by the prophet *Amos*, who threatneth *Moab*, because he burnt the bones of the king of *Edom* into lime (74). But they seem to be different actions; for not to insist on the strict acceptation of the two passages, one speaking of a king of *Edom*, and the other of a king's son, it was a known custom in ancient times, for princes in extreme calamities of the publick, to offer their most beloved child as an expiatory sacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (75).

(U) Some make this action prior to the invasion of *Moab*, by this prince and *Jehoram*; but we shall elsewhere shew that it ought to be placed after it.

(W) Who

(72) *Idem*, in 2 Sam. viii. 2. (73) See the Argument to the iii. chap. of 2 Kings in the English Bible; and *USHER's Annals*, ad Annum Mundi, 3109, &c. (74) *Amos* ii. 1. (75) See before, p. 138 &c.

Vide etiam PORPHYR. de Abst. l. 2. AELIAN. var. Hist. l. 12. c. 28. JUSTIN. l. 18. c. 6. PLUT. in Pelopida, &c.

- a alliance with the *Ammonites*, the *Edomites* of mount *Seir* (who were almost ripe for rebellion, and actually did rebel against *Jehoshaphat's* son) and some other neighbouring nations (W), and formed a very large army, carrying on their design with such secrecy and dispatch, that they had entered the kingdom by the way of *Edom*, and were got to *Hazazon-samar* or *Engedi*, on the west of the dead sea before *Jehoshaphat* had any advice of their motion. That good prince was greatly dismayed at the news, and being unprepared for the reception of his enemies; had recourse to God, who promised him by the prophet *Jabaziel* to deliver him from his enemies without his striking a blow. And it happened accordingly: For while *Jehoshaphat* and his army, in confidence of the prophecy, were marching towards the enemy, with the priests and  
 b fingers at their head, praising God, the several nations that had leagued against them destroyed each another by falling into the ambushes which themselves had laid against the men of *Judah*; so that the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* first fell upon their confederates of *Edom*; and having put them to the sword, began to cut one another's throats till none were left alive. And when *Jehoshaphat* and his people came up with them, they had no more to do than to seize the plunder, which was very rich, and in such abundance, that they spent three days in collecting it.\*

- AFTER this we do not find that the *Moabites* disturbed *Israel* for many years; however, between this and the reign of *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, they had invaded their neighbours of *Edom*; and having the better of them, inhumanly burnt their king  
 c (whether alive or dead is not said) and reduced his bones to ashes: For which piece of cruelty God denounced severe judgments against them by the prophet *Amos*†. And on the declension of the kingdom of *Israel*, they also seem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them before the invasion of *Sidon*; for in the prophecies of *Isaiab* and *Jeremiab* against *Moab*, several cities in those territories are mentioned, as then in the possession of that nation, or of the *Ammonites*‡, who were probably their confederates in oppressing the *Israelites*. These successes elated the *Moabites* so much, that for their pride and insolence God threatened them with utter destruction, by several of his prophets§: And *Isaiab* in particular foretold, that within three years *Ar* and *Kir-Harasheth*, two of  
 d their principal cities, should be destroyed, and the rest of their country brought to misery and desolation¶. This prophecy being dated in the first year of king *Hezekiab*‡, must have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was first besieged by *Salmaneser* king of *Assyria*, who probably subjected *Moab*, and placed garrisons in those towns, to stop the diversions which the *Arabs* might that way have given him, before he began the siege¶.

- AFTER the fearful destruction of the army of *Sennacherib* the son of *Salmaneser*, the *Moabites* often revolted from his successors, and were as often reduced, till they were entirely subdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whose hands their king was given according to a prediction of *Jeremiab*‡, the fifth year after his taking *Jerusalem*‡. For  
 e the *Babylonish* yoke sat so uneasy on them, that though they took advantage of the low condition of *Judah*, and missed few or no opportunities of harrassing that nation‡, yet on *Nebuchadnezzar's* departure from *Judea* and *Syria*, after his second expedition into those parts, they with the other neighbouring nations proposed to *Zedekiab* to enter into a league with him against the *Chaldeans*; which that prince‡, notwithstanding

\* 2 Chron. xx. 1—25. JOSEPH. ubi supr. † Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. ‡ Isaiab xv. & xvi. Jerem. lxiii.  
 § Ibid. & Ezek. xxv. 8, & 9. Zeph. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. ¶ Isai. xv. 14. ‡ Ibid. c. xiv. 28. † Vide  
 PRID. Connect. part. 1. B. 1. p. 18. ‡ Jerem. xxvii. 3—6. xxv. 21. ‡ JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11.  
 ‡ 2 Kings xxiv. 2. ‡ Jerem. xxvii.

(W) Who these nations were is uncertain. The original word *Mebanmonim* should be translated (as it is in the *Vulgate*) with the *Ammonites*, were it not that the children of *Ammon* are mentioned before. To avoid the absurdity of which repetition, the *Septuagint*, if their copies were not different from the present *Hebrew* in this place, render it *some of the Minzans*; of which name *Bochart* supposes there were two people, one of the race of *Shem*, dwelling in *Arabia Felix*, and the other of the race of *Ham*, who settled in *Arabia Petraea*, and are meant in this place, being, as he thinks, by the *Jews* called *Meonim*, which word occurs in two places of the book of *Chronicles* (76) though the

*English* translation in the first place takes it for an appellative, and renders it the *habitations*, and is in both by the *Septuagint* translated *Minzans*. Wherefore *Bochart* prefers the *Greek* reading in the passage before us, to the *Hebrew*; being of opinion that there is a transposition of the letters *Mim* and *Ain* (77). The *Chaldees* paraphrast has it, with the *Edomites*. But there seems to be no occasion for any change, since the particle prefixed may, agreeably to its force elsewhere, be rendered *beyond* or *besides* (78); for which reason the *English* version is judged to have rightly interpreted the words, and others besiege the *Ammonites*.

(76) 1 Chron. iv. 41. 2 Chron. xxvi. 7. (77) (78) Vide CLERIC. in Loc. BOCHART, Phaleg. l. 2. c. 23. PATRICK in Loc.

the remonstrances of *Jeremiah* to the contrary, consenting to, on the accession of the *Egyptians* to their confederacy, it became the occasion of his utter ruin; his new allies deserting him in his distress.

FROM this time history makes very little mention of the *Moabites*, who were henceforward subject to the great empires, and at length mingled among, and were swallowed up in the neighbouring nations which inhabit the deserts of *Syria*; so that though *Josephus* mentions the *Moabites* as a distinct nation long after, saying they were subdued by *Alexander Jannæus* king of the *Jews*<sup>4</sup>, and tells us they were a populous nation, even in his time<sup>5</sup>; yet by the third century after *CHRIST* they lost their ancient name, and fell with the neighbouring nations under the more general denomination of *Arabians*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> JOSEPH. de bello Jud. l. 1. c. 4. <sup>5</sup> Idem Ant. l. 1. c. 11. <sup>6</sup> ORIGEN. in Job. l. 1.

## SECTION II.

### The history of Ammon.

THIS people were the posterity of *Ammon*, otherwise called *Ben Ammi* (though that is not positively known) signifying the son of my people our kindred, the offspring of *Lot* and his younger daughter<sup>1</sup>. We have given the history of this incestuous birth in speaking of *Moab* the son of the elder sister by her father<sup>2</sup>.

Of the country possessed by the Ammonites THE children of *Ammon* possessed themselves of the country called after their own name, *Ammonitis*, adjoining to the north of the *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummins*, as they called them, who were giants, and the ancient inhabitants of the land<sup>3</sup>. This country<sup>4</sup>, as well as *Moabitis*, is by some reckoned a part of *Cale Syria*<sup>5</sup>, and by others of *Arabia*, and was in its first state under the *Ammonites*, bounded by the river *Jabboc* on the north<sup>6</sup>; though elsewhere it seems as if it extended beyond that, northward, into the mountains of *Gilead*<sup>7</sup>: On the west, it had the river *Jordan*; on the south, the river *Arnon*<sup>8</sup> or the confines of *Moabitis*; on the east, the deserts of *Arabia*. But in the days of *Moses* the *Amorites* had dislodged them from their first boundaries at the same time they disturbed the *Moabites*, driving the *Ammonites* from the western part of their possession into, and across the mountains, which served them for an immediate defence, perhaps, against the farther pursuit of the *Amorites*, and as a strong barrier to protect them, in part, from invasions thereafter<sup>9</sup>. Their exact boundaries, especially after this expulsion, we cannot settle. We have only to add, that their kingdom, probably, was not of very wide extent, any more than that of *Moab*; and that it was chiefly a corn country, as may be gathered from the tribute on its inhabitants, of which we shall speak in the course of their history.

THE cities of this kingdom we know little enough of. The metropolis was called *Rabbab*, which, to distinguish it from the chief city of *Moab*, which bore the same name or epithet, was called *Rabbab of the children of Ammon*<sup>10</sup>. It was also known by the name of *Ammana*<sup>11</sup>. This capital seems to have been distinguished into two parts, *Rabbab* properly so called, and the city of waters. Whence the waters were derived to it, whether from the river *Jabboc*, or whether from exuberant springs in or about it, cannot be determined. This only we have some authority to say, that it was the most delightful part of the city, and that the king's house stood there; from whence this part may have been stiled the royal city<sup>12</sup>. *Rabbab*, moreover, was famous for being the place where the great iron bedstead of *Og* king of *Basan* was to be seen<sup>13</sup>. In process of time this city was called *Philadelphia*<sup>14</sup> from *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who rebuilt it in a sumptuous manner; and for ages after, it was a city of first note: Nay, of such eminence as to impose its name upon the countries of *Ammonitis* and *Moabitis*; from hence stiled the *Philadelphian Arabia*<sup>15</sup>. The other considerable cities of this kingdom were *Minnith* (concerning which there is some doubt) and *Abel* of the vineyard<sup>16</sup>. *Jaser* or *Jazar* is also reckoned among the cities of *Ammon*<sup>17</sup>, but inaccurately<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xix. 38. <sup>3</sup> See before p. 284. <sup>4</sup> Deuter. xi. 20. <sup>5</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16—5. <sup>6</sup> Steph. de urb. in *Αμμαν*. <sup>7</sup> Judg. xi. 13. <sup>8</sup> Josh. xiii. 24, 25. <sup>9</sup> Judg. ubi supr. <sup>10</sup> See Numb. xxi. 24. <sup>11</sup> Deut. iii. 11. <sup>12</sup> STEPH. in *Αμμαν*. <sup>13</sup> See 2 Sam. xii. 25, 27. <sup>14</sup> Deut. ubi supr. <sup>15</sup> Vide EUSEB. Onomast. urbium & locorum. <sup>16</sup> Vide CELLARIJ notitias Orbis Antiqui. c. 14. <sup>17</sup> Judg. xi. 33. <sup>18</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. <sup>19</sup> Maccab. v. 8. <sup>20</sup> Vide CELLAR. ubi supr.

- a We know very little of the manners and customs of this people. They had kings, and were circumcised<sup>a</sup>, and seem, to have been principally addicted to husbandry. They, as well as the *Moabites*, were among the nations, whose peace or prosperity the *Israelites* were not to strive after. Neither the one nor the other of them were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation; so wide was the distance between the *Israelites* and them! The reason, because they did not come out to relieve them in the wilderness; and because they joined to hire *Balaam* to curse them<sup>b</sup>. However, we find there was afterwards a very good understanding between their king *Nabash* and *David*<sup>c</sup>.

- THE religion of the *Ammonites*, as we have already observed, concerning that of *Their religion*.  
b the *Moabites*, was originally as pure as it could flow from so clear a stream as the instruction of *Lot*; but they also swerved therefrom by degrees, and at length degenerated into the most stupid, and as is generally supposed, the most cruel idolatry.

- THEIR chief and peculiar deity is in the scripture called *Molech*, or *Moloch*. He is thought also to be understood under the names of *Baal*, *Milcom*, *Melech*, *Adramelech*, *Anamelech* and the like. These names or titles signify no more than lord or king, and sometimes have a pre-junctive epithet, as in the two last, where he is stiled the mighty and rich *Melech*, *Moloch*, or king: These two were the gods of the *Sepharvites*. We shall only speak of the *Ammonitish Moloch* in this place. The learned are not positively agreed in what relates to him. It is on all hands allowed that they addressed him under the title of king or *Moloch*<sup>d</sup>. His image is said to have been hollow, and to have been divided into seven receptacles. The first was opened for an offering of fine flour; the second for an offering of turtles; the third for a sheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the sixth for an ox; the seventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man stretched out in act to receive<sup>e</sup> (A). Now these seven receptacles are also called seven chapels; and instead of being within the image itself, are placed orderly before it<sup>f</sup>. Whatever was the disposition of these seven places, their number corresponding with that of the sun, moon, and five planets, has given room to suppose that they worshipped the sun intentionally<sup>g</sup>; and the rather as the oblations seem to rise in such proportion as might, according to this  
c people, best fit the degree of each of these heavenly bodies. But it were endless to expatiate in a conjectural way upon so obscure a matter, as the learned have done. Some accounts there are farther concerning this idol, but they are very doubtful (B). *Chemosh* also was a god of the *Ammonites*, concerning whom we have said all we can already<sup>h</sup>.

As to the superstitions paid to *Moloch*, there is a wide discrepancy among authors. By the scripture it is often said, that the *Ammonites* passed their seed through fire to *Moloch*. This expression is taken in a literal sense by some, in a figurative sense by others. The first sentiment is embraced by the *Jewish* writers (C), who for the most

<sup>a</sup> Jerem. ix. 25, 26. <sup>b</sup> Deut. xxxiii. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings xi. <sup>d</sup> Vide Voss. de Idololat. & SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntag. l. c. vi. <sup>e</sup> PAUL FAGIOS apud eund. ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> See BEDFORD'S Script. Chronol. p. 259. <sup>g</sup> Vide Voss. ubi supr. <sup>h</sup> See before, p. 285.

(A) An ancient *Jewish* traveller says, "that when he was in these parts, there were yet standing remains of the ancient temple of the *Ammonites*, and therein their idol seated upon a throne. This idol was of stone, gilt over with gold, and had on each hand the image of a woman in a sitting posture (79): Before the idol was the altar on which the *Ammonites* offered their sacrifices and incense". *Selden* thinks this idol and this temple cannot be thought to have been erected to *Moloch*, that most ancient deity of the *Ammonites* (80). And indeed we think this traveller must have been imposed on, or rather intended to impose on others. However, we must not apprehend, that the images of *Moloch* were always large and fixed: They were likewise small and portable, and carried up and down in shrines, according to appearance, and as the custom was with other idolaters, as will be observed at due times (81).

(B) To give you the various opinions of some learned men, *Moloch* has been taken for *Priapus*, for *Mercury*, for *Saturn*, and for *Venus* or the morning star (82).

(C) Some of the *Jewish* writers hold, That the children were solemnly delivered to the priests;

(79) BENJAMIN Itinerar. (80) In Syntag. prim. de diis Syr. (81) Vide eund. ibid. (82) Vide Voss. de Idolatria, lib. 2. c. 5. (83) MOSES. MA-

who returning them again, they were carried by their parents upon their shoulders, between two fires. According to others, the priests carried them. A very eminent writer of this sort says, "That the priests or servants of fire, persuaded men that their children would die if they did not pass them through fire: Wherefore parents being anxious for the lives of their children, and perceiving there was neither danger nor difficulty in performing the ceremony, no one neglected it, considering that the children were not to be consumed by fire, but only to pass through it" (83). This also is the opinion of *Solomon Yarbi*, *Joseph Kara*, and others; but *Aben Ezra* dissents therefrom, and affirms, that passing through fire must be here understood of burning. *Vossius* insists on it, that wherever the expression of passing through fire is met with, it must be taken in the strictness of the letter; but allows, that in cases of great calamity, and upon other particular occasions, they gave up their offspring as an expiatory sacrifice to their god (84). *Selden* is of a quite different sentiment, and will have it, that they not only led their children through fire, but burnt them also at the same time. This he proves as far as a matter of this nature can be ascertained (85). 1M. More Nieboch lib. 3. c. 38. (84) Vide Voss. ubi supr. (85) Vide SELDEN. ubi supr.

part hold, that the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification : The latter is adopted by the christian writers chiefly, who think that they actually burnt their children, by way of sacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near *Jerusalem* where this horrid custom was observed. It was called the *valley of the sons of Hinnom* <sup>(D)</sup>, so named from the shrieks of the children sacrificed : As also *Tophet* <sup>1</sup>, from a *Hebrew* word, *Toph*, signifying a drum or tabret, which they used among other instruments, to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims. Whence this cruelty took birth, is what we may have occasion to discuss at large hereafter.

*They drive out the Zamzummins.* As the *Moabites* drove out the *Emims*, and possessed themselves of their country, so the *Ammonites* forced the *Zuzims* or *Zamzummins*, as they called them, from their habitations, and settled themselves there. These *Zamzummins*, as well as the *Emims*, are stiled giants <sup>2</sup>, and were doubtless both derived from the same stock <sup>3</sup>. This gigantic race had been invaded by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* <sup>4</sup>, who destroying great numbers of them, as should seem, made it the easier for the children of *Ammon* to dislodge them. When this expulsion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the *Ammonites* themselves underwent the same fate in the days of *Moses*, being dispossessed by *Sibon* the *Amorite*, who drove them into, and to the eastward of the mountains.

*Their history.* THE names of their first kings do not occur. They joined *Eglon* king of *Moab* against *Israel* <sup>5</sup>, and shared in the successes of that war ; but who was their leader at this time is not said.

*They war with the Israelites under an anonymous king.* ABOUT two hundred years after this, we find the *Ammonites* as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, against the *Israelites*. This prince took it into his head to attempt the recovery of the ancient country of *Ammonitis* ; and making an irruption into it, he bore down all before him, and kept it in subjection eighteen years. Encouraged by his success, he crossed over the river *Jordan*, and insulted the tribes of *Judab* and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim* <sup>6</sup>, but returned to the other side again, and prepared (E) to make a compleat conquest of the country on both sides of the river <sup>7</sup> ; or at least to get a handsome portion of it. For it is said that the *Philistines* also at this time invaded *Israel* ; but whether with separate views, or in combination with the *Ammonites*, does not appear ; though it is most likely they intended to share the spoil between them. But to speak of the king of *Ammon* singly, he persevered in his purpose, and encamped in *Gilead* ; and the *Israelites* having turned to God, who had suffered them to be so long oppressed for their wickedness, they were inspired with a courage to oppose this arrogant invader, and to drive him out of *Gilead*, where he had lorded it for eighteen years. Accordingly, messengers came to him from their new general *Jephthab*, to demand his reasons for persisting in his enmity against them, and threatening them with farther calamities. His answer to them was, that the remembrance of the injuries his fore-fathers had sustained when the *Israelites* dispossessed them of their country, had excited him thereto ; and therefore required them forthwith to restore that district to him, as in justice they ought. In reply to this pretension, there came ambassadors to him again from *Jephthab* : And these made an historical remonstrance to him of his mistake, in saying the *Israelites* had driven out the *Ammonites*, and stily expiating upon the truth of the story throughout the several circumstances, expected his answer : But he gave no ear to them, and was bent at all hazards upon a war. And therefore as he lay near *Aroer*, he was attacked by *Jephthab*, who gave him a total overthrow ; and being put to flight, he was pursued with great loss of blood, even into his own dominions, to *Minnish*, and from thence as far as *Abel* of the vineyards : So that not only his army was slaughtered, but good part of his country also was pillaged and wasted <sup>8</sup>. This was the event of

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. <sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 10. <sup>3</sup> Deut. ii. 20, 21. <sup>4</sup> See before, p. 286. <sup>5</sup> Gen. xiv. 5. <sup>6</sup> See before, p. 289. <sup>7</sup> Judg. x. 8. <sup>8</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 9. <sup>9</sup> Judg. xi.

(D) This valley was a very delightful place, watered by the springs of *Siloab*. It was shady and beautified with gardens. And indeed it is remarkable that the heathens commonly chose fountain heads and solemn groves for the scenes of the homage they paid their deities, which custom, our author supposes they borrowed from the *Ammonites* (86).

(E) There is pretty considerable difference here between the scripture and *Josephus*. He says the *Ammonites* and the *Philistines* had only prepared to cross the river *Jordan*. The scripture says, the *Ammonites* did actually cross over to fight with *Judab*, and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim* ; so that the *Israelites* were in great distress.

- a the war, which put an end to the tyranny of *Ammon* over the *Israelites* on the other side *Jordan*, and which had lasted, as we observed, eighteen years.

THE next of their kings we find mentioned, is called *NAHASH*. He flourished in *Nabash king* the days of *Saul*, from whom he received the just reward of his great insolence and barbarity. For reviving the old claim to the territory inhabited by the *Israelites* on the other side *Jordan*, he waged war with them, which in the beginning was attended with all the success imaginable. At length coming to the city of *Jabesh*, he besieged it. The terror of his arms was so great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themselves at his feet, and acknowledging him for their lord and king. This submission, which might have mollified a prince of generous heart, served only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition than their consenting every man to the loss of his right eye, that in them he might stigmatize the whole body of *Israel*. The inhabitants returned for answer, That if he would allow them but seven days to endeavour a deliverance from him, they would submit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none was found to deliver them. This he granted them, and secure within himself, waited for the cruel satisfaction he proposed shortly to enjoy. But he was assaulted in three several parts of his camp by *Saul*, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected the inhabitants to march out to him, as they deceitfully told him they should the night before; and his army was put into such confusion that the *Israelites* had little else to do but to put them to the sword. Instead of a battle it is termed a slaughter, which lasted till the heat of the day; at which time the surviving remnant of *Nabash's* army was so perfectly dispersed, that there was no two of them to be seen together. Thus ended this war. We are informed that *Nabash* did some kindnesses to king *David*. *Josephus* differs from scripture in his account of this war (F.)

*HANUN* succeeded his father *Nabash* (G) in the kingdom; but whether this *Na-Hanun king* *bash* be the very same who was defeated by *Saul* at *Jabesh*, we are not told. However this was, we are informed that *Nabash*, the father of *Hanun*, had lived in a very fair intelligence with *David*. Wherefore when this latter heard that *Nabash* was dead, and that his son succeeded, he, for the father's sake, sent ambassadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loss, to congratulate him upon his accession, and to offer a continuance of the friendship which had been cherished between the late king and him. *Hanun* seems to have been a weak prince, and had very ignorant counsellors about him. Whence it came to pass that when he received these compliments from king *David* by the mouth of his ambassadors, he, in the room of improving them to advantage, took a false step which he never could recover. For instead of entertaining these ambassadors with the hospitality and decency which became him, he suffered himself to be persuaded that they were no better than spies; and accordingly, forgetting the sacredness of their character, he shaved off the half of their beards, cut away their garments by the buttocks, and in that shameful disguise sent them back to their king. This amazing defect in policy, and contempt of *David*, in open defiance of the laws of nature, hospitality and gratitude, brought on a war, which ended in the destruction of him and his kingdom.

It was soon told him how grievously *David* relented the affront, and what preparations he was making to chastise him for it. *Hanun*, therefore, perceiving himself on the brink of a war, to which he singly was unequal, dispatched ambassadors to the neighbouring princes, to hire and solicit the assistance of troops from them, to enable him to withstand the invasion which threatened his kingdom. What the troops he

\* 1 Sam. xi.    \* 2 Sam. x.    1 Chron. xix.    JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 7: c. 6.

(F) There seems to be something very unaccountable in *Josephus's* history of this war: He says that *Nabash* began it, and carried it on for some time with the violences usual in the like cases, and with this political addition, of plucking out the right eyes of all those he took, that they might lose the use of their bucklers, which covered the left eye, or the use of that eye at all; and so reduce them to a slavery for life, seeing they would be unable to defend themselves. But may it not be asked how it could come to pass that those who pressed on so hastily to relieve *Jabesh*, could

have suffered *Nabash* to have gone on in a course of this cruelty for even the shortest space of time? This historian seems here to be quite wide of the sense of the sacred text.

(G) Notwithstanding *Josephus* informs us that *Nabash* was killed upon the breaking up of the siege of *Jabesh*, (87) we cannot forbear thinking that he lived many years afterwards, and was the father of this *Hanun*. His behaviour at *Jabesh*, speaks him to have been a rash, hot-headed young man at that time, and he might naturally enough have lived many years afterwards.

(87) JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 6. 6.



procured were, either in quality or number, is not clearly evident, inasmuch as the scripture varies (H) concerning them. First, we are told that *Hanun* sent to the Syrians of *Beth-rebub*, and to the Syrians of *Zobab*, from whom he had twenty thousand footmen; to the king of *Maachab*, who furnished one thousand men; and to the king of *Ishob*, who sent twelve thousand men<sup>1</sup>. With this *Josephus* agrees pretty well in respect of number, retrenching only the one thousand men supplied by the king of *Maachab*, and allowing him and the king of *Ishob* to have contributed twelve thousand men between them<sup>2</sup>. Whence, instead of making the number of these mercenaries to have amounted to thirty three thousand, as the scripture does, he computes them at thirty two thousand. Again, we are told that *Hanun* sent a thousand talents of silver, therewith to hire chariots and horsemen out of *Mesopotamia*,<sup>3</sup> and out of *Syria Maachab*; and out of *Zobab*; and that he actually hired thirty two thousand chariots besides the king of *Maacha*'s men<sup>4</sup>. Between *Josephus* and this passage of scripture there is a more material difference than before: He says, those which came out of *Mesopotamia* were footmen<sup>5</sup>. Here also we see the scripture keeps to the number of thirty three thousand. However, though the number be the same as before, the difference is very great. But let us proceed to the actions and events of this war.

*HANUN* having thus drawn a considerable force from the neighbouring countries, and raised an army of his own subjects, marched out of *Rabbab* to fight *Joab*, whom *David* had sent at the head of his army. The *Ammonites* and their auxiliaries drew up in two distinct bodies; viz. the *Ammonites* under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at some distance on the plain. By this disposition they thought to have charged *Joab*'s front, and at the same time to have fallen upon his rear; but this took no effect. For the *Ammonites* were attacked by *Abishai*, *Joab*'s brother, whilst *Joab* himself charged the Syrians. The *Ammonites* (I) sustained *Abishai*'s charge with great constancy, and maintained the conflict with intrepidity, till perceiving their Syrian friends to give ground, they thought it most advisable to retreat into their city, and they did so.

THE next year their Syrian allies, ashamed of their last defeat, made head again, (K) but being utterly routed by *David* in person, the *Ammonites* were left to defend themselves against the violent and just resentment of their injured enemy<sup>6</sup>.

It came down heavily upon them. For the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by *Joab*, who harassed and wasted it far and wide; and at length besieged *Hanun* in *Rabbab*, the capital of his kingdom. The place held out about two years; during which *Hanun* made one desperate sally, and cut off many of the besiegers, and, among the rest, *Uriah* the husband of *Bathsheba*. At length the city was reduced to the utmost extremities of famine, and was stormed by *David* in person, who came to have the honour of completing the work. In the assault *Hanun* was slain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (one hundred thirteen pound ten ounces, one penny-weight 10  $\frac{3}{4}$  gr. of our *Troy* weight<sup>7</sup>), or was worth so much, and was adorned with precious stones (a sardonyx, *Josephus* says) was taken from off his head by *David*. What other spoil was found in this metropolis, is nowhere specified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary severity, being led out and put to death by the most exquisite torments, harrowed, sawn, and hacked with axes, and passed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful usage extended to the rest of the cities of *Ammon* (L), which held out against the conqueror; all such shar-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. ubi supra. <sup>2</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra. <sup>3</sup> 1 Chron ubi supra. <sup>4</sup> ubi supra. <sup>5</sup> Sam. ubi supra. JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra. <sup>6</sup> See ARNUTH. Tab. of ancient coins, weights and measures, Tab. XX.

(H) There is no reason for quitting the letter of the scripture to follow *Josephus*, who says expressly, that the head of this league was *Syrus* king of *Mesopotamia*, whereas the scripture calls *Haderazer*. *Josephus* is so professed an admirer, and so constant a copier of the *Greeks*, that he frequently chuses to err with them, rather than be in the right with his own nation, which was very probably the case here (88).

(I) In what concerns this battle we reject *Josephus*<sup>8</sup>, and choose to interpret the scripture according to reason and the nature of things.

(K) Thus it appears by scripture, which, in-

verting the order of things, makes the Syrians principals in this war, rather avenging their last overthrow than espousing the cause of the *Ammonites*. *Josephus* strays here again very unaccountably. He makes the *Ammonites* send to one *Balama*, a king of the Syrians beyond the *Euphrates*, for another army thrice as big as that they hired before (89).

(L) The scripture says it extended to all the cities of *Ammon*; but we cannot forbear thinking that this expression means, only, all such as held out obstinately, and defied the king of *Israel*; and herein we are supported by *Josephus*.

(88) *Id. lib. 7.* <sup>8</sup> *Antiq. lib. 7. c. 7.* (89) *Ubi supra.*

- a ing in the fate of the city of *Rabbah*, which was destroyed, and laid level with the ground \*. And thus did the *Ammonites* suffer excessively for the rashness of a young king, and the foolish advice of unexperienced counsellors.

AFTER this terrible execution, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of *Ammon*, nor indeed of the nation itself, till the reign of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*. At this time we find them united with their brethren the *Moabites*, and the inhabitants of mount *Seir*, against the said king of *Judah*. The particulars of this war, and how it ended, we have given in the history of *Moab* †.

AFTER this they were overthrown by, and made tributary to, *Uzziab* king of *Judah* ‡.

- b THE *Ammonites* bore this yoke as long as *Uzziab* lived, but in the reign of his son *Jotham* they had an anonymous king over them, who stirred them up to rebellion against him. The nation at this time must have been pretty well recovered, and having a martial prince at the head of them, they resolved to free themselves from the oppressions of their old enemies in *Judah*. The event was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and were reduced to compound for their peace with *Jotham*, by paying a tribute of one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley †, in all about one hundred sixty thousand of our bushels; and this same tribute did they pay for three successive years ‡.

- A T length when the *Babylonians* grew mighty, and threatened all the kingdoms of this part of *Asia* with subjection, it is likely they might have entertained thoughts of withstanding the common enemy with their joint force. From hence, possibly, a good understanding between *Baalis* the last king of *Ammon*, and *Zedekiah* the last king of *Judah* \* might arise. But when destruction came upon *Zedekiah* and *Jerusalem*, the *Ammonites* shewed themselves, and exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city †, for which they were severely threatened by the Prophet. It seems impossible that they should have refrained from it, considering the implacable enmity which had so long subsisted between the nations. However, *Baalis* received all the *Jews* that fled into his dominions, to avoid the captivity, and among those one *Ishmael*, of the royal blood, whose interest he pretended to have much at heart. And to give him an instance of his readiness to assist him, with his counsel at least, advised him to go back again into his own country and assassinate *Gedaliab*, who, by the express appointment of the *Babylonians*, was left there and set over the poor remnant of the *Jews*. By this stirring up a pretender, he seems to have aimed at the utter extirpation of the nation, either out of a pure desire of revenge, or with some view to his own advantage at the same time. His bloody counsel was taken, and the assassin did his work, and was obliged to fly back again to *Baalis*, who received him into his protection ‡. But *Baalis* lived not long unpunished for having been so evidently accessory to the murder of the innocent *Gedaliab*: For, a short time afterwards he was attacked by *Nebuzaradan* the *Babylonian* general, who put his country to fire and sword, and destroyed his chief city *Rabbah*, and carried away *Baalis* and most of the nobles of *Ammon* into captivity, as had been prophesied by *Amos*: *I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, and their king shall go into captivity, he and his princes together, saith the Lord*; and by *Ezekiel*: *And I will deliver thee for a spoil † unto the men of the east, and will give them the Ammonites in possession, that the Ammonites may not be remembered among the nations* ‡.

- THIS last prophecy was in due time compleated, their name being blotted out from the book of nations in the end. But in the mean time they are mentioned as conjoined with the *Arabians*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, in giving all the disturbance they were able to the rebuilding of the temple of *Jerusalem*; which they endeavoured f to prevent as much as in them lay. One *Tobiab*, called the servant, is said to have been at the head of them upon these occasions ‡.

LIVING in peace and quietness under the great monarchies, the *Ammonites* in process of time grew to be more considerable, and in the days of *Judas Maccabeus* were assembled together in a very great army under their governor *Timotheus*, to fight against that heroic *Jew*. They came to a battle, wherein *Timotheus* and the *Ammonites* had the worst, and the same ill-fortune attended them in other subsequent conflicts under the same leader, and against the same enemy. In the end their city *Jaser* (it was

\* See 2 Sam. xii. 1, 29, 31. JOSEPH. ubi supra. c. 7. 1 Chron. xx. \* See before, p. 291. † 2 Chron. xxvi. 8. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 9. c. 11. ‡ Vid. ARBUTH. ubi supra. † Idem ubi supra. \* 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. † See Jerem. xxvii. 3. ‡ See Ezekiel xxv. † See Jerem. chap. xl, xli. c. 1. 14, 15. ‡ xxv. 7—10. \* See Nehem. ii, iv, vi, xiii.

not antiently reckoned a city of theirs) and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the *Jews*, who slew the men, and carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt this city of *Jaser*; and thus ended this, as it seems, their last warfare with the descendants of *Israel*<sup>1</sup>.

NEVERTHELESS, towards the beginning of the second century of the christian *era*, they were declared a numerous nation<sup>2</sup>; but towards the latter end of the same their name was vanished, and they themselves blended among the *Arabians*<sup>3</sup>, as happened also to the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and others.

<sup>1</sup> See 1 Macc. v. 6—8. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11, 12. Prideaux Connect. Part II. Book IV. p. 212. <sup>2</sup> Vide JUST. MART. in dial. cum Tryph. p. 272. <sup>3</sup> Orig. lib. 1. in Job.

### S E C T. III.

#### The History of MIDIAN, or MADIAN.

*Their descent.* IT is generally agreed that this people drew their origin from *Midian*, the fourth son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, from whom they were called *Midianites*. He received large gifts from his father, as did the rest of his brethren, and was, as well as they, sent into the east country, to be at a proper distance from *Isaac*<sup>a</sup>. The sons of *Midian* were *Ephah*, and *Epher*, and *Henoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Aldaah*<sup>b</sup>.

THE *Midianites* were, in their most early times, evidently confounded with the *Ismaelites*<sup>c</sup>; and many ages afterwards they are mentioned in conjunction with the *Nabataans* and *Kedarenes*, the posterity of *Nabaioth* and *Kedar*, the sons of *Ismael*<sup>c</sup>. Doubtless, remembering their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were pretty much blended together. On the other hand, we find them to have been so incorporated, as it were, with the *Moabites*, that *Moses* almost considered them as but one nation<sup>d</sup>. Their religion was the same, and they acted in the strictest concert together against him and the *Israelites*. The ties of blood united these likewise, as on the one side they were descended from *Abraham*, and on the other from *Lot*. So, just as they happened to live in the northern or southern parts of their country they joined themselves either to the *Moabites* or the *Ismaelites* from hence we, in part, gather the extent of their territory, and that it was pretty wide.

*The country possessed by the Midianites.*

THE country of *Midian* was a part of *Arabia Petraea*. Its exact limits cannot be ascertained. From what we find in scripture, it must have laid south-east-ward of the lake *Asphaltites*, or the *Dead sea*<sup>e</sup>. On the north, it was bounded by *Moab*, or rather mixed with it<sup>e</sup>. Its boundary on the east is uncertain. On the south it was bounded by the *Red sea*. On the west, by *Edom*, or *Idumaea*, and, partly, also on the north, as we apprehend<sup>f</sup>.

BEING a part of *Arabia Petraea*, it was mostly rocky, mountainous, and sandy. These defects however were pretty well ballanced by the numbers of camels and dromedaries it abounded with; creatures most admirably adapted for the use of such as were to live upon so dry and craggy a soil. It was also well stored with other cattle, which in great herds were driven about to pasture, and to springs of water<sup>g</sup>. Though it is certain that this country was not very well furnished with fixed habitations, such as boroughs and great towns, yet we read of their cities and goodly castles: But these we must understand to have stood in the neighbourhood of *Moab* only<sup>h</sup>. Two of its cities we have express mention of, and both called *Midian* or *Madian*; the one, situated in the north towards *Rabbah* of *Moab*, or *Areopolis*; the other in the south by the *Red sea*<sup>i</sup>; and was very probably the same which *Ptolomy* calls *Modiana*, and is perhaps the same with a ruined place which the *Arabs* call *Madyan* to this day. Finally, we must not forget that mount *Sinai* is placed within this territory<sup>j</sup>.

*Their manners.*

THE *Midianites* were a very numerous race, and may be distinguished into two sorts, shepherds and merchants. The shepherds moved up and down in tents, and

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xx. 2. 6. 1 Chron. i. 32. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. v. 33. Gen. xxv. 4. <sup>c</sup> See Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Judg. viii. 24. <sup>d</sup> Isa. lx. 6, 7. <sup>e</sup> See Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46. <sup>f</sup> See Exod. iii. 1. xvi. 5. Judg. vi. 3. vii. 12, 24, 25. <sup>g</sup> See Numb. xxii. 4. <sup>h</sup> See 1 kings xi. 18. <sup>i</sup> See Judg. vi. 5. <sup>j</sup> Num. xxi. 10. <sup>k</sup> Hieron. in Numb. xxxi. 8, 10. <sup>l</sup> Vide Euseb. Onomast. in vocem Xωγῆς.

- a drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war<sup>a</sup>. The merchants also travelled from place to place in companies<sup>c</sup>, or caravans, as the merchants of those parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as appears by the story of *Jethro's* daughters (A). The shepherds, it is likely, had few or no fixed habitations, except some strong holds near their borders: The merchants probably had few or none except marts and stations, in places convenient for their trade. These grew to be exceeding rich, and by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the shepherds became thereby rich in precious ornaments<sup>d</sup>. Their manners must have been in many respects as different as their way of life. However, they are in general represented to have been very sumptuous in their household stuff and dress. We read of their *jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, earrings, tablets*<sup>e</sup>, the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains or collars round the necks of their camels<sup>f</sup>.

It appears very plain from *Job*, that they had the use of writing very early in these parts<sup>g</sup> among the descendants of *Abraham*; and the *Midianites* being also of the number, we cannot suppose them to have been ignorant therein (B). *Sir Isaac Newton* affords them the honour of having instructed *Moses* in writing<sup>h</sup>. The merchants must also have been versed in some measure in arithmetic; and there being ships on the mediterranean so early as in the days of the patriarch *Jacob*<sup>i</sup>; and these being themselves traders, and situated on the *Red Sea*, it cannot be supposed that they could refrain from ship-building, and visiting the shores of their own sea, and the coasts thereunto contiguous. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their sciences beyond bare writing and arithmetic, and allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy.

It is very apparent that the *Midianites* varied as much from each other in their religion, as in their manner of life. At first they were, to be sure, pure and right in their way; how long they persevered in it is not said. But in the days of *Moses* they partly wallowed in all the abominations of the *Moabites*<sup>k</sup>; those we mean who were nearest to that idolatrous nation; nay, exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of *Israel* when they lay in the plains of *Moab*, in persuading them to bow down to *Peor*<sup>l</sup>; but we are indeed told that *Peor* was worshipped by the *Midianitish* women chiefly<sup>m</sup>. Thus stood religion in the north of *Midian*. Now in the south we find them enlightened by a rational and sublime system, long after their brethren had fallen into the foulest corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly stiled the priest of *Midian*, and is said to have lived<sup>n</sup>, and is by some thought to have presided<sup>o</sup> over the *Midianites* near the *Red Sea*. His behaviour<sup>p</sup> in the camp of *Israel* is a sufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwise very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumcision<sup>q</sup>. They offered up praises and thanksgivings and sacrifices to God, but their religious rites or ceremonies are not spoken of.

c We know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government as in occupation and religion: Excepting the case of *Jethro*, their government is represented rather as aristocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs however are stiled kings, and therefore we shall dignify them with the same title.

<sup>a</sup> See *Judg.* vi. 5. <sup>c</sup> See *Gen.* xxxvii. 28. <sup>d</sup> See *Numb.* 50, 51, 52. *Judg.* viii. 24. <sup>e</sup> *Numb.* ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> *Judg.* ubi supr. v. 26. <sup>g</sup> See *Job.* xix. 23, 24. <sup>h</sup> *Chron.* of ancient Kings. amend. ed. p. 210. <sup>i</sup> See *Gen.* xlix. 13. <sup>k</sup> See before, p. 285. <sup>l</sup> See *Numb.* xxv. 18. *JOSEPH.* *Antiq. lib.* 4. c. 6. <sup>m</sup> *HIERON.* in *Numb.* Hom. xx. <sup>n</sup> *JOSEPH.* *Antiq. lib.* 2. c. 11. <sup>o</sup> Vide *TREMELLII* *Bibl. Lat.* *Exod.* iii. <sup>p</sup> *Exod.* xviii. 10—12. <sup>q</sup> See *ibid.* iv. 25, 26.

(A) That story seems to inform us, that the men in the south part of *Midian* were not shepherds; and therefore we imagine they were merchants. *Josephus* expressly tells us, that it was the custom of the women in this part (which he by mistake calls *Troglodytica*) to over look the cattle; though indeed in this he seemingly contradicts what he says but a line or two before (*vix.*) that the shepherds of the country were continually at strife which should get first served with water; and from thence infers the irregularity committed upon *Jethro's* daughters (1).

(B) It is almost plain that *Jethro* himself had the art of writing, and, though we dare not positively assert it, sent a letter to prepare *Moses* for his re-

ception, when he was on his way to the *Israelites* with his daughter *Zipporah* and her two sons. This is very rationally inferred from *Jethro's* form of addressing himself to *Moses*, and what is said to have happened thereupon: *I, thy father-in-law, Jethro, am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.* What was the consequence of this? *Moses went out to meet his father-in-law.* Had these words been uttered face to face, *Moses* could, with no manner of propriety, be said to have gone out to meet his father-in-law. As to the manner of writing in these days, and in these parts, there is mention made of graving with an iron pen or style, upon lead, in the book of *J. 6* (2).

(1) *JOSEPH.* *Antiq. lib.* 2. c. 11.

(2) *Chap.* xix. 24:

*Their history.*

THE most ancient record we find concerning this nation, after what has already <sup>a</sup> been said, is, their war with *Hadad the Horite*, when *Midian* was smitten by him in the field of *Moab* <sup>1</sup>.

THE next is their purchasing of *Joseph* from his brethren for twenty pieces of silver, and carrying him away with them into *Egypt*, where they sold him to *Petiphar*, one of *Pharaoh's* chief officers <sup>2</sup>.

*Jethro.*

MANY years after this there lived a priest or prince (C) of the southern *Midianites* called *Reuel* or *Jethro*, or the *Kenite* the father of *Moses* <sup>3</sup>. This person resided, in the city of *Madian* by the *Red Sea* <sup>4</sup>. It happened that his daughters, who were seven in number, met with some disturbance, one day, from certain rude shepherds, in watering their father's flock. Just before this, *Moses* had set himself down to rest in <sup>b</sup> the same place, being then upon his flight from *Pharaoh*; and perceiving the outrage of the shepherds, who drove the maidens and their cattle from the water they had been at the pains of drawing, he rose up and withstood them, and assisted the young women in completing their work. When they went home to their father, he wondered to see them come back sooner than usual; and enquiring into the cause of their dispatch, they gave him an account of the insult they had received at the well; and how an *Egyptian* (so they called *Moses*) had protected and assisted them. The good man enquired where this worthy stranger was, and reproved his daughters for being so unkind as not to bring him home with them; and straitway sent them to invite their friend and protector to refresh himself. They obeyed, and brought *Moses* <sup>c</sup> to their father *Jethro*; who taking a fancy to the man, retained him in his family, committed the care of his flocks to him, and in process of time gave him his daughter *Zipporah* to wife; and *Jethro* had *Moses* with him forty years. At length, understanding that his son-in-law was commissioned by God to lead out the children of *Israel* from bondage, he consented to part with him and his daughter, and his grandchildren, who set out for *Egypt*: But a dispute arising between *Moses* and his wife <sup>d</sup> about circumcising a child upon the road <sup>5</sup>, she came, or was sent back again by her husband, and he went on without her <sup>6</sup>.

WHEN *Jethro* heard of the mighty things which the LORD had done through *Moses*, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of *Egypt*, he <sup>d</sup> took his daughter *Zipporah* and her two sons, and his own son *Hobab*, and set out with them towards his son-in-law *Moses*, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his daughter *Zipporah*. They were all received very affectionately by *Moses*, and *Jethro* hearing from him the wondrous works which had been done for *Israel*, he blessed God for the same, acknowledged him to be far superior to all other gods, and took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God: And *Aaron* and all the elders of *Israel* came to assist at the solemnity, and to pay him the respect due to so venerable a person.

THE next day *Jethro* had an opportunity of displaying his great wisdom and skill in the due regulation of government. He observed that the people crowded about <sup>e</sup> *Moses* all day long; and asking him the meaning of it, *Moses* answered him, that he had been sitting in judgment. Upon this *Jethro* told him, he was quite wrong to charge himself with so grievous a burden, too much for any one man to bear; that it would be enough for him to attend upon the sublimer concerns only, to consult with God, to declare his holy laws and ordinances, to instruct the people in the right way and the like, and commit the judging and well-ordering of the people to a select number of the most righteous men among the multitude, who should, according to their abilities, be appointed over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens; abstaining from every business himself that was not of the highest moment. *Jethro* gave not this counsel in vain, and thereby administered great ease to <sup>f</sup> his son-in-law *Moses* <sup>7</sup> (D).

ANY thing farther concerning *Jethro* we know not, except that *Moses* dismissed

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 35. <sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxxvii. 28, 36. <sup>3</sup> Exod. iii. 1. Judg. i. 16. <sup>4</sup> JOSEPH. ubi supr.  
<sup>5</sup> Exod. ii. iii. iv. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. xviii. 2. <sup>7</sup> Ibid. v. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & seqq.

(C) The Hebrew word is *חֹבֵן* *choben*, which signifies a prince or a priest, and is promiscuously rendered by both the one and the other.

(D) A very eminent divine contends that this whole story is misplaced, and ought to stand between the tenth and eleventh verses of the tenth chapter of *Numbers* (3): First, because *Jethro* is said to have taken burnt-offerings and sacrifices for

God. Secondly, because *Moses* is said to have sat to judge the people, and to have made known to them the statutes of God and his laws. As this story now stands, says our author, it refers to a time when as yet the tabernacle was not erected, nor any altar built; *Moses* had not yet received any laws from God; nor had they reached mount *Sinai*.

(3) LIGHTFOOT ubi supr. § xxx.

him;

- a him; that he seems to have left his son *Hobab* (E) behind him, with a friendly intent that he should serve as a guide through the wilderness; but it was with reluctance he went through with them; nor was he prevailed on to do it without very large promises<sup>a</sup>. We read farther concerning the descendants of *Jethro*, that they were called *Kenites*, and that they joined the children of *Judab*, and marched with them from the city of palm trees [*Jericho*<sup>a</sup>] into the wilderness of *Judab*<sup>b</sup>. That upon the taking of *Hebron* they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in consideration of their having forsaken their native place, and suffered with the *Israelites* all the toils of their wars, and all the distresses in the wilderness<sup>c</sup>. That *Heber* the husband of *Jael*, who killed *Sisera*, was particularly of this family<sup>d</sup>. That on the aforelaid consideration also, the *Kenites* were many years afterwards warned by *Saul* to move off from the *Amalekites* when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preserved, and fixing their seat upon a rock, and there possessing a strong hold, they grew wanton and presumptuous, and were carried away into captivity by the *Assyrians*, together with the ten tribes of *Israel*, as *Balaam* had prophesied long before: *And he [Balaam] looked on the Kenites . . . and said, strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest on a rock. Nevertheless the Kenites shall be wasted, until Ashur shall carry thee away captive*<sup>e</sup>. And thus have we traced down the posterity of *Jethro* to their exit.

- THE *Midianites* we shall have now occasion to mention as at enmity with *Israel*,  
 c we apprehend to have been chiefly those who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with the *Moabites*. *EVI*, *REKEM*, (F) *HUR*, *ZUR*, and *REBAH*, were all *Evi*, *Rekem*, five of them kings or dukes of *Midian* (G), when *Moses* overcame *Sibon* the *Amorite*, *Hur*, *Zur*, and greatly fearing for themselves, they entered into counsels with *Balak* king of *Moab* and *Rebah*. to consider upon what methods they could take to avoid the dangers which they thought threatened them. We shall not repeat here what we have already said concerning this absurd and iniquitous matter in the history of *Moab*<sup>f</sup>. Only it will be necessary for us to remark here once more, that the *Midianites* seem to have signalized themselves in a most extraordinary manner in their endeavours to turn the children of *Israel* from God. For, it must be remembered that *Balaam* had sent them word  
 d either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven by any other means than enticing them to sin, the sole means whereby God could be brought to forsake them: That upon this occasion it would be proper for them to take the most beautiful of their young women and deck them out in the most gorgeous manner, and send them to the *Israelites*, with such instructions for their behaviour, as that might ensnare their hearts, and corrupt their minds also<sup>g</sup>. This counsel they swallowed down very greedily, and were so sanguine upon the matter, that we find *Zur*, one of their kings, made no scruple to send his daughter *Cozbi* among the rest; but it was a tragical business for her; she was killed by a wound in the belly, given with the same weapon, and with the same stroke  
 e that made an end of her paramour *Zimri*. For the rest, these fair idolatresses played their part so well as to captivate many of the *Israelites*, and so absolutely to prevail over them, as to bring them to bow down before *Baal-peor*, from whence great trouble and destruction came upon the whole body of them (H)<sup>h</sup>.

THE *Midianites* herein, enjoyed but a short-liv'd satisfaction; their forwardness upon this occasion, and treacherous practices, kindled the wrath of God against them, and *Moses* had positive orders to smite them particularly. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed upon them by twelve thousand of the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Phinehas*, they made the best prepa-

<sup>a</sup> Numb. x. 29—32. <sup>b</sup> See before in the Notes, p. 289. <sup>c</sup> Judg. i. 16. <sup>d</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 2. <sup>e</sup> Judg. iv. 11. <sup>f</sup> Numb. xxiv. 21, 22. <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 287, 288, 289. <sup>h</sup> p. 289. <sup>i</sup> Numb. xxv. 15—18. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 6. See before, p. 289.

(E) It is very strange that those who know not how to think that *Raguel* and *Jethro* were both names belonging to one man, will yet have it that *Hobab* and *Jethro* mean one and the same person. And, contrary to the apparent reason of things, that it was *Jethro* himself under the name of *Hobab* who is here intreated to serve as a guide to the *Israelites* (4). *Josephus* frequently calls him by the name of *Raguel*, and says he was *Moses*'s father; so says the scripture, under the name of *Raguel*, in the place where *Hobab* is mentioned. In scripture he is constantly called *Raguel* or *Jethro*, till he

(4) Vide CLERIC. in *Exod. xi.* & *Numb. x.*

departed from the camp. Shall we suppose that he came back again, and was from thenceforward called *Hobab*? That *Jethro* returned to his own country, is expressly said.

(F) *Josephus* calls these five kings *Ozus*, *Sares*, *Rabear*, *Ures*, and *Rekem*, and says, that this last built and gave name to the city of *Rekem*, the capital of *Arabia*, by the Greeks, called *Petra* (5).

(G) They are also stiled princes of *Midian*, and dukes under *Sibon* king of the *Amorites* (6).

(H) *Josephus* mentions a plague on this occasion which carried off fourteen thousand souls (7).

(5) JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 7. (6) *Josh. xiii. 21.* (7) JOSEPH. *ubi supra.*



rations they could to withstand the invasion, by fortifying their castles, and mustering their strength. But their castles availed them but little, nor the strength they mustered. They were defeated, and every man of them put to the sword, and among the rest *Balaam*<sup>1</sup> (I) and all their cities and goodly castles were laid in ashes. Not one male of any age or degree was spared, they were put to the sword, as were all the females likewise that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waste, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of six hundred seventy five thousand sheep, seventy two thousand beeves, and sixty one thousand asses. The virgins which were carried away captive were thirty two thousand in number; and there is mention made of great riches in gold, and silver, and iron, and other metals, which were carried off in this general devastation \*.

Thus was a branch of the *Midianites* utterly cut off; but in process of time this loss was supplied, and it pleased God, for the punishment of *Israel*, that they rose up in war against that sinful nation, and in their turn were very near destroying the whole generation of them by fire, and sword, and famine, for seven successive years. For, about one hundred and fifty years after this slaughter of the *Midianites*, there appeared two kings at the head of them and the *Amalekites* and *Arabians*.

Zebah and  
Zalmunna.

THESE two kings are called ZEBAB and ZALMUNNA, who waged so cruel a war against the *Israelites*, that not daring to stay in the low country, they betook them to the mountains, and there, they made themselves caves and fortresses to shelter them. The *Midianites* having therefore no enemy that withstood them, they wasted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This destruction they continued for seven years together, marching every summer season in vast multitudes, with numberless camels, and herds of cattle, about the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themselves; so that there was scarce any sustenance left for the *Israelites*, who continually fled to the mountains upon their approach<sup>1</sup>.

BUT God put a stop to these merciless incursions of Zebab and Zalmunna, who meant to possess themselves of the land \*. *Gideon* was chosen by heaven for the delivery of his country, and he did it so effectually, that the *Midianites* never durst afterwards contend with *Israel*. Zebab and Zalmunna, and their confederates marching into the country, according to custom, pitched their tents in the valley of *Jezreel*, on this side *Jordan*. Here as they lay, taking up a vast tract of ground, their camp was explored by *Gideon* in the night, who overhearing one in the camp telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of *Gideon*, he was encouraged to carry into execution a stratagem which he had formed for their destruction, with only three hundred men, armed with a rams horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly about midnight the *Midianites* were alarmed in three quarters of their camp, by the sound of a hundred trumpets in each; and starting from their sleep, perceived also as many lights breaking in upon them on so many sides. The sound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud shouts they heard, struck them with horror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their immediate consternation, they fell into confusion; and being of different languages, attacking on each other, a dreadful slaughter ensued. The kings Zebab and Zalmunna, found means to extricate themselves, and fled with a body of about fifteen thousand men: Oreb and Zeeb, two princes of *Midian* also found means to escape for the present; but they immediately fell into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, who put them to death; and by the slaughter upon this occasion, and what happened in the camp, there fell one hundred and twenty thousand men. The kings Zebab and Zalmunna, got over the river, to *Karkor*, and there thought themselves safe; but being briskly pursued by *Gideon*, they were surprized and put to further flight, and being overtaken again, their fifteen thousand men were dispersed<sup>2</sup>, and themselves taken prisoners, and carried back by *Gideon* \*. When he had them home with him, he asked them what kind of men they were whom they had slain at *Tabor*; they answered they were such as himself, of majestic deportment; to this he replied, they were his brethren, and therefore he would not spare their lives: Wherefore he ordered his son to kill them; but they perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requested of *Gideon*, as a favour, that he would dispatch them

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xxxi. 1—8. \* Ibid. v. 9, 10, 11. & seqq. JOSEPH. ubi supra. c. 7. <sup>2</sup> Judg. vi. 1—6. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 7. \* Psalm lxxxiii. 11, 12. \* Judges ubi supra. 10, 12, 13. & seqq. vii, viii. 1—18. \* Vide JOSEPH. ubi supra. c. viii.

(1) *Balaam* is positively said to have returned home; (8) but whether he came back again in compliance with the second message, or whether

(8) Numb. xxiv. 25.

of his own accord, to see the issue of his wicked counsel, or to forward it, is not said.

a himself, and he did so, and they were no sooner dispatched than the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the *Midianites* discomfited a second time, and plundered of immense wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, rich attire and the like. The very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed 1700 shekels b. This downfall is, by the prophet, termed, *the day of Midian c*, and *the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb d*. From henceforward they gave over the trade of war e.

THEY were, however, a famous nation many ages afterward, and are mentioned for their industry and riches, f and the magnificence of their tents g; but in the first century their name was disused, being by that time swallowed up by b the more famous of *Arabia*. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the ancient name (R); in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to shew the place where *Moses* watered his father-in-law's cattle.

## S E C T. IV.

## The History of Edom.

c **E**SAU, called also *Edom*, was the progenitor of this people. He was the son *Their ancest-* of *Isaac*, the son of *Abraham*, by *Rebekah*, and born at a birth with *Jacob*, *ter.* being his twin-brother and the elder of the two (A). These twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early presage of the strife which was to take birth between them, and revive between their descendants, as God himself explained it to their mother. *Esau* was born with red hair all over him (B); and as he grew up he proved to be a very strong and active person, and delighting in the chase, became a *man of the field*; by which means providing plentifully and deliciously for d his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand; being of a very masculine turn of mind, and much absent from home; he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother *Rebekah*, who prided herself wholly in *Jacob*, who was a gentle spirited man, and more frequently in her eye. On a day it happened that *Esau* came home quite spent with fasting and exercise, and perceiving that his brother *Jacob* had cooked some pottage, begged he might have some of it, being quite empty and ready to faint. *Jacob* taking advantage of his brother's distress, tells him, if he would make over his birth-right to him, he would grant his request. Whereupon *Esau*, thinking himself at the point of death, and that his birth-right was of no value to himself, consented to *Jacob's* ungenerous motion, and sware away his e birth-right to him, and accepted of a mess of pottage in consideration thereof; for which he is rightly said to have *despised his birth-right*. Upon this occasion he was called *Edom*, which signifies red, the colour of the pottage which *Jacob* so dearly

b Judg. viii. 18, 26. c Isa. ix. 4. d Isa. x. 26. e Judg. ubi. supr. ver. 28. f Isa. lx. 6. g Habak. iii. 7.

(R) *Abulfeda*, from whom we have authority to say this, calls it *Madjan*, and *Moses's* father-in-law, *Shoaib* (20), and the place is still one of the stations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, under the name of *Shoaib's Cave*. (21).

(A) It is remarkable, that as he came into the world, his brother *Jacob* had him fast hold by the heel, to intimate that he would supplant him, as he afterwards did, says a learned commentator (1).

(B) Much is said concerning this extraordinary hairyness of the new-born *Esau*: but not to enter into the little uncertain niceties of a subject of this kind, it is in general thought, that he had not only hair on his head, but all over his body; and that

this hair was as strong as bristles; in short, that he was as rough and shaggy as a satyr (2): and this indeed seems to be the meaning of the text, which says he was *red all over, like an hairy garment*. This expression has given birth to a conjecture, that the hair garments they wore in those days, were of a reddish colour, like the hair of *Esau* (3). Instead of *garment* the LXX render it *σκέδινος*, a bristly, shaggy skin, and the Vulgate has the same interpretation. It is thought that each interpretation has an eye to the fashion among the *Arabs* of wearing skins (4), as some of them do at this day, but they are sheep-skins, warm and soft, sown together, the wool being worn innermost (5).

(20) *Descrip. Arab.* p. 42. *inter Geo. Vet. Script. Grec. Min.* (21) See RAY's *Collect. of curious Travels and Voyages*, *Tom. 2.* p. 158. (1) PATRICK's *Comments. upon Gen.* xxv. 26. (2) *Idem. ubi supr.* v. 25. (3) CLERIC. in *Gen. Loc. supra cit.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) TRAVENOT. *Part 1. lib. 20 Chap. 32.*

Year of the  
Flood, 1239.  
Year before  
Christ, 1760.

fold him (C). \* At the age of forty years, he gave great trouble and sorrow to his parents by marrying among the daughters of *Heib*; he took two of them, *Judith* the daughter of *Beer*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Elon*<sup>b</sup>; but this wore off in time, and he was received into favour with his father again. *Isaac* now grown old and very dim-sighted called *Esau* to him, and told him, that he knew not how few the remainder of his days might prove, and therefore should be glad if he would take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and get him some venison, and dress it for him in a savoury manner as he had often done, that *his soul might bless him before he died* (D). *Esau* obeyed, but while he was absent, his mother, who heard the words which passed between his father and him, dressed her son *Jacob* in *Esau's* cloaths (E), and preparing a dish of savoury meat, sent him in with it to his father, who pronounced the irrevocable blessing over *Jacob*. Thus was *Isaac* deceived and *Esau* supplanted,<sup>b</sup> who coming in with his venison just after *Jacob* was gone, *Isaac* in a great agony told him he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recal the blessing. When *Esau* heard this he wept bitterly, and upbraided

\* Gen. xxv. 24 — 34. <sup>b</sup> xxvi. 34, 35.

(C) We are well apprized of all that has been said by commentators and others upon this great transaction between these brethren; but it will hardly be expected we should run the same lengths they have, nor enter into their infinite representations of this matter; and therefore we shall briefly touch upon some general points only. The *Pottage* it seems was red, or yellowish, and made of lentils (6) from *Egypt* (7); of which there were two sorts, one darker than the other (8), and each highly prized by the ancients, both of the east and west. *Pliny* relates from others, that equanimity is the usual effect of feeding upon lentils: and another writer says they inspire with joy (9). It is unlucky they should have kindled such a strife between *Esau* and *Jacob*. To this some answer, that *Esau* had never seen any afore (10); and this is pretended from *Esau's* saying only, *give me some of that red, red*, as it is in the original: but this is at first sight very unlikely to be true; for doubtless these lentils must have been a food which he and the rest of the family were well acquainted with; so that what the ancients held concerning the harmonious effects lentils have upon the mind, must fall to the ground. But to leave this subject, let us take a view of the birth-right which was exchanged for these lentils. The chief privilege of the *Birth-right*, say some, was the inheriting a double portion of the father's estate (11): others annex the priesthood thereto, and suppose that *Esau's* cloaths, with which *Rebekah* clad *Jacob*, were his sacerdotal vestments (12); but this notion is quite overthrown by what stands on record concerning *Cain* and *Abel* (13). Thirdly, a superiority over the rest of the children, is thought to have been the principal prerogative of the *Birth-right*. Again, the chief privilege of the *Birth-right* might have been to challenge the particular blessing of the dying parent. To conclude upon this head, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the person of the son, on whom the blessing was conferred, so as to die with him, but descended to his posterity. So the promises made to *Jacob* in his blessing were not fulfilled in him, but in his children after him. Such was the *Pottage*, and such the *Birth-right*, which were set in opposition to each other. The Hebrew word בְּרִיתָהּ *balhitani*, which *Esau* uses in addressing *Jacob*, occurs no where but in this place, and has therefore been variously canvassed by interpreters. Some, with the LXX, that he asked

but for a bare taste; others, with the *Samaritan*, that he asked for the whole, or for the largest share. We shall willingly pass by such idle inquiries, since neither sense can justify *Jacob's* insinuating, or *Esau's* parting with a *Birth-right* upon such terms, if we consider either action as merely human (14). But we shall find a more proper place to discuss this point when we come to the History of the *Jews*.

(D) It is thought that *Isaac* only sent out *Esau* by way of probation; that is, to try whether he had good success or not, thereby to satisfy himself in a scruple he had whether he should bless him or no. For as by his former ill success he was reduced to the necessity of making away his birth-right; so now if the same ill luck attended him, he should take it for a sign that the blessing was to depart from him: and though he had pronounced the great blessing over *Jacob*, yet when he perceived that *Esau* had brought home the venison he sent him for, he deemed it a tacit expression of the will of God that *Esau* should have his blessing also, and he blessed him accordingly (15).

(E) Concerning these cloaths, it is said they had been worn by *Adam* in his minority, and that they retained the ineffable fragrantcy of paradise (16). Others only suppose that they were laid up in aromatic flowers or other perfumes, to preserve them from moths, and to refresh the brain, when put on; and that it is groundless in the *Jews* to imagine they descended from *Adam* to *Noah*, and so downwards to *Abraham's* family (17). Besides, it may be asked how it came to pass that *Isaac* could part with so precious a relique to his son, during his own lifetime? Perhaps this is too early to suppose there was any such delicacy in apparel; but this is obviated by the near neighbourhood of *Arabia* (18). By the smell of the field some may understand a scent more manly than the steams of a perfume, especially as *Esau* was so great a hunter, and perpetually in the field; but that expression is supposed to have a different import, and to mean, that his cloaths were exquisitely scented; and this seems to be confirmed from the *Samaritan* reading, which after the מַלְחָה *Shadeh* a field, has מִלְּחָה full; and so the LXX have rendered it ὡς ὁσμὴ ἀγρῶ πλήρης and so the Vulgate has it, *Sicut odor agrī pleni*; as the smell of a full field, or as it is supplied, as the smell of a field full of sweet herbs and flowers.

(6) Gen. ubi supra, ver. 30, 34. (7) St. AUGUST. in Psal. xlvii. (8) PLIN. Histor. Nat. l. 18. c. 31. (9) Auctor Geopon. lib. 2. c. 35. p. 71. (10) See PATRICK'S Comment. ubi sup. ver. 30. (11) Ver. 31. LIGHTFOOT Observations in Genesin. c. xxvii. (12) Gen. iv. (14) Vide CLERIC. in Genes. ubi supra. (15) Vide LIGHTFOOT Observ. in Gen. c. p. xxvii. (16) Vide BRAUN. de Vestib. Hebr. sacerdot. c. 4. (17) See PATRICK'S Comment. upon Gen. c. xxvii. 15. (18) Vide CLERIC. in Gen. c. xxvii. 27.

<sup>a</sup> his brother with his unnatural and sordid dealing, first in extorting his birth-right from him, and now, in robbing him of his blessing. However, *Esau* did so far prevail with his tears, and his sorrowful pressing intreaties, that his father blessed him also to this effect; that *his dwelling should be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (F), that *he should live by the sword and serve his brother, but that he should shake off the yoke at last*. It was with a heavy discontented mind that he heard his lot, and his resentment wrought so strongly upon him, that at first he determined to kill *Jacob* as soon as their father should die; which coming to the knowledge of *Rebekah*, she sent *Jacob* away to *Padan-Aram*, under pretence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred<sup>c</sup>. But *Esau* cooled again and quietly submitted to his lot, and finding that *Isaac* and *Rebekah* had a great aversion to the daughters of *Canaan*, he went over to *Ismael* and took his daughter *Mahalab* the sister of *Nebaiotb* (G), adding her to the wives he had already taken<sup>d</sup>; and removed with his family to mount *Seir*, not so much with a design to settle there, perhaps, as to serve a present convenience. The spot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of *Edom*<sup>e</sup>, and in a few years he became a very considerable person.

FOR, when news came to him hither, that his brother *Jacob* was on his return from *Padan-Aram*, he went out to meet him on the road with a train of four hundred followers, with which he meant to honour and assist his brother, and not to inject fear into him as he did. The interview was very tender on both sides, but especially *Esau*, unmindful of what most men would ever have retained, accosted *Jacob* with tears of joy, and the most melting affection: he nobly refused the presents wherewith his brother would needlessly have bribed him to a reconciliation, and pressed him to hold on his way to mount *Seir*, that they might be neighbours and live together; and when *Jacob* artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of the tediousness of his marches for the sake of the children and cattle, and seemed to say he would follow him; *Esau* desired he would let him at least leave some of his followers behind to assist him and conduct him on his way: but this being rejected, he with reluctance left *Jacob* behind him, and took the presents away which had been utterly forced upon him by his timorous brother (H). *Jacob*, who was now as

Year of the  
Flood, 1260.  
Year before  
Christ, 1739.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxvii. <sup>d</sup> Gen. xxviii. 6—9. <sup>e</sup> Gen. xxxiii. 3. in the Margin. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. & xxxiii.

(F) Some give this part of *Esau's* blessing a quite contrary turn, and will have it that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living should be by rapine and violence; and accordingly, that *Edom* was an ungrateful soil, nor refreshed with timely rains (19). The interpretation of the LXX, with a trifling variation of *αὐτῷ*, by making it either a preposition or an adverb, may be taken both ways. But, on the other hand, it is observed, that if we follow our own translation, which is directly in the sense of the Vulgate, and in the sense St. *Hierom* took it, there will be still a wide difference between *Jacob's* blessing and *Esau's*; that in the latter there is no mention made of corn and wine; no such dominion promised as in *Jacob's*; and that lastly, whatsoever fatness was in the soil of his country, it did not last long (20). Nevertheless, *Moses* seems to tell us, that the land of *Edom* was not so destitute as some may imagine; when he promises the king of *Edom*, that if he would permit the children of *Israel* to pass through his country, they should hurt neither the fields nor the vineyards (21): the fields may perhaps have been rather corn fields, than pasture; and, if this be true, the *Edomites* had their corn and wine too. As to what *Malachi* says of the infertility and desolation of the kingdom of *Edom* (22), that may, we think, be rather attributed to the cruel effects of their unfortunate wars, than to any failure in the usual product of the soil.

(G) It is manifest from hence, that *Esau* paid no regard to the divine revelation, or he would not have taken the descendant of a bond woman [*Hagar*] who could not inherit the promises made to *Abraham* and *Isaac* (23).

(H) It appears very plain from what now passed between *Esau* and *Jacob* at this meeting, that the former was not so great a reprobate, or naturally

so bad a man, as some have unreasonably represented him. We had resolved to touch upon this matter in the behalf of *Esau*; but finding it generously done to our hands by a very worthy divine, we shall content ourselves with the substance of what he says: *Esau* was a plain, generous, and honest man; nor does he seem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his speedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and slights he received from him: and though St. *Paul* calls him the prophane *Esau*, and says he was hated by God, it cannot thence be gathered that he was a wicked man, or that God punished him for an immoral life. 1. This sentence could not extend to his posterity, and is not said to be founded upon his actions. 2. God's hatred of *Esau* was not a hatred which induced him to punish him with an evil; for he was as happy in the blessings of this life as *Abraham*, *Isaac* or *Jacob*, if not more. His children became masters of the land of their possession much sooner than the *Israelites*; and God was pleased to command the *Israelites* not to disturb them in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was such, why should we despair of his being a partaker of the heavenly? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the blessing, so was *Lot* and *Job*, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. *Paul* means no more than to shew the *Jews*, that God had all along bestowed the favours which led to the Messiah on whom he pleased; to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Esau*; to the *Gentiles*, not to the *Jews*. 5. Though *Esau* be called βίβλος or prophane, he is never called ἀσέβης or ἀμαρτωλός, wicked or immoral. So that the only defect in his character is, that he does not seem to have

(19) *Idem* ubi *supr.* ver. 39. (20) *PATRICK'S Comment.* ubi *supr.* ver. 39. (21) *Numb.* xx. 17—20. (22) *Malach.* i. 3. (23) See *PATRICK* upon *Gen.* xxviii. 9.

much afraid to follow him, as he had been before to give him a positive denial, <sup>a</sup> (I) went and dwelt in *Sbechem*, and *Efau* remained in *Seir* till he heard that his father *Isaac* was either dead, or upon the point to die, and went to *Mamre*, where he assisted *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceased parent, and took possession of his inheritance. For *Jacob's* birth-right was a spiritual prerogative; and no ways related to his father's temporal estate; so that by this addition to his former store, and his brother being also very rich, and master of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impossible to enjoy such large possessions together in a country where they were both strangers; and therefore as *Abraham* and *Lot* had done before, they parted. *Efau* returning to the country of *Seir*, being an hundred and twenty years old, married *Abolibamah*, a daughter of the country, but originally of *Canaan*; and from henceforward took such measures as might be most conducive to the good and peaceable settlement of his descendants in this country.

Their country.

Now though *Efau* might have no positive knowledge of it, yet God designed this land for an inheritance to his line <sup>b</sup>, as he did that of *Canaan* for the line of *Jacob*: and this naturally leads us to give the best description we can of the realm so ordained for them; which we shall here do once for all. This country was originally, so far as we know, inhabited by a people called *Horites* or *Horim*, whether so named from one *Hor* or *Hori*<sup>c</sup>, which was a name amongst them, is what we know no more than whether mount *Hor* was so denominated from him, as some think<sup>d</sup>. It was called the mount or land of *Seir*, not from the hairyness of *Efau* as *Josephus* dreamed<sup>e</sup>, but from that *Seir* whose descendants *Moses* tells us (<sup>†</sup>) *Efau* destroyed, and settled himself in their land. In the *Samaritan Version* it is called *Gablab*; by *Jonathan's Targum*, *Gobal*; and by *Josephus*, *Gobolitis*; which several appellations are derived from *Geboul*, signifying a border; for it did border upon the land of *Canaan* on the south; but what was the extent of the antient country of *Seir* we take not upon us to say; and therefore can mention no other boundary. When the children of *Edom* seized on this country, it grew to be universally known under the name of *Edom*; but we cannot gather that they extended their limits till the time they erected their monarchy when they built *Elatb* and *Esfongeber*, as is likely, on the eastern shore of the *Arabian* gulf; but in the days of *Moses* no part <sup>d</sup> of their dominion abutted upon that gulf<sup>e</sup>. When the antient kingdom of *Edom* was in its meridian, it was, as we think, bounded on the north by the land of *Canaan* and the salt sea, or lake *Asphaltites*, on the east by *Midian*, on the south by the *Arabian* gulf, or the red sea, so called from the jurisdiction this people exercised over it, as is most likely (<sup>K</sup>); on the west it was bounded by *Amalek*.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Ubi supr. xxxv. xxvi. <sup>b</sup> Deut. ii. 5. Josh. xxiv. 4. <sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30. <sup>d</sup> See WELLS's Historic. Geogr. of the Old Test. Vol. 1. p. 533. <sup>e</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 20. <sup>†</sup> Comp. Gen. xxxvi. 20, & seq. and Deut. ii. 12, &c. <sup>m</sup> See Numb. xx. 17—21. Deut. ii. 1. & seq.

have been so mindful of the promises made to his family as *Jacob* was; from whence, and from his temper, it appears that he was not quite so fit to be the heir of the mercies peculiar to his family (<sup>24</sup>).

(I) This interview, which *Jacob* took so large a compass to gain, was doubtless designed to shew his brother that the great store of wealth he was now possessed of, was not given him by good old *Isaac* in his wrong, but was the fruit of his own industry during his abode in *Mesopotamia*; and to which therefore he could lay no claim after their father's death. And it was in all probability owing to this same needless care of keeping them far enough out of his reach, that he chose to dwell in *Sbechem*, rather than to accompany his brother to *Seir*, or to return to his father and mother, after so long an absence from them.

(K) The *Red Sea*, as we commonly call it, is more properly termed the *Arabian* gulf. By the *Hebrews* it was called *Yam Suf*, the weedy or flaggy sea; by the *Arabians*, *Bahr Alkolzum*, or the sea of *Kolzum*, a small town at the northernmost end of it. But by the antient inhabitants of the adjacent coun-

tries it was called the sea of *Edom*, because it washed the southern skirts of the land of *Edom*. The *Greeks* finding that the *Phœnicians* called it *Yam Edom*, mistook the word *Edom* to signify an appellation instead of a proper name; and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, *Mare Rubrum*, and thence we have the *Erythrean* or *Red Sea* (<sup>25</sup>). Others (<sup>26</sup>), however, derive the name from a certain king of the east, in, or towards *Persia*, called *Erythras*; but by the *Red Sea* they manifestly understand what we call the *Indian* ocean; and therefore we cannot think with *Sir Isaac Newton* (<sup>27</sup>), that this same *Erythras* is the *Edom* or *Efau* of scripture (<sup>28</sup>), and that he was actually the first that invented the vessels, *vateri*, in which they navigated that sea. *Agatharcides* expatiates on this, and will have it, that the *Indian* ocean was called the *Red Sea*; not because the *Arabian* gulf belonging to it, had hills on the west of it, which when the sun shone intensely upon them, looked somewhat like burning coals. On the east he says indeed there were some red hills, and the same there are at this day; but this, he says, was not

(24) SHUCKFORD's Connex. of the Sacr. and Prof. History of the World, vol. 2. 2d Edit. p. 174. & seq. (25) See PRIDEAUX's Connex. of the Old and New Test. Part 1. Book 1. p. 10. (26) PLIN. l. 6. c. 28. STRAB. l. 16. p. 766. POMF. MEL. l. 3. c. 8. (27) Chronol. of antient Kingdoms, Amend. p. 211. (28) Apud PHOT. in Biblioth. p. 1. 322.



- a** THIS tract is very hilly and mountainous, and great part of it desert. It has few or no open streams, but latent springs of water sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, who know where to find them<sup>a</sup>. Corn and wine, nevertheless, it seems to have anciently abounded with in some degree<sup>b</sup>; so that *Eſau* may have enjoyed the fat of the land (L); and besides, his posterity, by their situation, were able to supply and enrich themselves with the produce of some of the finest and most fruitful soils on earth, by means of their commerce with foreigners by the red-sea, in those days the greatest and most considerable trading water in the world. *Amalekitis* is by some reckoned to have been a part or province of *Edom*<sup>c</sup> (M), but however it was considered in later days, it certainly was not so when the kingdom of *Amalek* flourished; and therefore we shall treat thereof separately, in the next section. We are positively told that the land of *Uz*, *Job's* country, lies within the limits of the ancient *Edom*<sup>d</sup>; but some very noted geographers<sup>e</sup> are unwilling to grant it, for reasons which are not altogether so valid as might be wished; but they are too obscure and uncertain to be discussed here.

Now the cities and remarkable places of *Edom* were, *Teman*, which being mentioned for the wisdom and counsel of its inhabitants<sup>f</sup> was, perhaps, the royal seat: The country around it was called *Temani*; of this part was *Eliphaz*, one of *Job's* friends<sup>g</sup>. *Dedan*, a city of great commerce with *Tyre*, some of whose commodities are mentioned, such as ebony, ivory, and fine cloaths<sup>h</sup>, seems to have been situated in an extremity of the country opposite to *Teman*<sup>i</sup>. *Bozrah*<sup>j</sup>, *Bosor*, *Bazrab*, and the like, are names of another city of *Edom*; its name implies a fortress, which has made some imagine that it was the capital of the kingdom<sup>k</sup>. By the manner of the prophet's introducing it, it may be guessed to have been a considerable place in his days. *Selab* or *Petra* being words of the same signification, the one in greek the other in hebrew, it is thought, the one is a translation of the other, and that they both intend one and the same city<sup>l</sup>. If this be right, it stood on a level spot of ground encompassed all round by steep rocks and craggy precipices; and within this inclosure were many gardens and rich springs; but beyond it the country was a desert<sup>m</sup>. That it was thus naturally fortified, appears by several authors<sup>n</sup>. By one it is called the chief place of the *Nabateans*<sup>o</sup>, whom in another place he calls *Idumeans*<sup>p</sup>, that is, *Edomites*; and says, that it was three or four days journey distant from *Jericho*. A second author also calls it a city of the *Nabateans*<sup>q</sup>. A third places it near mount *Hor*<sup>r</sup>, and calls it the capital of *Arabia*<sup>s</sup>. A fourth seats it ten miles westward of *Elath*<sup>t</sup>, a sea-port on the red-sea belonging to the *Edomites*. Moreover, this kingdom had two very eminent sea-

<sup>a</sup> THEVENOT'S Travels, part 1. c. 32. SANDYS, book 2. p. 107. <sup>b</sup> See Numb. ubi supra.  
<sup>c</sup> Vide Histor. Jul. in Edom. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1. <sup>d</sup> AUGUST. de Civit Dei, l. 18. c. 47. See also Lament. iv. 21. <sup>e</sup> Vide CELLARIJ Notit. Orb. Ant. & RELANDI Palest. Illustr.  
<sup>f</sup> Jerem. xlix. <sup>g</sup> Job ii. 11. <sup>h</sup> Jerem. ubi supr. ver. 8. Ezek. xvii. 15, 20. <sup>i</sup> Idem xlv. 13. in the margin. <sup>j</sup> Isa. lxiii. 1. <sup>k</sup> See FULLER'S Pisgah sight, lib. 4. c. 2. <sup>l</sup> See PRIDEAUX'S Connect. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book viii. p. 544. FULLER ubi supr. <sup>m</sup> STRABO, lib. 16. p. 779. <sup>n</sup> JOSEPH. Ant. lib. 14. c. 9. DION. SIC. lib. 19. p. 722. <sup>o</sup> STRABO ubi supr. <sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. p. 760. <sup>q</sup> DION. SIC. ubi supr. <sup>r</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 4. <sup>s</sup> Lib. xiv. c. 25. <sup>t</sup> EUSEB. Onomast. urb. & loc. ad vocem Πέτρα.

not the reason why the ocean was called *Red*: nor was it because the sun in those parts, instead of darting forth bright and clear rays, shone out only with a sanguine light, which gave a bloody hue to the surface of the sea; but he will have it derived from one *Erythras*, an obscure and fabulous prince, concerning whom he tells a very absurd and puerile story, with a very grave air. From this it appears that the *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea* of the ancients is the *Indian ocean* of our days, and that what we call the *Red Sea* was considered as a branch of it.

(L) By modern travellers we are told, that this country at present is nothing less than a fertile spot (29). But it must bear a widely different face, now that it is only frequented by the *Bedouins*, or wandering *Arabs*, from what it did, when occupied by a settled nation, who doubtless must with great pains and industry have prepared the

soil for propagation: but we have spoken of this already (30).

(M) *Josephus* divides *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (31); but this is a division which cannot be accurately spoken of, while the *Edomites* and *Amalekites* were independant states. The habitation of the *Edomites* is also frequently called *Gabalene* (32); and especially by *Eusebius*, who uses the appellations *Gabalene* and *Idumea* indifferently to denote the same place (33). Some later writers have split the country asunder by a very violent and needless rent, placing one *Edom* in the land of *Seir* on the other side of *Jordan* to the north, and leaving the other in the place where the only land of *Seir* certainly stood; but this is a notion very solidly confuted by the best approved of the latest geographers.

(29) SANDYS, Book 2. p. 107.

(30) See before in the Notes, p. 307.

(31) JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1.

(32) STEPHAN. ad voces Γαβλά and Γαβλά.

(33) In Onomast. urbium



ports, *Elat* and *Esfongeber*, on the shores of the *Arabian* gulf, or red-sea<sup>1</sup>. *Esfongeber* proved an unfortunate harbour, being rocky and very difficult, deriving its name from a ridge of rocks it had, which was thought to resemble the back-bone of a man<sup>2</sup>, and growing at length infamous for the many wrecks which beset the shipping that frequented it, it was deserted very early; and therefore its situation is not exactly known, any further than that it stood very near to *Elat*. This last was a fairer and more commodious haven, and for a long time was a station for the shipping which was sent from these parts into the *Indies*. It is also called *Eloth*, *Aela*, *Ailat*, *Elat*, *Elana*, from whence you have the *Elanitic* gulf whereon it stood, and by the *Arabians*, *Ailab* to this day (N). Upon the decay of *Esfongeber*, it grew into great credit and resort, and was thought worthy of being contended for; and anciently changed its masters several times: it was wrested from the *Edomites* by *David*<sup>3</sup>, it was afterwards forced from the house of *David* by the *Edomites*, when they rebelled against *Jehoram*<sup>4</sup>; *Azariah* got it from them again<sup>5</sup>; but his grandson lost it to the king of *Syria*<sup>6</sup>; the *Syrians* held it a long time, and after some revolutions and changes under the *Seleucide* and the *Ptolemies*, it fell to the share of the *Romans*. Remarkable places in this country were farther, mount *Hor* where *Aaron* died, and the valley of *Salt*, a spot on which the *Edomites* were twice defeated with a great slaughter; and had its name, probably, from its salt springs, or the salt found there<sup>7</sup>.

Now though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered *Idumea*, and *Idumea*, as in our version of the bible; yet when that name occurs in the prophane<sup>c</sup> and the more modern writers, it must not be understood of the ancient *Edom*, which losing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of *Arabia Petraea*, and the third *Pakistine*. The southern part of *Canaan* came to be called *Idumaea*, and the whole nation of the *Jews Idumeans* sometimes. Whence this arose will in part be seen in the close of this section, and more amply in the history of the *Jews*.

Forms of Government.

To return to the ancient *Edom*. How it was in its more early times governed is a matter of doubt, and being so we can only embrace the most likely opinion. The *Horites* were at first ruled by patriarchs or heads of families, and after that by kings which were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was in process of d time interrupted and dissolved, and the ancient form took place again, the governors being stiled dukes, who seem to have succeeded in right of birth. Perceiving the imperfections of this kind of administration, they coalesced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withstand an invasion from the *Israelites* when they came out of *Egypt*. It was governed afterwards by *Edomitish* kings quite down to the days of *David*, who subdued the kingdom; and this second monarchy seems to have been hereditary. These are the various forms of government which seemed to have been exercised in the land of *Seir* and *Edom*, by the *Horites* and by the *Edomites*, as will be seen in the course of this section.

Their Character.

THE character we have of the *Edomites*, is that they were a bold and daring<sup>e</sup> people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others did

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings ix. 26. <sup>2</sup> See PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book 1. p. 7. and PATRICK's Comment. upon the above-cited passage of Kings. <sup>3</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. viii. 14. with 2 Chron. viii. 17. <sup>4</sup> 2 Kings viii. 20. <sup>5</sup> Ibid. xxiv. 22. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. xvi. 6. <sup>7</sup> Vide SALMAS. Exercit. Plinian, cap. 35. p. 613, 614.

(M) *Ailab* or *Elat* is near the road the *Egyptian* pilgrims take when they go to *Mecca*. In the fourteenth century there were considerable remains of it standing. At that time an *Egyptian* governour resided in a tower there: but it had no fields about it. There was formerly a castle which stood out in the sea, but that is destroyed. Our author calls it a small city, and adds, that it had belonged to those *Jews* who were turned into apes and swine (34). *Elat* and *Esfongeber* grew at last to be *ambigui juris*, according to Sir John MARSHAM (35). But not to anticipate what we may have to say upon this matter, let it, for the present, suffice, that we observe the *Edomites* to have been so well able to defend their claim of the em-

pire of the *Red-Sea*, that the *Egyptians* were anciently unable to dispute it with them, and were obliged to submit to such conditions as the *Edomites* were pleased to allow them, which are said to have been hard enough; for they were allowed but one vessel of burthen wherewith to sail to the *Indies*, and not so much as one galley (36). *Elat* was particularly so considerable a place as to give name to the easternmost of the gulfs which terminate the *Red-Sea*, and had the famous metropolis of *Petra*, ten miles to the westward of it (37). It was situate on the utmost eastern verge of *Palestine*, which is the reason of its so often changing masters<sup>8</sup>.

(34) ABULFEDA in Descrip. Arab. (35) CANON. Chron. secul. xiv. p. 367. (36) See before, p. 226. Hist. de HUET, du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. c. 5. (37) EUSEB. Onon urbium & decorum ad vocem, 'Αλα. <sup>8</sup> Vid. HEDRON loc. Habr. & procop. bell. Pers. c. 19.

a in the softening pleasures of luxury<sup>1</sup>. But this, it must be owned, was more peculiarly the character of the latter *Edomites*, who migrated into *Judea*; nor should we have inserted it here, but that it seems to be of a piece with the genius of the whole people, as their great ancestor *Isaac* foretold it. However, though courage was to be one of their characteristics, and, perhaps, the chief, yet we are under no necessity to believe it to have been of so brutal a sort as *Josephus* represents above; for as they were, doubtless, a trading nation, it is incompatible to suppose they were a nest of robbers and incendiaries, fewer such being for ever found among those that are addicted to commerce, and consequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and slothful nations, and such as condemn  
b industry out of a vain and ridiculous notion of honour. For these last are sure to be mean and beggarly, rude, ignorant, and base; the former quite the reverse, flourish in plenty and ease, are learned, ingenious and brave. What therefore their ancestor foretold of them, that they should live by the sword, perhaps, imports no more than that they should maintain their rights, whether natural or usurped, with a high hand and a jealous eye; as all those who, like them, claimed the empire of the sea, as they did, have for ever done. Thus, for want of better authority, have we attempted the character of the *Edomites*, by drawing a parallel between them and others of latter, and our own times. And abating the difference of climates,  
c which works a difference of tempers, we cannot be much out of the way in comparing them with other trading states that flourish within our knowledge, who are far from living upon plunder and rapine; and in this we shall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour towards *Moses*; when though they refused him to pass through their territories, yet they were ready to traffic with him, and supply him with necessaries, as we shall see anon. The *Edomites*, whose character *Josephus* draws above, seem to have been a slavish and degenerate race, quite aliens to the liberties and noble spirit of their forefathers, as we shall see in the sequel.

THEIR arts and sciences were doubtless great, considering the time; many, and well perfected; and though perhaps there may be no necessity to suppose, which  
d the excellent Sir *Isaac Newton* has done, that they were the parents of those amiable sisters; yet may we safely pronounce that they were not much, if any thing, behind hand with the most ancient learned nations. The invention and use of constellations appear by the book of *Job*<sup>2</sup>, to have been known among the *Edomites*, among whom he dwelt<sup>3</sup>; a rare instance of the early progress of astronomy, if we admit *Job* to have ever existed, or the book itself to be of such ancient date as many think. Writing is there mentioned<sup>4</sup> also, and ships<sup>5</sup>, and many hints given, sufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the secrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much sublime and truly-useful knowledge was cultivated among them. Nor is there  
e wanting very ample evidence from prophane authors to make this out, as we shall take proper opportunities of shewing: and indeed it has been a common opinion of the learned, that great veneration is due to their memory on that account.

CONCERNING their religion we are much in the dark. They at first were right in their belief and practice, as they were descended from *Isaac*, and used circumcision; but they by degrees forgot all, and fell into idolatry (for idols it seems they had<sup>6</sup>) and had wholly laid aside circumcision, till *Hyrca*n incorporated them with the *Jews*, from which time they were ever coalesced with the *Jews*, and were considered as but one nation with them in divine matters, as will be seen at the decay of their state.

f WE now resume the history of *Esau* the father of this people. The number of his family and domestics when he fixed his dwelling here is uncertain, though probably very numerous. According to the hypothesis<sup>7</sup>, which in this very obscure case we think ourselves obliged to adopt, he settled here under one of the *Horite* kings; and therefore he lived in a private manner, and was never considered any more than as the chief of his own house; and thence is dignified with no particular title by *Moses*. Concerning this matter, we cannot but think with bishop *Cumberland*, that the *Horites* were at first ruled by several independant chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by *Cherdaloamer* king of *Elam*, who swept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To secure themselves therefore from so great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more stable and perfect kind of

<sup>1</sup> *Josephus*. Antiq. l. 13.    <sup>2</sup> Chap. ix. 38.    <sup>3</sup> *St. August.* de civitat. Dei, ubi supr. Lament. ubi supr.    <sup>4</sup> See before, in the notes, p. 300.    <sup>5</sup> *Job* chap. ix.    <sup>6</sup> See 2 Chron. xxv. in the argument.    <sup>7</sup> See Bishop *Cumberland's* Orig. Gent. Antiq.

government, and formed themselves into an elective kingdom, and their kings a were,

**BELA**, the son of *Beor*: the name of his city was *Dinbabab*, situate on the eastern confines of *Idumea* †.

**JOBAB**, the son of *Zerah* of *Bozrah*, who, from a similitude of names, has been taken for the holy and patient *Job*, whose history we shall find a more proper occasion to enlarge upon, when we come to that of the *Jews*.

**HUSHAM** of the land of *Temani*.

**HADAD**, the son of *Bedad*, he smote *Midian* in the field of *Moab*, and the name of his city was *Avith*.

**SAMLAH** of *Mareskab*; in his reign, or in that of his successor, came *Esau*, as b we think, into this country.

**SAUL** of *Reboboib*.

**BAAL-HANAN**, the son of *Acbbor*.

**HADAR**; the name of his city was *Pau*, and that of his wife *Mebetabel*.

UNDER the three last, or four last of these kings, did *Esau* and his family live as sojourners in a strange land, as *Abraham* and *Isaac* their forefathers had done before them, in other parts. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came some how or other to be interrupted and broken into several petty and independent principalities or dukedoms; and, seeing that the posterity of *Esau* exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to suppose that they had c the largest share in bringing about this revolution. It is very accurately observed by a late and learned writer, that the first dukes of the *Edomites* are not stiled dukes of *Edom*, but dukes in the land of *Edom* \*. From whence we gather, that the grandchildren of *Esau*, grown strong and potent, could no longer brook subjection to a strange line, and would govern themselves; so that now the whole country became divided into several distinct jurisdictions, and under several petty princes, called dukes, both of the posterity of *Esau*, and of that of *Seir*, who were all collateral. The dukes in the land of *Edom* were, 1. duke *Teman*; 2. duke *Omar*; 3. duke *Zepho*; 4. duke *Kenaz*; 5. duke *Korab*; 6. duke *Gatam*; 7. duke *Analek*. These seven were the sons of *Elipbaz* the first-born of *Esau*. 8. duke *Nabath*; d 9. duke *Zerah*; 10. duke *Hammab*; 11. duke *Mizzab*: these four were the sons of *Reuel*, the second son of *Esau*. 12. Duke *Ieush*; 13. duke *Jaalam*; 14. duke *Korab*: these three were the sons of *Esau* himself, begot by him after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on *Abolibamab* his last wife. All these were the dukes in the land of *Edom*; that is, in that part possessed by the *Edomites*, and thence called after them. At the same time were seven dukes over the possession of the descendants of *Seir*. 1. Duke *Lotan*; 2. duke *Shobal*; 3. duke *Zibeon*; 4. duke *Anab*; he found mules (O) in the wilderness as he fed the asses of *Zibeon* his father; 5. duke

† Gen xxxvi. 32. \* SHUCKFORD'S Connect. of the sacred and prophane Hist. book vii. p. 192.

(O) Concerning this remarkable event there is some variety of judgment and interpretation. The Hebrew word is בַּיְמִים *bayemim*, which the LXX not knowing how to render, have retained, and accordingly have *iaquil*, and so have *Theodotian*, *Aquila* and *Symmachus*. From St. *Jerom* we have several traditions of the *Jews* concerning this matter. Some thought, that by the above word must be understood seas or large waters; for the same letters are used for the word which bears that import: and will have it, that while he fed his father's asses in the wilderness, he found a collection of waters, or seas, according to the Hebrew idiom, an uncommon discovery in a desert, and therefore worthy of notice. Some would have it to mean *hot waters* in the Phœnician tongue. Some again, that he suffered wild asses to cover his tame ones, and that the swiftest breed of those creatures, called *Yamim*, sprang from thence: and most of the *Rabbins* teach that he, first of all men, suffered asses to cover the mares in the wilderness; whence the unnatural breed of mules were shewn to the world. Now these interpretations or suppositions, are thus combated. 1. To make the Hebrew word mean *seas*, it must be altered in the reading

contrary to all authority and likelihood: and besides, as the *Hebrews* call great ponds or lakes seas, it is no wonder that he found out such congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind that can be considered as such in those parts, except the lake *Asphaltites*, which was not made till afterwards. 2. Those who render the word *hot baths*, as the Vulgate, according to the Phœnician signification, seem to have read בַּיְמִים *bayemim*, and to have believed that it was synonymous with בַּיְמִים *bayemim*, which signifies *hot baths*; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Those who will have him to have first found out the breed of mules, are confuted by *Bechart*, with the following arguments; 1. Because mules were never called by that name; 2. Because the word מַרְאָה *mar'ah*, which *Moses* uses, imports the finding what exists already, and not the invention of what never had been before; 3. Because they were asses which *Ana* fed, and not horses; 4. Because in scripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of *David*. In the conclusion, it is the proper name of a people, the עַמִּים *Emims* for example, whom *Moses* † mentions as a famous people dwelling in the neighbourhood

† Conf. Gen. xiv. 5. and Dent. xi. 10.

a 5. duke *Dishon*; 6. duke *Ezer*; 7. duke *Dishan* \*. Now seeing that the dukes of *Esaú's* line in the land of *Edom*, being more in number, may have been greater in might than those of the *Horites* in the land of *Seir*, it seems not unnatural to suppose that these last were now expelled by the former, who seized on the land by the pre-ordained distribution of God †. At the same time *Analek* or his spurious offspring may have been driven out also.

ACCORDINGLY the next generation of these princes are styled dukes of *Edom*, and had no rivals of any other family in any other part of the country, which now we suppose to have been all conquered, and called *Edom*. The dukes of this second race were; 1. duke *Timnab*; 2. duke *Alvab*; 3. duke *Jetheth*; 4. duke *Abeliba-*  
b *mab*; 5. duke *Elab*; 6. duke *Pinon*; 7. duke *Kenaz*; 8. duke *Teman*; 9. duke *Mibzar*; 10. duke *Magdiel*; 11. duke *Iram* † (P). These eleven were dukes of *Edom* when the children of *Israel* were come out into the wilderness; and being dismayed at the approach of so formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a seat, dreaded for their own country, not knowing that the *Israelites* were under a strict injunction by no means to molest them. Wherefore perceiving the imperfection and weakness of the regulation they were under, they united under one head or king, and prepared to maintain their ground against any invasion.

To this nameless king, or, perhaps, his successor, came messengers from *Moses*, then drawing near the end of his days, to entreat a passage through his country for him and his people. And though it was remonstrated to him that the *Israelites* were his brethren, and as he could not but know how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppressed in *Egypt*; how God had now led them out from under their bondage, and that they had reached his borders, being in or near the town of *Kadesh*; it was to be hoped he would let them pass freely through his country, in their way to the land of *Canaan*; that if he was willing to befriend them in this matter, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite crossed his territories. To this the jealous king of *Edom* answered, that he would by  
d no means grant it, and advised them not to make the least attempt towards it; that if they did, they might expect to be opposed by the whole strength of his kingdom. And when these ambassadors, or, perhaps, those of a second embassy, urged him still farther upon this important business, and made a renewal of promises and assurances of the most peaceable behaviour, if they might have the passage they solicited, protesting that they would pay for every thing they might have occasion for on the way, and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he grew downright exasperated at their reiterated instances, and fearing that the *Israelites* might make some desperate attempt to force the passage he denied them, he took the field and marched towards them, to in-  
e timidate them, and shew them that he was not to be prevailed on \*. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of distressing them in matters wherein he could

\* Gen. xxxvi.

† Deut. iv. 12.

\* Gen. ubi sup.

\* Numb. xx. 14, 21.

bourhood of *Seir*. And this is further confirmed by the *Samaritan* reading, which has it, that he found them suddenly, that is, fell on them by surprise, and discomfited them; and this is the most likely meaning of the *Hebrew* text in this place, it having the very same signification in several other places (40). However, the word is also thought to have been the name of some useful plant or herb (41), which *Anab* first discovered.

(P) In scripture the names of these kings and dukes run in a seemingly-confused order; and some are unwilling to think that they succeeded in the manner we have, from bishop *Cumberland*, placed them in (42). This difference in opinion proceeds from these words of the text prefixed to the list of the kings; and these are the kings that reigned in the land of *Edom*, before there reigned any king over the land of *Israel* (43). This is supposed

to be an interpolation; and if we do not allow all the kings of the list to have been elder than *Moses*, we must suppose the whole to be interpolated too; and accordingly some take *Moses* to have been the first king of *Israel*, and to be meant here. It cannot be proved that any of the said kings were of the line of *Esaú*; and this first monarchy set up by the *Horites* was plainly elective; whereas that monarchy erected by the children of *Esaú* was, by the very little or nothing we know of it, at least seemingly, hereditary; for *Hadad* was a minor when *David* conquered *Edom*. But we are afraid of trespassing too much on our readers' patience, by running into the many particulars of this debate, and shall only say, that we have embraced that opinion which, upon mature deliberation, seems to us to be the best founded.

(40) Vide CLERIC. Comm. in Gen. cap. xxxvi. ver. 24.

(41) Vide WAGNER. Annot. in Tit.

Talm. Sol. (42) See SHUCKFORD's Connell. of the sacr. and prof. Hist. book 7. p. 192, &amp; seqq.

(43) See PRIDEAUX's Connell. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book 5. p. 492, 493.

relieve them without danger to himself; and (perhaps too) to prevent their growing desperate, he furnished them with what his country afforded for their sustenance, or convenience, for their money<sup>b</sup>.

AFTER this there is scarce any history so obscure and interrupted as this of *Edom*; and particularly, we find no words concerning them, from these days to those of king *David*: however, we will supply this chasm in part, by observing that in the mean time the *Edomites* extended their dominion, and applied themselves to trade and navigation, and seized on the empire of the sea; we mean of the *Arabian* gulf at least, and the trade thereof: they dealt in very rich commodities as it seems; pure gold, gold of *Ophir*, the topaz of *Ethiopia*, coral, pearls, and the like<sup>c</sup>, and became a very considerable kingdom, as the most common opinion is.

BUT in the height of this prosperity, their country was invaded by the conquering arms of *Israel*, and *Edom* began to feel the effects of *Isaac's* prophecy, that the elder should serve the younger. *David* had by this time gained very considerable victories over the *Syrians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and other neighbouring nations, and had brought a great part of their territories under subjection, and finished his conquests with *Idumæa*<sup>d</sup>: what drew upon them so dreadful a war is hard to guess, the sacred historians being quite silent about it (Q). But this they tell us in the whole, that 18,000 of them were cut off in the valley of *Salt*, and that the rest were either brought under the *Jewish* yoke, by the dreadful sword of *Joab*, *David's* general, or were forced to retire into some foreign countries (R). Thus was *Edom* subdued, wasted and depopulated; their cities garrisoned with *Jewish* troops, and the rest dispersed into foreign countries. *Hadad* their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of *Midian* (S), thinking, perhaps, to cross the *Red-Sea*; and there understanding that they and their young king would be favourably received by *Pharaoh*, they carried him thither, and *Hadad* was accordingly received, and supported by *Pharaoh* with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to compleat all the favours and kindnesses which were unsparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's [*Taphnes's*] sister given to him in marriage<sup>e</sup> (T). But at the same time that *Hadad* made his way towards *Egypt*, others took different routs; some flying to the *Philistines*, fortified themselves in *Azoth* or *Azotus*, and proved a considerable accession of power, and of very singular benefit to that people (U): and others that dealt in shipping, took the longest way they could to escape

Year of the  
Flood, 1959.  
Year before  
Christ, 1040.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. ii. 28, 29.  
15, 20.

<sup>c</sup> Job xxviii.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 13.

1 Chron. xviii. 12.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Kings xi.

(Q) Indeed there is but very little room to guess at what might positively be the cause of this ruin executed upon the *Edomites*; but, probably, *David* treating with them for some of the advantages of *Elath* and *Esfiongeber*, they refused to hearken to him, and thereby provoked him to wreck those important places, the only marts of the very rich commodities he wanted, out of their hands.

(R) Sir *Isaac Newton* makes this dispersion to have been of very beneficial consequence to the several nations they went to, supposing they carried their arts, sciences, and industry with them wherever they went (44); and herein he is in part supported by very ample authority, as we shall immediately observe.

(S) From hence we have, after *Rehob*, supposed that *Midian* was partly bounded on the north by *Edom* (45); as if they were obliged to fly through *Midian* to go to *Egypt*: but it is more likely that they struck into *Midian*, as the shortest cut to get away from the enemy, with design to embark for *Egypt*, at *Madian*, or some other sea-port of that country, as the safest way to go into *Egypt*.

(T) According to Sir *Isaac Newton's* hypothesis, *Hadad* and his followers were the more kindly received by the king of *Egypt*, as he foresaw

the advantage they would be of to him, by bringing with them their skill in letters, astronomy, navigation, and the like, in which the *Egyptians* were till then ignorant.

(U) The aforesaid chronologer holds, among other things, that some of them flying to the *Philistines* and the sea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce; and indeed it is more than once said that the *Phœnicians* came from the *Red-Sea*. *Herodotus* (46) tells us so; and *Stephanus* (47) relates, that *Azotus* was built by the fugitives which fled from the *Red-Sea*. "The *Phœnicians* therefore came from the *Red-Sea*, in the days of *Je* and her brother *Phœneus*, king of *Argos*; and by consequence at that time, when *David* conquered the *Edomites*, and made them fly every way from the *Red-Sea* . . . And this flight gave occasion to the *Philistines* to call many places *Erythra*, in memory of their being *Erythraeans* or *Edomites*, and of their coming from the *Erythraean* sea; for *Erythra* was the name of a city in *Ionia*; of another in *Libya*; of another in *Lacris*; of another in *Bœotia*; of another in *Cyprus*; of another in *Ætolia*; of another in *Asia*, near *Chius*; and *Erythra Acra* was a promontory in *Lybia*, and *Erythraeum* a promontory in *Crete*, and *Erythras*, a place near *Tibur*, and *Erythrai* a city or coun-  
try

(44) *Chron. of anc. kingd. amended*, p. 209.  
c. 89.

(47) *In vocem* "Αζωτ.

(45) See before, p. 299.

(46) l. i. c. i. l. 7.



a escape the sword of the conqueror, and went towards, or into the *Persian* gulf<sup>a</sup>: in a word, they were dispersed into all parts, there being nothing but slavery for them in their native place.

HADAD, though he lived in great ease and splendor in the *Egyptian* court, yet being conscious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependance, and still thirsting after his kingdom, was waiting for some favourable opportunity of regaining it, but more especially when it was told him that *David* and the terrible *Joab* were both dead. At length the time came when *Solomon* wallowed in all kinds of impurity, and thinking this a proper opportunity to take his revenge, he disclosed his mind to his brother-in-law *Pbaraob*, entreating that he would dismiss him. The b wise king of *Egypt* perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he must be exposed to in executing his design, would have prevailed on him to lay aside all thoughts of so dangerous an undertaking; but *Hadad*, upon urging the matter, obtained a dismissal, and upon his return into *Idumea*, made several attempts to recover his dominions, but in vain, his subjects being over-awed by the garrisons which *David* had set over them<sup>†</sup>. He had a son by his *Egyptian* wife, whose name was *Gemubath*; he had a princely education in the palace of *Pbaraob*; but *Hadad* failing in his view upon his own kingdom, he, it is likely, established himself in *Syria*, where we find the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*.

In the mean time the kingdom of *Edom* continued under the house of *David* till c the days of *Jebozaphat*, being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of *Judab*. And, though we have in the history of *Moab*, made mention of a king of *Edom*, who assisted *Jeboram* king of *Israel*, and *Jebozaphat* king of *Judab*, in the reduction of *Mesha* king of *Moab*, we there speak only in the freedom of scripture-phrase; for that king, as he is called, attended upon *Jebozaphat* as a vassal, and not as an auxiliary<sup>e</sup>. However, though the history of that war does peculiarly belong to the reigns of *Jebozaphat* and *Jeboram*, kings of *Israel* and *Judab*, who were the principals in it, yet we have here occasion to repeat that this chief of *Edom*'s son is thought to have been the person sacrificed by *Mesha* the king of *Moab*, upon the walls of the city, where he was blocked up, though he is believed by others to have been the *Moabite*'s own son<sup>f</sup>.

We have now seen the time wherein *Esau* was to be a servant to his brother; d and now we come to that wherein he was to shake off his yoke, and be subject to him no more. For, finding a fair opportunity to recover their ancient liberty, the *Edomites* embraced it, and succeeded. They had already shewn how ill they were disposed, even towards *Jebozaphat*, when a part of them joined the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* in an attempt to surprize him when he was unprepared for the assault; but fell into such pannick confusion, that the *Edomites* were all cut off by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who afterwards butchered each other<sup>e</sup>. But in the days of *Jeboram* the son of *Jebozaphat*, the whole nation of *Edom* arose, and assassinating or expelling their vice-roy, made themselves a king after their own liking; and upon advice that *Jeboram* was coming with a formidable power to reduce them, e they marched towards him, and managed so as to hem him all round in the night-time. Their project was however disconcerted with a great slaughter, and they were forced to their retrenchments; but though this proved but an indifferent beginning, yet so it happened, that the *Edomites* could not be annexed again to the house of *David*<sup>e</sup>.

Thus was the long-wish'd-for revolution brought about after one hundred and fifty years of oppression; but who was their chief upon this occasion, or what he did farther, or who succeeded him, we are wholly at a loss for.

AFTER this they had no attempts made upon them by the kings of *Judab* for upwards of sixty years; in which time they must have had time to recover themselves so well, as to retrieve, in a great measure, their ancient splendor. Not-

Year of the  
Flood, 2110.  
Year before  
Christ, 889.

<sup>a</sup> See Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended. p. 104, 105.    <sup>e</sup> See: Kings xxii. 47.    <sup>†</sup> Vid. Jos. Antiq. l. viii. c. 2.    <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 291.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid.    <sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 8.

" try in *Paphlagonia*; and the name *Erythra* or  
" *Erythra* was given to the island of *Gades*, peo-  
" pled by *Pharicians*. . . . *Edom*, *Erythra*, and  
" *Pharicia* are names of the same signification,  
" the words denoting a red colour; which makes  
" it probable that the *Erythreans* who fled from

" *David* settled in great numbers in *Pharicia*;  
" that is, in all the sea-coasts of *Syria*, from *Egypt*  
" to *Zidon*; and by calling themselves *Pharicians*  
" in the language of *Syria*, instead of *Erythreans*,  
" gave the name of *Pharicia* to all that sea-coast,  
" and to that only" (49).

(49) See his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended. p. 108, 109.

withstanding



withstanding which they suffered a signal overthrow from *Amaziab* king of *Judab* <sup>a</sup> in the valley of *Salt*, where ten thousand of them fell in battle, and as many of them were also taken prisoners (W). After which their capital *Selab*, which we have supposed to have been the famous *Petra*, was taken from them by storm, and the ten thousand captives were by *Amaziab*'s order thrown down from the ragged precipices which stood about that city, and were torn and dashed to pieces. *Selab* was now by the conqueror called *Jokibeel* <sup>b</sup>.

WHETHER after or before this, we cannot discover, the *Edomites* had a war with their neighbours the *Moabites*, wherein, being unfortunate, their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, whether dead or alive we cannot say, till his bones were reduced to ashes (X). Thus have we hitherto tacked together the <sup>b</sup> incoherent parts of this history in the best manner we have been able. In the mean time they became subject to the king of *Babylon*, in completion of what several prophets had threatned them <sup>c</sup>. And when utter destruction came upon the *Jews*, and that they were carried away captive, then did their fury blaze out, so far as to cut off such of them as attempted to escape the captivity, and as if they designed now to take a full revenge for what they had suffered under *David*'s bloody general, they vented their rage on the sad remains of the temple, which they consumed with fire as soon as the *Chaldees* or *Babylonians* were withdrawn; and attempted to level the whole city with the ground, insulting the God of *Israel* with horrid blasphemies, butchering the few remains who by his help had escaped the <sup>c</sup> hands of the *Babylonians*, and flattering themselves with the pleasure of seeing shortly an utter end of the *Jewish* nation and commonwealth. For this they were severely threatned by the prophets above-mentioned with a severe retaliation, when, for the devastations they had forwarded in *Judab*, they should behold their land become desolate, when those of their now oppressed enemies should flourish <sup>d</sup>.

ACCORDINGLY they fell soon after into terrible confusion, and violent intestine commotions and persecutions; insomuch that a great part of them left their own country, and settled in the empty lands of *Judea*, and particularly in the south-western parts <sup>e</sup>; and it may be, that at this time they made an end of the temple of *Jerusalem*. Those of them that staid behind in *Edom*, joined the children of *Nebaioth*, and were called *Nabateans* ever afterwards; so that the ancient kingdom of *Edom* now lost its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of *Judea* which the refugees had pitched in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judab*. And this is the *Idumaea*, and these the *Idumeans* mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and other ancient writers. For because of their wicked dealing with their oppressed brethren, their kingdom was to lose all its glory, and become a desert; *strangers from the south* <sup>e</sup> were to possess it; it was never to rise, and from thenceforward to be called the border of wickedness <sup>e</sup>, though it pleased God to spare a remnant of this people, by permitting them to seize on a part of their brethren's portion; <sup>e</sup> by which means they came to be united into one family with them, as they were descended from the loins of one man.

WE have now pointed out the exit of the ancient kingdom of *Edom*, and shall proceed to the broken interrupted affairs of those *Edomites* who settled in *Judea*; concerning which we only know, that a decree was issued out against them from *Darius Hystaspes*, commanding that they should deliver up all they had belonging to the *Jews*; but what effect this took we cannot well say. That upon the decline of the *Persian* monarchy, and after the days of *Alexander*, they were under the power of the *Seleucidae*, when the ancient aversion they had to the *Jews* being stirred up in them, they warred against them, under the conduct of *Gorgias* their governor <sup>f</sup> for *Antiochus Epiphanes*: but they got nothing thereby but blows and great ruin;

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 7. <sup>b</sup> See Isa. xxi, xxxiv. Jerem. ix, xxv, xxvii, xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi. Joel iii. Amos i. 9. <sup>c</sup> See Ezek. xxv, xxxv. Joel iii. Amos i. Obad. i. <sup>d</sup> STRABO, lib. 16. p. 760. <sup>e</sup> Obad. ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> Malach. i. <sup>g</sup> Esdr. ubi supr. ver. 50.

(W) The same chronologer holds, that the *Oes* of *Helladius*, the *Oannes* of *Berosus* (48) and the *Euhadnes* of *Hyginus* (49), are several names given to an *Edomite* commander, who now fled to the *Persian* gulf, and first introduced the useful arts into *Chaldea*; but this, we apprehend, is allow-

ing a little too much.

(X) It is doubted whether this be not the same war wherein *Mesha* king of *Moab* sacrificed his own son, or the son of the king or chief of *Edom* (50). Our translators of the bible take them to be one and the same event.

(48) See before, p. 90: (49) *Feb.* 274. (50) See before, p. 291.

- a being constantly worsted by *Judas Maccabeus*, who at last took and sacked their chief city *Hebron*<sup>r</sup>: their strong holds wherewith they awed the *Jews*, were forced by that valorous commander, who cut off twenty thousand of them in the assault; but a residue of nine thousand of them fled to two strong towers<sup>s</sup>, where they were well prepared to sustain a siege; whence by a bribe of 70,000 *drachms*, a good part of them were suffered to escape. But when the treachery was discovered by the *Jewish* general, a stop was put to this outlet; these two strong castles were also forced; and no less than twenty thousand *Idumeans* again<sup>t</sup> put to the sword. Thus was their zeal against their brethren rewarded as it deserved, as shall be more exactly particularized in the *Jewish* history.
- b AFTER these very troublesome times, we know not how it fared with the *Edomites* in *Idumæa*, except that they seem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by *John Hyrcanus*; who reduced them to the necessity of embracing the *Jewish* religion, or of quitting their country. They chose the former, and submitting to be circumcised, became incorporated with the *Jews*<sup>u</sup>, and considering their descent as well as their conversion, they were upon a double account reckoned as natural *Jews*; and accordingly, in the first century after *Christ*, the name of *Idumean* was lost and quite disused<sup>v</sup> (Y). And being so, we here break off, referring what further relates to this people, to the *Jewish* history.
- c We have seen then that the *Edomites* or *Idumeans* were partly swallowed up before by the *Nabateans* or *Arabians*, and partly, now, by the *Jews*, there remains now that we should add what the *Rabbies* have further said concerning that nation, though it were but to expose their ignorance and unaccountable vanity.
- We observed in the last note, that *Edomite* is one of the civilest names they give to the *Christians*; and the *Talmudists* make no scruple to call *Rome* and *Italy* the bloody empire of *Edom*. To make out this odious appellative, some pretend to omit many other impious absurdities; that the soul of *Esau* passed into that of *Jesus* of *Nazareth* (Z); that the *Edomites* were therefore the most forward to embrace his religion, which they carried and settled at *Rome*, and thence into *Italy*<sup>x</sup>.
- d BUT *Gouvionides*, or the pseudo *Josephus*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, gives such an early account of this pretended *Edomitish* kingdom, as may be called a master-piece of *Jewish* fallacy, who makes *Italy* to have been in part peopled by *Izeph* the grandson of *Esau*. This fabulous hero, according to him, having made his escape out of *Egypt*, where *Joseph* had long detained him, sailed to *Carthage*, and from thence into *Italy*, where, among other feats, he took *Lavinia* from *Turnus*, and killed a monstrous satyr which infested that country: for this last the grateful inhabitants gave him the name of *Janus*, for so the monster was called, and of *Saturn* the planet, which they then worshipped; made him
- e king of *Rome* and *Campania*, and deified him after his death<sup>y</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 2869.  
Year before  
Christ, 130.

<sup>r</sup> 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68.

<sup>s</sup> Ver. 4, 5. <sup>t</sup> Maccab. x. 18, 23.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. ver. 21, 23.

<sup>v</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17.

<sup>w</sup> PRIDEAUX's Connec. of the Old and New Test. book 5.

p. 307, 308.

<sup>x</sup> De his vid. ABEN Ezra. ABARBA. MOS. ALBO. & al.

<sup>y</sup> JOSEPH. BEN.

GOR. lib. i. c. 2, & 3.

(Y) The name of *Edomite* is not so wholly lost, but the *Jews* make use of it still. "The *Rabbins* speak of *Edom* and *Edomites* long after this; but thereby they do not mean *Idumæa*, or the sons of *Edom*, but *Rome* and the *Christians* of the *Roman* empire. For, fearing the displeasure of the *Christians*, among whom they live, for avoiding it whenever they speak any reproachful thing of *Christians*, or of their religion, they usually blend it under feigned names;

"sometimes calling us *Cuthæans*, i. e. *Samaritans*, and sometimes *Epicureans*, and sometimes *Edomites*; and this last is the civilest appellation they give us" (51).

(Z) This is according to their doctrine of transmigration; and the *Cabalists* pretend to confirm that blasphemous assertion from the similitude of the names of *Y'W'Y* *Jeshuah* (*Jesus*), and *Y'W'Y* *Esau*, by the transposition of a single letter (52).

(51) PRIDEAUX's Connec. of the Old and New Test. part 2, book 5. p. 708.

(52) Vid. BAU-

FAUG. Hist. des Juifs, lib. viii. c. 8. § 1.

## S E C T. V.

## The History of Amalek.

**A**MALÉK is generally allowed the father of this people, from whom a they had the name of *Amalekites*, and their country that of *Amalekitis*. He was the son of *Eliphas* (A), *Esau's* first born, but by a concubine named *Timna*; notwithstanding which he is reckoned among the princes, and is said to have succeeded *Gatam* in one of the dukedoms of *Edom*\*, which is all we know of him. The early separation of his family from that of *Edom* is not without some great difficulties. It might, indeed, be reasonably enough ascribed either to the spuriousness of his birth, or to some other intestine broils; the former having been practised by *Abraham* towards *Ishmael*, and by the *Gileadites* towards the valiant *Jephthab*<sup>b</sup>; and the latter being very frequent in those early times. But when we call to mind the previous wars of the *Amalekites* with *Cberdolaomer*, hinted in the last b note; when we consider *Balaam's* calling them *the first*, or *beginning* of nations, as we shall see anon; that *Moses* never styles them the brethren of *Israel* or *Edom*; that the latter never held any confederacy or friendly harmony with them in all their wars, but suffered them to be invaded and butchered by *Saul*, without lending them any assistance; lastly, when we find them always mentioned with the *Amorites*, *Philistines*, and other *Canaanitish* nations, and with them involved in the same anathema, we can scarcely forbear looking upon them rather as a tribe of them, than as the descendants of *Esau*, contrary to the received opinion.

We are not quite so much in the dark as to their situation. *Josephus*, who looked upon them as the offspring of *Amalek*, divides the whole land of *Edom* into *Amalekites* and *Gobolites*<sup>c</sup>, but very inaccurately, as we think, with respect to those early days; seeing the scripture doth here, and elsewhere, distinguish those two kingdoms, between whom, we cannot find the least foot-step of alliance or friendship, and whose behaviour, on the contrary, was so opposite towards the children of *Israel*. We have settled, as well as we could, the situation of that of *Edom* in the last section; this of *Amalek* may still, in our opinion, be more clearly and satisfactorily fixed, if we consider that it had intercourse and commerce with *Egypt*<sup>d</sup> (B); that it had a way leading into the country of the *Philistines*, and into the land of *Canaan* (C). Whence we conclude it to have been bounded by *Canaan*

\* Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16. 1 Chron. i. 36. <sup>b</sup> Gen. xiv. 6. Judges xi. 1. & seq. <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 7. <sup>d</sup> See JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 6. c. 8. Ibid. l. 2. c. 1.

(A) The *Arabians* deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him some generations older than *Abraham*, as follows:

Noah, Ux,  
Ham, Ad,  
Aram, Amalek (1).

They say also, that the *Amalekites* in ancient times possessed the country about *Mecca*, whence they were expelled by the *Jerhamite* kings (2). Some hold that *Ad* was the son of *Aws* or *Ux*, the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*. Others, that *Ad* was the son of *Amalek*, the son of *Ham* (3); but the contrary is the received opinion. Some commentators on the *Koran* (4) tell us, that the old *Adites* were of prodigious stature, the largest being an hundred cubits, and the least sixty; which they pretend to prove by the authority of the *Koran* (5). In fine, it is also said by the *Arabian* writers, that *Amalek* was the son of *Azd*, the son of *Shem* (6). *Le Clerc* (7) is willing to adopt this notion so far as to think, that the *Amalekites* were a great nation before the days of *Abraham* or *Lot*; because he finds that *Cber-*

*dolaomer* made war on them under that name, which he supposes was proleptically taken at first. But considering that our *Amalek* was of the house of *Esau*, with whom the *Israelites* were commanded to be at peace, he changes his mind, and imagines they had no relation to our *Amalek*, but sprang from somewhere else.

(B) This seems to be clear, from *Josephus* (8), who makes *Amalekitis* to extend between *Pelusion* and the *Red-Sea*, and from the *Arabian* historians, who make the *Amalekites* to have been even masters of *Egypt* (9); for it were hard to suppose they have no manner of foundation for their story, and that the whole is entirely false in all its articles. That they had communication with *Egypt* may farther appear from the *Egyptians* they left behind them on their return from lacking of *Ziklag*, who fell into the hands of *David* (10). Finally, it is expressly said in scripture that they had of old inhabited the land . . . even unto the land of *Egypt*.

(C) This is naturally supposed by their expedition against *Ziklag* (11) in the country of the *Philistines*,

(1) Vide. RELAND. Palæst. Illust. c. 14. (2) Pocock Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 173. (3) D. HERBELOT. p. 51, 110. (4) JALLA LO' DDIM & ZAMAKSHARI. (5) KOR. c. 7. (6) EBN. SHONNAH. (7) In Genes. xiv. 7. & Numb. xxiv. 20. (8) Antiq. l. 6. c. 8. (9) See before, p. 280, 281. (10) 1 Sam. xxx. (11) Idem ibid.

a *naam* on the north ; by *Egypt*, or its dependant territory, on the south ; by *Edom*, on the east ; and by the deserts towards the sea, on the west ; or, perhaps, by the margin of the sea itself. And this we deliver simply as our own opinion, wherein, however, we are not alone †, and forbear to perplex the reader with a variety of opinions, which are not so happily supported as this. Here then, and hereabouts was there abode, till they ceased to be a nation ; their limits, in all likelihood, extending with their increase of power, and shrinking in again as they dwindled away.

We find but one city mentioned in the sacred writings, † and that without a name, except we follow *Josephus*, who places the famous city of *Petra* under the jurisdiction of the *Amalekites* \* (D).

THEIR religious and civil customs we know nothing of positively, since we are in the dark about their descent. If from *Esau*, we may suppose they used circumcision, and that the decree of their total excision was owing to the inhuman outrage they committed on the distressed *Israelites* †. But if of *Canaanitish* race, doubtless their horrid idolatries subjected them to one common doom with them. If the former, they had, at least for some time, the same religion with their progenitors *Abraham*, *Isaac*, &c. If the latter, they gave probably into all the abominations of their neighbours. *Josephus* † mentions their idols, but the scripture terms them the idols of mount *Seir* † ; so that they seem to have more properly belonged to the *Edomites* than to the *Amalekites*.

THEIR arts, their sciences, and trade we can only guess at from their situation ; for it is probable they had the knowledge and commerce of those times pretty much in common with their neighbours the *Edomites* and *Egyptians*, and those of the sea-coasts of *Judea*. And this is the less disputable as their king is placed in so high a sphere of majesty, and themselves stiled the first of the nations, as we shall see anon. Much the same may be said of their manners, genius and policy.

CONCERNING their government, thus much appears that it was monarchical ; and that the first, or at least one of the first of their kings, was called *Agag* † ; as was also their last = ; from whence it has been imagined that all their intermediate kings bore the same appellation.

THE *Amalekites* stepped early, if not at the very first, into the government of this country ; and very remarkable it is, that they grew up to such a sudden height of power and splendor, that their king is spoken of as far above all others ; for *Balaam* foretelling the future majesty of the *Jewish* state, expresses himself, that their king shall be bigger than *Agag*, and stiles them, the first of the nations \* (E) ; which seems

TO

† Vide *RELAND*. Palæst. illust.

\* *Exod.* xvii. † *Antiq.* l. 9. c. 10.

† 1 *Sam.* xv. 5.

\* Vide *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. 3. c. 2.

xv. 8. = *Numb.* ubi supr. & ver. 20.

† See before, p. 311.

† *Numb.* xxix. 7. = 1 *Sam.*

*liphites*, which they took and burnt, and from other instances of the same kind, which we shall not here enumerate : but this we rather insist on ; because so miserable and broken a people as they were at that time, cannot well be supposed to have been able to break through any other country to get at *Ziklag* : and had they not the situation we have given them, they must have crossed some part or other of the kingdom of *Edom*, at that time in its meridian, which it is not likely would have been allowed them ; for there seems to have been no manner of understanding between the nations, as we have elsewhere said : and it is plain that they lay to the south of the *Philistines* by the words of *David*, who being asked by *Achish* where he had been, he answered, that he had been against the south of *Judah*, and against the south of the *Jerahmeelites*, and against the south of the *Kenites* (12) ; but did not think fit to say he had been against the *Amalekites*, who lay in the south. Add to this, that the *Simeonites* lay next to them (13).

(D) We must here note, what *Josephus* says, that those who inhabited *Gobolitis* and *Petra* were

called *Amalekites* (14) ; but seeing the same author divides the whole kingdom of *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (15), how comes it that they dwelt not in this last division ?

(E) It was sudden, according to the hypothesis commonly adopted (16) : for thereby the kingdom of *Amalek* is not likely to have been much, if any thing at all, older than that of *Edom*, which we have shewn to have commenced at the *Exodus* ; and therefore when *Balaam* expressed himself in so high a strain concerning *Agag* and his monarchy, it could not have been of much above forty years standing. The expression of *Amalek's* being the first of the nations, our version turns otherwise in the margin, the first of the nations that warred against *Israel*. Much the same turn does *Onkelos* give it ; but if we compare what is said of *Agag* himself but thirteen verses before, we shall not be at any great loss for the right, or, at least, natural explication of the passage before us ; which doubtless means, that they were the greatest and most noble nation of that time ; and this is the most generally approved opinion. In *Le Clerc's* version they are stiled the first-fruits of the nations ; by

(12) 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 20.

(13) See 1 *Chron.* iv. 42.

(14) *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. 3. c. 2.

(15) See before in the notes, p. 309.

(16) See before, p. 311.

to countenance the extraordinary things the *Arabian* historians have related concerning the *Amalekites*; as that they conquered *Egypt*, and possessed the throne of that kingdom for several generations \* (F).

BUT not to deviate from the authority we must rely on, it appears that this kingdom was haughty and insolent in its very cradle; and no sooner heard that the *Israelites* had crossed the *Red-Sea*, than they resolved to cut them off. The scripture mentions none but *Amalek* † upon this occasion; which, whether it is spoken of the king alone, or collectively of the whole nation, is not agreed. *Josephus* relates, that they had no less than five kings, who laid their heads together, and joined forces to carry on this turbulent design ‡ (G). To pass this over, so it was, that the *Amalekites* fell on the rear of the *Israelites* as they were on full march from *Rephidim* to mount *Horeb*. Some havoc they made; but it returned severely upon themselves, as soon as *Joshua* could get the fighting men into order; by whom, being in their turn assaulted, a long and bloody battle ensued: but in the end the *Amalekites* were put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their head, that for this outrage *their name should be put out from under heaven* §.

IN the mean time, however, it pleased God to make use of them in conjunction with some of the *Canaanites*, as his instruments for the punishments of the diffidence and disobedience of the *Israelites*, when they thought to have washed away their sinful perverseness by a fool-hardy attempt, in contradiction to the express decree of God, that not one of them from twenty years and upwards should have sight of the land of *Promise* ¶. The slaughter which the *Amalekites* did help to make of the *Israelites* upon this occasion, will be told in the history of *Canaan*.

FROM this time they seem to have missed no opportunity of vexing the *Jewish* nation, till they were ripe for the excision denounced against them. They confederated with *Eglon* king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites* \*\*, and afterwards with the *Midianites* under *Zabab* and *Zalmunna*, to root out the *Israelites*, and possess themselves of the land, as they had vainly projected; but what success they had in the attempt, and how they in the end fell by their own swords and those of their friends and allies, we have already related at large ††.

AFTER this there is a very wide gap in the history of this people, which reaches d even to the days of *Saul*. At this time their king was a very graceful person, and of noble presence and address, which stood him in good stead; for on account of these his personal accomplishments was his life spared, it seems, in the general massacre of his subjects \*. But with all this specious outside, he is upbraided as an insolent and merciless tyrant, in whose reign the nation was grown ripe for the excision they had been threatened with about four hundred years afore. And, as a forerunner of it, the *Kenites*, their inmates, were warned to leave their country, and seek some other seat, lest they should be involved in the impending calamity †. As soon as the *Kenites* had obeyed the summons, the *Amalekites* were invaded by *Saul*, at the head of two hundred and ten thousand men (H). And by these numbers, being e sorely oppressed, and quite disabled from making any head, they were all cut off, except *Agag*, and some who were so happy, for the present, as to fly their country, or hide themselves in such retreats where they were not discovered: neither

\* See before, p. 280, 281. † Exod. xvii.  
supr. † Numb. xiv: † See before, p. 289.  
lib. 6. c. 8. † See before, p. 302.

‡ JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 2. † Exod. ubi  
‡ See before, p. 304. \* JOSEPH. Antiq.

by which, in his commentary, he understands them to have been the most ancient and potent nation, and to have been before any of those which proceeded from the loins of *Abraham* and *Lot*.

(F) What the *Arabic* history says of these *Amalekites*, bears an affinity with what the *Egyptians* report concerning the *Phœnician* shepherds: for they were at length expelled by the natives (17), and are supposed, as is said by us of the *Canaanites*, to have fled into *Afric* (18); and that the *Amalekites* were sometimes comprehended under the general denomination of *Phœnicians*, may be observed hereafter.

(G) What *Josephus* here says need not be supposed to imply that the *Amalekites* were divided

into many kingdoms. It is possible, and very probable, that some of the petty kings of *Canaan* joined the king of *Amalekitis* now, as he did some of the *Canaanites* afterwards, to prevent the *Israelites* from entering into their borders. This junction may have been passed over by *Moses*, who thought it enough that he mentioned the principal and ring-leader of the assault.

(H) *Josephus* makes this army to have consisted of no more than 70,000 men, and yet adds, that the country was so beset with them, that the *Amalekites* could hardly escape, if they attempted to fly any where (19); but this is said at random, as we think.

(17) Ex libro MIRAT. CAINAT disse.  
JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 6. c. 1.

(18) Vide RELAND. Palæst. Illustr. p. 82.

(19) JO-



- a mother nor sucking child were spared; the whole country was made desolate, *Agag* and the best of the cattle only, were suffered to live. However, *Agag* did not long enjoy this favour; for it was no sooner related to *Samuel* that he was saved alive, than he was sent for by the prophet, with whom all his insinuating address, and hopes that the *bitterness of death was passed*, could not avail. He was hewn to pieces by *Samuel*, or at least by his order, in *Gilgal*, before the Lord<sup>a</sup>.

- THE small remnant of the *Amalekites* who escaped the sword of *Saul* possessed themselves of their desolate country again, and lived, for ought appears, in peace, till such time as *David* was driven to ask protection of *Achish* king of the *Philistines*, dreading the murderous jealousy of *Saul*, and had *Ziklag* allotted to him. At this time the *Amalekites* are mentioned as associated with the *Geshurites* and *Gezerites* (1). The *Amalekites* thus picking up again and gathering strength, were slaughtered once more by their new and near neighbour *David*, who thought it perhaps a duty incumbent on him to compleat the work which *Saul* had left unfinished. So once more were the *Amalekites*, man and woman, butchered and dispersed, their country in good part ruined, and all the cattle that came in the enemy's way driven off<sup>b</sup>.

- THE *Amalekites* meditated revenge for this cruel injury, as they doubtless called it, and mustering their strength, went up to *Ziklag*, the abode of *David*, who happened then to be absent with his small party, so that the town was left defenseless; wherefore they easily made themselves masters of the place, and burnt it with fire; but touched not the lives of any of the inhabitants, which, considering what they had suffered so lately from *David*, might well pass for a great piece of moderation in them, if they had not some further views in preserving them (K). Among their captives were *David's* two wives, *Abinoam* the *Jezreelite*, and *Abigail*, who had been wife to *Nabal* the *Carmelite*; and having thus succeeded to their wish, they thought to secure what they had got by an expeditious return homewards, and determined not to stop by the way till they should reach such a place, which was perhaps a pleasant spot, affording water and a refreshing shade, and pretty well out of the reach of the enemy. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind them one of their number, an *Egyptian* by birth, who, by some means or other, was so weak that he could not keep pace with them. *David* in the mean time had notice of the revenge the *Amalekites* had taken on him, and pursued them very eagerly, and in his way took this *Egyptian*, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt, to rejoice and rest themselves. The *Amalekites* arrived at the appointed place, and gave a loose to their triumph, with great mirth and jollity; and it seems they recreated themselves several days together. As they were in this careless posture they were descried by *David* from the neighbouring hills towards the close of day; and after they had spent the whole night in debauchery, and were repaired to rest, which was towards the break of day, they were set upon by *David* and his men, and a slaughter was begun among them, which continued till the setting sun; so that not a soul of them escaped the edge of the sword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and, who leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burthened with nothing but the doleful news of so woful a mischance after such uncommon success in their attempt upon *Ziklag*<sup>c</sup>.

THUS by degrees were the *Amalekites* reduced; and at last the fatal blow was given to them in the days of *Hezekiah*, by the *Simeonites*<sup>d</sup>, who utterly destroyed and dispersed them, and kept their country in possession: and this is the imperfect account we have of the exit of the *Amalekites*, as *Balaam* had prophesied long before, *Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever*<sup>e</sup>.

BUT it happened afterwards that a man of *Amalek* blood had taken ample revenge on the *Jews*, had not God interposed, as it were, by a miracle; for *Haman*

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xv. JOSEPH. Antiq. 1. 6. c. 9. <sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. xxviii. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xxx. <sup>d</sup> See 1 Chron. iv. 40—43. <sup>e</sup> Numb. xxiv. 20.

(1) Who these *Geshurites* and *Gezerites* were is uncertain. They are taken for reliques of the *Canaanites* (20); but by the words of the text it might be imagined they were originally of this country; for those nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to *Sinar*, even unto the land of *Egypt* (21).

(K) It is said, indeed, that they were a poor

covetous people, who intended to sell them for slaves, and make money of them (22); or wanted servants for their own use, and therefore shewed this mercy; but if we may be allowed a conjecture of our own, they kept their prisoners alive to supply the loss of those who had lately perished by the hand of *David*; and this does not seem to be a very unnatural supposition.

(20) Vide CLERIC. & PATRICK upon 1 Sam. xxviii. <sup>(21)</sup> 1 Sam. xxviii. 2. <sup>(22)</sup> See PATRICK on 1 Sam. xxx. 2, & CLERIC.



is called an *Agagite* or *Amalekite*; and it is well known how near he was to the fruition <sup>a</sup> of his bloody will against the *Jews*; but this fact being transacted in another country and period, must be related elsewhere. That, however, may be called the last act of the *Amalekites*; and here therefore this section concludes.

## S E C T. VI.

## The History of Canaan.

**W**E have already <sup>a</sup> given the history of the ancestors of this nation, and of their <sup>b</sup> origin, and therefore shall not repeat it here.

CANAAN the son of *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, had eleven sons, *Sidon* or *Zidon*, *Heth*, *Jebusi*, *Emori* or *Amori*, *Girgasi* or *Girgash*, *Hirvi* or *Hevi*, *Archi* or *Arki*, *Sini*, *Arvadi*, *Zemari*, and *Hamathi*. These were the fathers of the following tribes or nations; the *Sidonians* or *Zidonians*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Girgashites* or *Girgashites*, the *Hirvites* or *Hevites*, the *Arkites* or *Archites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, and the *Hamathites* <sup>b</sup>. Five of these are known to have dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Girgashites* or *Girgashites*, and the *Hirvites* or *Hevites*. To these are added two others, the *Perizzites* and *Canaanites*; and these make up the seven primary nations of the *Canaanites*: but how the *Perizzites* came to be a distinct body, or whence the *Canaanites* are peculiarly so called, can, at best, be only guessed at. These seven nations laboured in particular under the evil influences of the curse denounced by *Noah* against their ungodly ancestor *Ham*, being doomed in the end to expulsion, and subjection, and excision. Whether the six other nations we have mentioned, are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, by us commonly so called, is indeed affirmed by some, but as strongly denied by others, who think they were exempt from the ruin which was to light on the other seven; being herein countenanced by the silence which may be observed concerning them in the wars the other *Canaanites* had with *Joshua* <sup>d</sup> and his successors. For therein is no mention made of the *Sidonians*, the *Arkites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, or the *Hamathites*; which is much, seeing they were primary nations or families. We therefore, are of opinion, that they were not included, else so many pretty states or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and these passed over. We must therefore seek for these six original tribes elsewhere. It cannot well be otherwise, than that the seven nations, as they are called, were subdivided into many little kingdoms; for little, very little they must have been, since we find them all within the scanty limits conquered by *Joshua*. Within that small compass we have no fewer than the following number of *Canaanitish* kings, said to be subdued by him; the king of *Jericho*, the king <sup>e</sup> of *Ai*, the king of *Jerusalem*, the king of *Hebron*, the king of *Jarmuth*, the king of *Lachish*, the king of *Eglon*, the king of *Gezer*, the king of *Debir*, the king of *Geder*, the king of *Hormah*, the king of *Arad*, the king of *Libnah*, the king of *Adullam*, the king of *Makkedah*, the king of *Beit-el*, the king of *Jappuah*, the king of *Hepher*, the king of *Aphek*, the king of *Lasharon* or *Saron*, the king of *Madon*, the king of *Hazor*, the king of *Shimron-meron*, the king of *Achishaph*, the king of *Taanach*, the king of *Megiddo*, the king of *Kedesh*, the king of *Jokneam* of *Carmel*, the king of *Dor*, the king of the nations of *Gilgal*, and the king of *Tirzah*, thirty-one in all <sup>f</sup> (A); who were either all, or most of them, comprehended under the primary denominations of the seven nations, the *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Amorites*, <sup>f</sup> the *Girgashites*, *Hirvites*, *Perizzites* or *Canaanites* (B) properly or peculiarly so called.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 121.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. x. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Joshua xii. 9. 24.

(A) But we must not for this suppose there were no more than thirty-one in the whole country that bore the royal title. These are only all that were conquered by *Joshua*. The scripture history acknowledges, that the *Canaanites* were never wholly subdued by him; and we may infer, that many had the title of king, who never had much hurt from *Joshua*.

(B) These seven are a contraction, we must suppose, of the ten nations that were promised to *Abraham*; the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, the *Hittites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Rephaim*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Girgashites*, and the *Jebusites* (1). We may touch on this matter anon.

(1) Genes. xv. 19, 21.

a Nor were these all the branches of the *Canaanites*, who were possessed of the land of promise. But how to assign a place to each particular we know not; wherefore we shall only divide the country in general between the seven tribes or nations, as well as we can, which is all the geography we shall give of this Country here.

THE limits of the country of these *Canaanites* in general, as seems, are thus marked out by *Moses*\*, From *Sidon* to *Gaza*, from thence over to *Sodom*, and thence to *Lashab* thereby, as is thought<sup>b</sup>, stretching out the four lines which comprehended the whole country. Whether all the descendants of *Canaan* were included within this compass, is not positively known, but it is likely to have been the original seat of them all; but whether those we must hereafter look for in *Syria* and elsewhere<sup>c</sup> were terrified thither by the successes of *Josua*, or whether growing too numerous for so small a territory, they naturally transplanted themselves into other parts, may be disputed by some; though we embrace the latter opinion, being therein in some measure, countenanced by *Moses*, who tells us, that the families of the *Canaanites* were spread abroad<sup>d</sup>, just before he gives us their first extent. Thus much we may add on this head, It is clearly evident from scripture and the Jewish writers, that no part of the country on the other side *Jordan*, not even that inhabited by the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseb*, was reckoned into the land of *Canaan*<sup>e</sup>: but to it may be annexed what once made the most beautiful part of this land, though since a detestable lake; we mean the vale of *Siddim*, since called *Pentapolis*, from its five cities, *Sodom*, *Gomorrab*, *Admah*, *Zeboijm* and *Bela*. The soil of this vale was much of the same nature with that about the city of *Babylon*, being productive of Bitumen, and such combustible substances. It was watered every where before the Lord destroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of *Egypt*, as thou comest unto *Zoar*<sup>f</sup>. Such was this vale, which needs no further description to give us a due and perfect idea of it.

Now the seven nations above-mentioned, the *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Amorites*, divided, the *Girgashites*, the *Hivites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Canaanites*<sup>g</sup>, divided their country among them after this manner: The *Hittites* dwelt about *Hebron*; for of the children of *Heb Abraham* bought the cave of *Mach-pelab*<sup>h</sup>. The *Girgashites* had the *Jebusites* and *Canaanites* for their neighbours<sup>i</sup>, as is thought<sup>j</sup>, but it does not plainly appear. The *Amorites* were anciently in the neighbourhood of *Hazezon-tamar*<sup>k</sup>, and in the valley of *Eschol*<sup>l</sup>. The *Amorites* were also on the other side of *Jordan* and the dead Sea, by the conquest they made of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*<sup>m</sup>; but that conquest, as we have already observed, was no part of *Canaan*. The *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called, were divided into distinct bodies, and inhabited two distinct divisions, the sea-side to the west, and the river-side to the east<sup>n</sup>. The *Perizzites* seem to have been near *Beth-el*; for *Abraham* pitched his tent in the beginning between *Beth-el* and *Ali*, and the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* are said to have been then in the land<sup>o</sup>: moreover, we find that they dwelt in the mountains, together with the *Hittite* and the *Jebusite*<sup>p</sup>; though they are elsewhere forgot when these are mentioned<sup>q</sup>. It appears also, that the *Perizzites* were not far from *Shechem*, they being mentioned together with the *Canaanites*, to have been near the city<sup>r</sup>. They seem also to have extended beyond the portion of *Ephraim*, and the half tribe of *Manasseb* as far as *Beth-shean* and the valley of *Jezeel*, and to the southward, where they seem to have been with the *Repbaim*<sup>s</sup>, into the tribe of *Judab*<sup>t</sup> (C). The *Hivites* are said to have dwelt under *Hermion*<sup>u</sup>, and in *Gibeon*<sup>v</sup>, and in mount *Lebanon*<sup>w</sup>. The *Jebusites* inhabited the mountains, and held the city of *Jebus*, afterwards *Jerusalem* (D).

\* Gen. x. ver. 19.    <sup>b</sup> See WELLS'S Geog. of the Old Test. vol. I. chap. 7.    <sup>c</sup> Gen. x. 18.  
<sup>d</sup> Vide RELAND. Palæst. Illustr. Tom. I. c. 1.    <sup>e</sup> Gen. xiii. 10.    <sup>f</sup> Deut. xii. 1.    <sup>g</sup> Josh. iii. 10.  
<sup>h</sup> Ad. xiii. 19.    <sup>i</sup> Gen. xxiii. 3. & seq.    <sup>j</sup> Josh. xxiv. 11.    <sup>k</sup> Vide RELAND. Palæst. Illustr. I. 1.  
<sup>l</sup> c. 27.    <sup>m</sup> Gen. xiv. 7.    <sup>n</sup> Ibid. ver. 13.    <sup>o</sup> Deut. xix. 24.    <sup>p</sup> See before, p. 287, 294.    <sup>q</sup> See  
<sup>r</sup> Numb. xiii. 29. & Josh. xi. 3.    <sup>s</sup> Gen. xiii. 3. 7.    <sup>t</sup> Josh. xi. 3.    <sup>u</sup> See Numb. xiii. 29.  
<sup>v</sup> Gen. xxiv. 30.    <sup>w</sup> Josh. xvii. 15, 16.    <sup>x</sup> Jud. i. 4, 5.    <sup>y</sup> Josh. xi. 3.    <sup>z</sup> Ibid. ver. 19.  
<sup>a</sup> Compare Josh. ix. 7. with Jud. iii. 3. See also 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

(C) The *Perizzite* appears to have been a wanderer, as the name imports; whence possible *Josuephus* divides the land of *Canaan* into no more than six provinces (2).

(D) Some (3) divide them into but two sorts by

the lump, the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, merchants and shepherds, as the two words nearly import; for *Perizzite* originally signifies also a villager. Others, more properly perhaps, into merchants and soldiers. According to either, those appellations

(2) *Antiq. l. 5. c. 1.*  
*Script. Chronol. p. 202.*

(3) CUMBERLAND'S *Origin. Gent. Antiq. p. 132.* See also BEDFORD'S

Their Cu-  
stoms, &c.

THE cities of this country, besides those of the *Pentapolis* when it flourished, a that can be fixed with any tolerable degree of certainty, were *Hebron*, *Jebus*, *Jericho*, *Beth-el*, *Shechem*, and *Beth-shean*, concerning which, as they stood under the *Canaanites*, we have nothing particular to add.

Now to speak of the customs, manners, arts, sciences, and language of these several nations, we may suppose that in some points they differed widely from each other, according as their situation led them into different courses of life (E). We need not say, that the *Canaanites* on the sea-side were merchants, in which capacity we shall consider them at large, when we come to speak of them as *Phœnicians*; for by that name, it is commonly agreed, they were afterwards known to the *Greeks*: accordingly the *Seventy*, instead of the kings of the *Canaanites*, which were b by the sea, have rendered it, the kings of the *Phœnicians*, on the sea-coast. And by the same, the whole land of *Canaan* is called the country of the *Phœnicians*\*, though those only were properly so called who inhabited the sea-coast: and these we shall dwell upon more particularly under the head of *ancient Phœnicians*. The other *Canaanites* who had an inland situation, were employed in pasturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exercise of arms, in both which they will be seen to have been well versed. Those of them who dwelt in the walled cities and fixed abodes, cultivated the land, as we may suppose; and those who wandered about, as particularly the *Perizzites* seem to have done, by what we have just before said of them, were either graziers, or men of arms. So that it is easy to discern among them c the several distinct classes of merchants, and consequently seamen and artificers, foldiers, shepherds and husbandmen, if not students. As much as they were divided in interest and ways of life, we shall perceive by their history, that they were ready to join in the common cause; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offensive or defensive; that their towns were well fortified, and themselves well furnished with weapons to battle it in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, so dreadful among the ancients, and which they are thought

to

\* Jos. cap. 5. Com. 1, 12.

appellations do not belong to any two particular tribes; nor is either of them descended from any single son of *Canaan*; but consisted of a mixed multitude: but as they are constantly named as distinct tribes, and in order with the rest, we know not how to decide upon this matter. The names indeed of these tribes and of this people in general are a little vague and uncertain: so the whole body of the seven nations is supposed to be signified sometimes by the *Amorites*, just as all the people of the seven united provinces are now properly called *Hollanders*, who are more potent than any of the rest (4).

(E) It is hard to say any thing particular of the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, and the *Rephaim*, or to point at the exact places where they dwelt. The *Kenites* we have largely insisted on already †; but however, though the name be the same, we know not how to think these the same people. These are mentioned as a tribe of the *Canaanites*, who were to be delivered up to the executive justice of the *Israelites*; whereas those we formerly touched on are represented as a people who lived in a great degree of friendship with them. The *Chaldees* interpreter calls them *Schalmites*; whereby they are understood to have been pacific, and at no enmity with *Israel*. This indeed sounds them the same with the *Kenites* of *Jethro's* family. Whether or no the appellation of *Kenite* may have belonged to two distinct families we know not, but it appears pretty plain by scripture, that there was a difference in their manner of life: for on the one hand we are told, that it was unlawful for them to drink wine, to plant, to sow, or to dwell in houses, and that they conformed to this injunction, and led their life accord-

ingly (5). Where we find this we understand also, that for their obedience to their laws they were to escape the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar*: whereas the *Kenites* of *Jethro's* line and kindred are said to have pitched their nest upon a rock, which seems to imply, that they built them a city for a safe habitation; and what is more, they were carried off with the ten tribes of *Israel* by the *Assyrian* (6); but we have dwelt sufficiently on these. The *Kenizzites* there is little or nothing said of, nor do we know where they dwelt. The *Kadmonites*, from the import of their name, are allowed to have dwelt in the east, and the *Jerusalem Targum* (7) expressly calls them the children of the east. The *Rephaim* are mostly placed in *Basban*, where *Og* the last of their race reigned (8). They were, as their name declares, men of a gigantic stature. A writer (9) of great learning and repute has a remarkable thought concerning the *Rephaim*; he fancies, they were the *Gephyraei* who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*. He observes, that in the *Chaldees* they are called גִּבּוֹרִים *Gebari*, or stout men; and hence he has room for his conjecture. The race of the *Rephaim* indeed was quite extinguished upon the death of *Og*; but the name may have been assumed by others. From the little here collected we may observe why these four are omitted in speaking of the land of *Canaan* in the days of *Moses*, though they seem all to have possessed the region designed for *Abraham* and his seed. The *Rephaim* we see, were in *Basban*, which, as we have observed, was no part of the land of *Canaan*; the *Kadmonites* also were on the east of *Jordan*; the *Kenites* were, as seems upon the whole, a tribe of the *Midianites*, and therefore these three could not be reckoned among the tribes of *Canaan*, they being

(4) See PATRICK upon Gen. xlviii. 22.

† Before, p. 302, a, b.

(5) Jerem. xxxv. Conf.

Num. i. Chron. ii. ver. ult.

(6) See before, p. 302.

(7) Gen. xv.

(8) Deut. iii. 11.

(9) RELAND. Palæst. Illustr. p. 141.

- a to have borrowed from the *Egyptians* (F); that they were daring and obstinate, and almost invincible; and in the example of the *Gibeonites* beneath, we shall see they wanted not craft and policy. The language they spoke was well understood by *Abraham*, as should seem; for by what appears, he conversed very readily with them upon all occasions; but for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, which considering all things cannot well be doubted; or whether they had it in common with the other nations than subsisting in that part of the world, who all spoke the same tongue, or very nearly the same, or whether they borrowed it at first from the *Israelites*, may be considered when we come to speak farther of the *Hebrew* language<sup>a</sup>.
- b THEY retained the pure religion quite down to the days of *Abraham*, who acknowledged *Melchisedec* to be priest of the most high God; and *Melchisedec* was indisputably a *Canaanite*, or, at least, dwelt there at that time in high esteem and veneration (G). They never offered to molest *Abraham*; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing, a noble example of which we have in the behaviour and good intentions of *Ephron* towards him in the affair of the cave of *Machpelah*. To say no more upon this subject, we must hence allow that there was not a general corruption of religion among the *Canaanites* at this day; but it must be granted that the very *Hittites*, so seemingly commendable in the days of *Abraham*, degenerated apace, since they were become the aversion of *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, who could not endure the thoughts of their son *Jacob*'s marrying among the daughters of *Heth*, as their son *Esau* had done, to their great grief<sup>b</sup>. So that about this time we must date the rise of (H) those abominations which subjected them to the fierce wrath of God, and made them unworthy of the land of their possession. In the days of *Moses* they were become incorrigible idolaters, for he commands the *Israelites* to destroy their altars, and break down their images, statues or pillars, and cut down their groves (I), and burn their graven images with fire. And, lest they should pervert the *Israelites*, it was as strictly enjoined them not to intermarry with them; but to smite them, and utterly destroy them, nor shew mercy upon them<sup>c</sup>. By this we may form an idea of their horrid wickedness; they were guilty of the cruel custom of d sacrificing men, and are said to have passed their seed through fire to *Molech*<sup>d</sup>. This inhuman rite they are charged with, as they were the ancestors of the *Phœnicians*, and therefore we shall not repeat what we have already<sup>e</sup> said on that subject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our *Phœnician* history. Their morals were as corrupt as their doctrine; adultery, bestiality of all sorts, profanation, incest, and all manner of uncleanness, are the sins laid to their charge, and

<sup>a</sup> See SHUCKFORD'S Connect. of the sacr. and proph. Hist. vol. I. book 4. p. 110. See before, p. 152. <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 306. <sup>c</sup> Deut. vii. 1—5. <sup>d</sup> Levit. xviii. 21. See before, p. 293. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 138.

being foreigners to that country; though it happened that they also did, in part, fall to the *Israelites*, as was promised. To conclude, it is not plain that any of these four nations were of the sons of *Canaan*.

(F) This is bishop *Cumberland*'s thought, who supposes a part of them to have abode two hundred years in *Egypt*; and that the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, when named together, must be understood of those mingled tribes of all the *Canaanites* who had been engaged in fierce wars with the *Egyptians*; and further, that these two bodies are particularly marked down for destruction, as they were the most warlike and skilful in martial affairs, training up their children to the same discipline, and the most likely to give the *Israelites* trouble (10).

(G) Sir *Isaac Newton* (11) concludes, that they persevered in the true religion till the death of *Melchisedec*; but that afterwards they fell away, and began to embrace idolatry, now spreading, as he thinks, from *Chaldea*. They are said to have been given to the superstition of the ancient *Perians* (12).

(H) It is the opinion, however, of bishop *Cumberland* (13), that the *Canaanites* were idolaters before the congress of *Melchisedec* and *Abraham*, which we know not how to allow.

(I) The original word *Asharim*, which we render groves, is by some understood to mean the wooden images of *Astarte*; and instance *Gideon*'s throwing down the altar, and cutting down the grove that was by, or, as the *Hebrew* and LXX has it, upon it; which they urge could not be the grove, but the image upon it (14); but besides, that the original may as well be rendered over it, viz. the grove that was over the altar, we shall shew in the sequel that these groves were not only very common, but designed to conceal their impious rites. Sir *Isaac Newton* remarks upon the whole passage, that the *Canaanites* had no temples. *Moses* commanded *Israel* to destroy the altars, images, high-places, and groves of the *Canaanites*, but made no mention of their temples, as he would have done, had there been any in those days (15).

(10) See CUMBERLAND *Origen. Gent. Antiq.* p. 132, 133.

(11) *Chronol. of anc. kingdoms*

amended, p. 188. (12) See SHUCKFORD'S Connect. of sacr. and proph. Hist. vol. I. book 5. p. 335.

(13) *Origen. Gent. Antiquiss.* p. 427.

(14) SELDEN de Diis Syriis Syntagm. 2.

(15) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd.* amended, p. 221.

(15) *Chronol.*

which brought on the calamities they were doomed to\*: and this may serve as a supplement to the character of this people, after their fall from the right way.

*Their Government.*

CONCERNING their government thus much may be said, That they were comprehended under a great number of states, and under subjection to limited chiefs or kings, as they are called; and transacted all their business in popular assemblies: so *Abraham* bowed not down to the king of the children of *Heib*, but to themselves; so *Ephron* seems to have acted with *Abraham* with the participation of his whole tribe: so *Hamer* king of *Shechem* would not conclude upon what answer he should make to what the sons of *Jacob* proposed to him, till he had consulted his citizens upon what he should do in the case†; and throughout all their transactions the same tenor of conduct in their princes will be observed by every attentive reader. Nor is it likely that so many petty kingdoms should have been standing when *Joshua* invaded them, had exorbitant ambition and lust of rule been known among them; but as nature, perhaps, taught them, that every man as an individual, and every state as a collective body, is free and independant, so they may thereby have been restrained from invading each other's rights, or else one or a few must have swallowed up the many; and, though this opinion may be combated by the ambitious cruelty of *Adonibezek*\*, that one example will have no other effect upon this argument than a single exception has to a general rule; that the main body of them thought and acted upon different principles appears pretty plain. This is as much as we need, or can well say concerning their government, laws, and policy. c

*Their History.*

WE now come to their history, the beginnings of which are too dark and unsettled for us to dwell on them, and too heavily laden with the hypotheses of the great men, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, taking scripture, and the natural lights reflected therefrom, for our principal guides, we shall touch as lightly as may be upon what the learned have advanced, as it were, from their own stock. When we consider the situation and distance of this country, we cannot but think it was at first peopled by *Canaan* and his descendants upon the first dispersion after the flood (K). What concerns they originally had with *Egypt*, are rather guessed at than confirmed to us, in respect of the time when they were transacted; but, finding that there was a settled aversion among the *Egyptians* d in the days of *Jacob*, against such as fed cattle, it is thought the *Phœnician* shepherds or *Canaanites* may have warred upon, and oppressed the *Egyptians* before *Abraham* removed into *Canaan*; though this is liable to some objections (L): Therefore we must here acknowledge, as we did formerly, our great ignorance in this matter, and dissatisfaction with what the learned have advanced upon it. All therefore we can pretend to in this matter, is to mark out as we go along, the times in which the learned have been induced to fix what *Manetho* tells us of the *Phœnician* strangers in *Egypt*. In conformity to this, it is pretended† that some of them, upon the increase of their families, being straitned for want of room, moved southwards, as *Moses* intimates, whilst others did the same northwards, as the *Hama-ibite* e and *Arvadite*; and that the former penetrated far into *Egypt*, or at least possessed themselves of the *Arabian* side of that country, which they will have to have been *Goshen*. Here, say they, did they settle; even under *Mizraim* himself, erected a separate kingdom, and differing from the pure *Egyptians* in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions arose between them, which ended in a total expulsion of them in the manner we formerly related in the history of *Egypt*; and this, say they, was effected in the days of *Abraham*.

WE have reckoned the vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* stood, into the ancient country of *Canaan*; and it happens to be the scene of the first action we find, for certain, of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by *Cbedorlaomer*, f

\* Levit. xviii. Gen. xxiii. 7, & seq. Id. xxiv. 20, & seq. \* Judg. i. 6, & seq. † See CUMBERLAND ON SANCHONIATHO, p. 351, 352, seq. & BEDFORD'S Scripture Chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253, 337.

(K) There is an old tradition which says otherwise; for it tells us, that this country did originally belong to the children of *Shem*, by virtue of a division made among the sons of *Noah*; but that the children of *Canaan* dispossessed them (16): whence it is argued, that God did but strict justice in restoring the line of *Shem* to their rightful possession†.

(L) For we think it is pretty obvious, that the *Egyptians* must have looked on *Abraham* as a *Phœnician* or *Canaanitish* pastor, when he was among them; but we do not perceive that they had any aversion to him on that account, but rather the contrary (17).

(16) EPIPH. Hæres. 46. n. 94.

† De hoc vid. ALIX. in Pentat.

(17) See Gen. xii.

king



a king of *Elam*, and reduced to a tribute (M), which they paid for twelve years successively; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, which drew on them a second war, which we shall come to anon.

In the mean time the other parts of the country received *Abraham* with great hospitality and veneration, two or three years after this invasion; but soon after his arrival, the whole land was oppressed by famine, and the *Canaanite* is now expressly said to have been in the land (N). The dearth drove *Abraham* into *Egypt*: whence we learn that the whole country at this time was in great want<sup>a</sup>. The famine was of no long continuance, and *Abraham* returned into this country again, and found that the *Perizzite* was also in the land; whence, it is thought, they are spoken of b as new comers, and that they had lately been expelled from *Egypt*, or dreading an expulsion, had voluntarily forsaken that kingdom: and the rather because *Abraham* and *Lot* seem now to have been straitened for want of room, which caused their separation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at first found it (O). And now was the whole land promised to *Abraham*<sup>1</sup>.

THE five kings of the vale of *Siddim*, *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsba* king of *Gomorrab*, *Sbinab* king of *Admah*, *Sbemeber* king of *Zebojim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been subdued by *Chedorlaomer*, and been made tributary to him, as we have already observed. Wherefore *Chedorlaomer* c and his allies marched hither again in the fourteenth year, taking several other nations or tribes in his way; or rather, he fetched a circuit to come at them, reducing, among others, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazerontamar*. At last he fell on the five kings of *Siddim*, who were resolved to dispute their rights with him; but they fell under the pressure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either slain in battle, or carried away captive, or obliged to fly to the mountains or to their cities. *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* and the rest were pillaged with the utmost rigour and scrutiny. Among the prisoners was *Lot*, which roused up *Abraham* to undertake his rescue, which he effectually did<sup>2</sup>.

At this time *Melchisedec* (P) was king of *Salem*, and priest also of the most high

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xii. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xiv.

(M) By an old tradition we have already mentioned, this war upon the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim* was a very just one; for if it be true that the land of *Canaan*, of which this was undoubtedly a part, originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, from whom it was forcibly taken by the children of *Ham* (18), no wonder that the kings of the east, who were of that descent, laid claim to this country in general, and to this most lovely spot in particular; for *Elam* descended from *Shem* (19).

(N) According to what you read in the preceding note, this means no more than that the *Canaanites* had invaded the country before *Abraham* came thither. But we must remember, that this is building a superstructure upon a very weak foundation, a tradition: much the same may be said upon the passage afterwards, that the *Perizzites* were also in the land.

(O) But upon this we may start one question, which in this case cannot be readily answered; How came such a weak prince as *Hamer* king of *Sbechem* to have so much ground to spare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with *Jacob* (20)?

(P) The *Jews* will have him to have been *Shem*, out of a vain reluctance, that their father should have had any superior among the *Canaanites*; and they are not without their advocates, for this opinion, among the Christian writers, and some of them very eminent: we will give the words of a very learned prelate of our own church upon this point——‘ I am glad that

‘ I can cite *Grotius* to abet my opinion [That ‘ *Melchisedec* was the *Shem* of *Moses*, and the ‘ just judge of *Philo Byblinus*] thus far, that he ‘ saith in his notes on *Heb. vii. 1. Melchisedec* is ‘ the man meant by *Sydic* in *Philo Byblinus*. And ‘ that *Shem* had this title of *Melchisedec*, or ‘ the just king, as *Pompey* was ordinarily called ‘ *Magnus*, and *Octavius* called *Augustus*, is the ‘ judgment of the eldest and learnedest *Jews*, ‘ and of many modern learned men in *Jewish* ‘ antiquity; to whose judgment herein I sub- ‘ scribe with great satisfaction. And, whereas ‘ others think him some small king of *Canaan*, ‘ I concur thus far with them, that I believe he ‘ neither had, nor sought any large dominions ‘ for himself’ (21).—This then is a favourite opinion we see, and, no doubt, the great man whose words these are, had perfectly satisfied himself that the thing must have been so. But as eminent a prelate (22) of our own differs so far from the former, whose words we have given above, that he wonders how any Christian can entertain such a notion, so evidently destroyed by the apostle to the *Hebrews* (23), where it is expressly said, that *Melchisedec* was not *γεννησάμενος ἐξ ἀνδρῶν*, his descent or pedigree was not counted from them the [*Jews*] which is not true of *Shem*. ‘ Nor could *Shem* be said to ‘ be without father or mother, whose genealogy ‘ is evident from *Adam*. Nor was *Shem*’s priest- ‘ hood, if he had any, of a different order from ‘ *Levi*’s, who was in his loins, as well as in the ‘ loins of *Abraham*. And therefore it cannot be ‘ said

A famine in Canaan.

Year of the Flood, 1078.

Year before Christ, 1921

(18) See before in the notes, p. 326. (19) Gen. x. 22. (20) See Gen. xxxiv. 21. (21) CUMBERLAND on SANCTUARY, p. 174. (22) See PATRICK upon Gen. xiv. 18. (23) Ibid. vii. 6.



God (Q): and as *Abraham* was returning from the war, he presented him with a bread and wine (R); that is, made him the usual presents of meats and drinks to refresh him, and received from him tythes of all (S); having blessed him in the name of the most high God, possessor, or creator of heaven and earth. The king of *Sodom* was at this remarkable interview, and seems to have acted a very generous and modest part, claiming nothing of all that *Abraham* had re-taken from the enemy, except the persons of his subjects, leaving the rest to his disposal and discretion. But he met with as generous a return from *Abraham*, who, so far as in him lay, made him ample restitution of all that belonged to him, whether of persons or goods; whilst *Aner*, *Eschol*, and *Mamre*, his *Canaanitish* confederates, who were all three *Amorites*, were left to do as they pleased; and how far they followed *Abraham's* example, is not said<sup>1</sup>.

Sodom, &c.  
destroyed.

Year of the  
Flood, 1101.  
Year before  
Christ, 1898.

Now for fifteen years there is a dead silence as to the affairs of this people; but about this time a severe judgment was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*. Living in great ease and affluence, they were grown to such a height of impiety, that there was no room for mercy on them; which, if it could have been obtained by the intercession of *Abraham*, they had been spared from the wrath of God now, as by his arms before, they were snatched out of the hands of their enemies. The sin they suffered for was that unnatural end<sup>2</sup>, which from the chief city of that vale, *Sodom*, has since born the name of Sodomy. The particulars of this catastrophe we have already given<sup>3</sup> in speaking of *Lot*; and shall now only say<sup>4</sup> that the four cities of this fertile and pleasant spot, *Sodom*, *Gomorrab*, *Admah*, and *Zebbijm*, were destroyed by a rain of brimstone and fire, or thunder and lightning,, from the Lord out of heaven, and that the whole vale was consumed<sup>5</sup>; and became thenceforward the dead or salt-sea, or lake *Asphaltites* (T). Thus perished a branch of the *Canaanites* with their whole territory; all, saving the city of *Bela*, henceforward called *Zoar*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xix.

<sup>3</sup> See before.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. ubi sup. Deut. xxix. 23.

<sup>5</sup> See before, p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> said that *Levi* paid him tithes in the loins of *Abraham*; but it would be as true that he received tithes in the loins of *Shem*. For, according to this interpretation, he was in the loins both of him that received tithes, and of him that paid them; and so the whole argumentation of the apostle falls to the ground. But setting aside these, and other Christian reasons, there is no cause, that we can discern, why *Moses* should call *Shem* (whom he so often mentions) by any other name than his own; nor is it likely that *Shem* reigned in the land of *Canaan*, which now was in the possession of his brother's son. Nor could *Abram* be said to *sojourn there as in a strange country*, if his noble ancestor *Shem* had been king there<sup>7</sup> (24). These arguments must be allowed to be very strong, and it is pretty clear that the notion which obtains among the *Jewish* writers, is of no very ancient date. *Josephus* expressly calls *Melchisedec* a potentate of the *Canaanites* (25). The *Arabians* deduce him from *Pelegr* (26). To pass over some notions of the church, and of some hereticks concerning him, which are pretty wide from our present purpose; he was both a king and a priest; which offices were anciently joined in one person, of which several instances are observed in ancient writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

(Q) *Salem* is by *Josephus* (27) called *Solyma*; who also says, that *Melchisedec* was the first founder of it; that he erected a temple in it, and officiated as a priest, calling it *Jerusalem*; whereas its former name was *Solyma*. But what he says in this case has no weight with the most accurate and learned of the Christian writers, who, for the most part have a different notion. There is a *Salem* mentioned in the New Testament (28); which is

supposed to have been the same where *Melchisedec* reigned (29). The *Arabians* will have it, that *Jerusalem* was built by twelve neighbouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for *Melchisedec*, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it *Jerusalem* (30).

(R) As he is generally acknowledged to have been a type of Christ, so some have discovered in this bread and wine, a near relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper: but this is a pious mistake; the words of *Moses* mean what *Josephus* (31) explains; it was no more than a refreshment of meats and drinks which he offered to *Abraham*, according to the hospitality of those times; *eating of bread*, in the scripture phrase, is feasting.

(S) It is remarked (32), that the words of the text itself are so ambiguous, that there would have been no knowing whether it was *Abraham* or *Melchisedec* that gave these tithes, had not the apostle (33) explained it: whence *Eusebius* thought *Melchisedec* had bestowed gifts upon *Abraham*. Of what kind the tithes were that *Melchisedec* received from *Abram*, is not known; but we may enlarge on this in the life of *Abraham*.

(T) How this terrible subversion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of slime-pits (34), or places whence *Naphtha* and *Bitumen* were extracted, is supposed to have been universally impregnated with igneous matter, and the lightning darting upon it, or flashing along the surface of it, kindled the combustible parts (35), which had the fearful effect of turning this once enchanting paradise into a loathsome lake. But we shall speak of this lake hereafter in the geography of this country, as it was under the *Jews*.

(24) See PATRICK upon Gen. vii. 6.

(25) De Bell. Judaic. l. 7. c. 18.

(26) HOTTING.

Smeg. Orient. p. 256, 260, 306.

(27) Idem ubi sup.

(28) John iii. 23.

(29) See PATRICK ubi sup.

(30) EUSEBIUS. Annal. p. 67.

(31) Antiq. l. 1. c. 10.

(32) See PATRICK ubi sup. ver. 19.

(33) Heb. vii. 2.

(34) Gen. xvi. 10.

(35) Vide CARRIE.

Dissertat. de Sodom. subversum, § 4.

- a THE *Hittites* after this treated with *Abraham*, who desired to purchase the cave of *Mach-pelab*, for a burial-place; and their behaviour towards that incomparable patriarch deserves well a place here. In a public assembly they offered him the choicest of their sepulchres to deposite his dead in, and that in the most respectful terms. But, when he signified his desire to have a separate place for his family, and had cast his eye upon the cave of *Mach-pelab*, belonging to one of their tribe, called *Ephron* the son of *Zobar*, with whom he desired them to intercede in his behalf: *Ephron* himself, who is supposed to have presided in this assembly, generously offered to make him a present of not only the cave he wanted to purchase, but of the ground or field also where it stood, and pressed him much to accept of it; b but by the noble spirit of *Abraham* he was disappointed so far as to be obliged to sell the field and the cave to him for four hundred shekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between *Abraham* and him; so great was his desire of retaining the favour and friendship of that patriarch.

NOTHING occurs after this that we can take notice of here for the space of about one hundred and twenty-eight years. At this time reigned *Hamor* in *Shechem*, a poor kingdom and weak; though *Hamor* himself seems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better chance than befel him. He sold a piece of ground to *Jacob* \* near *Shechem*, where it happened that *Dinab* the daughter of *Jacob* coming to see and converse with the daughters of the land, was observed by *Shechem* the son of *Hamor*. *Shechem* was so violently smitten with a liking to her, that he instantly forced and deflowered her; but having a real passion for her, and being sensibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he would have pacified and persuaded her to consent to marry him. He spake of it to his father *Hamor*, and entreated him to use his endeavours that he might have *Dinab* for his wife. Accordingly *Hamor* went to *Jacob* to communicate the ardent inclinations his son had for *Dinab*, and to ask his consent. But the injury and affront was stily insisted on by *Jacob's* sons, who were present, as was also *Shechem* himself. This last finding that the others were highly exasperated at the violence he had committed on their sister, proffered all the satisfaction their hearts could wish, if they would but forgive him, and permit him to marry her. *Shechem* thought he had gained his point upon the answer he received from them; which was, That if he and all of his tribe, or city, would consent to be circumcised, he should have his suit granted. *Shechem* willingly submitted to this painful proposal, and so did his father *Hamor* for his sake; for he had an especial love for him above all his other children. Wherefore returning to the city, they assembled the people in the gate, and bespoke them to this effect: That seeing that *Jacob* and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and that their was full room enough for them all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that indeed there was a pretty hard condition insisted on; which was, that they should all be circumcised; but that the pain thereof would be amply compensated by such an accession of wealth as must flow in upon them by *Jacob's* becoming one people with them. The men of the city, partly out of affection to *Hamor* and *Shechem*, we may suppose, and partly upon the last consideration, declared they were ready to be circumcised. They were so accordingly, but while they laboured under the sores and inconveniencies of this compliance (U), upon the third day they were all suddenly cut off by two of *Jacob's* sons at the head of their servants. Every one of them perished by the edge of the sword, and their wives, and children, and cattle, and household-goods, and all belonging to them fell a prey to the treacherous *Simeon* and *Levi*, who had perpetrated so horrid a violence upon a parcel of helpless, and to all appearance, innocent people †.

HITHERTO we have been obliged to give the history of this people by incoherent pieces, and so we must continue to do: there is no connection, no successive train of events to be expected here. When *Moses* drew towards the skirts of the promised land, for the first time, the *Canaanites* in the south-eastern parts of the country were joined by the *Amalekites* ‡, who we may suppose, were eager to take

\* Gen. xxiii.

\* Gen. xxxiii. 18, & seq.

† Gen. xxxiv.

‡ Deut. iii. 5.

(U) (36) \* And began to be a little feverish: \* indeed *Hippocrates* says the same of all wounds  
\* For the greatest pain and anguish the *Jews* ob- \* and ulcers, that they are then most inflamed by  
\* served, was upon the third day after circumcision, \* a conflux of sharp humours to them.  
\* which very much indisposed them (37). And

(36) PATRICK upon Gen. xxiii. 25. (37) ELIEN. Pirke, c. 29. & VORSTI. Annotat. p. 95.

their revenge upon the *Israelites* \*. These understanding that spies had been sent <sup>a</sup> by *Moses* to view the land, drew towards the frontiers; and the *Israelites* attempting to enter their territory against the express decree of God, were by them repulsed with a great slaughter, quite to *Hornab* \*.

WHETHER before or after this, is not precisely known, *Sibon* king of the *Amorites* invaded the children of *Moab* and *Ammon*, and dispossessed them of their country on the other side *Jordan*, and the *dead Sea* \*: this conquest is celebrated by the most ancient poem \* that is extant among prophane writers.

Arad. ARAD (W) was a king in the south-east of *Canaan*, when *Moses* had a second time reached the skirts of the promised land; and being informed of their coming by the *Way of spies* (X), he went out and attacked them, and took several of them <sup>b</sup> prisoners; but fortune changed countenance on him, and he was vanquished by them, and his country doomed to utter destruction \*.

Sihon. SIBON the *Amorite* soon after this residing in the ancient country of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, was entreated by messengers from *Moses* for a free passage through his country, in his way to *Canaan*. This request he arrogantly rejected; and, having raised an army, marched out against him; but it was a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated at *Jaazer* with a total overthrow, which was ensued by the entire loss of all he had, to *Moses* and his people.

Og. OG king of *Basban* is reckoned a king of the *Amorites* †, and was of the race of the giants, or *Rephaim*, and the very last of them. His iron bedstead of nine cubits in length we have already mentioned \*. He was a dreadful enemy \*. His whole kingdom took its name from the hill of *Basban*, which is compared to God's hill <sup>b</sup>, and has since been called *Batanea*. In it were no less than sixty walled towns, besides villages \*. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle \* and stately oaks \*. In short, it was a plentiful and populous territory. Og's residence was at *Ahtaroth* † (Y) and at *Edrei*, at or near which place he was vanquished, as he was espousing the cause of *Sibon*, and attempting to stop the progress of *Moses* and his people. He fell in battle, he, and all that belonged to him, and his whole kingdom, and all therein was transferred to the *Israelites* under *Moses* \*.

THE news of what *Moses* had done on the other side *Jordan* to *Sibon* and *Og*, <sup>d</sup> kings of the *Amorites*, was matter of astonishment we may suppose to the *Canaanites* of every denomination; but when they also heard how the waters of that river had been divided to give the *Israelites* a passage through it, their hearts melted, and their spirits failed them. *Jericho* was the first place that felt the fury of the approaching excision, being dismantled by the shouts of the *Israelites*, the sound of seven rams-horns, and the circumvection of the ark of the covenant; and in it no soul was spared but the harlot *Rabab* and her family, who had been instrumental in saving the spies that had been sent by *Joshua* into this city, which was now turned into a heap of ashes and rubbish, being burnt with fire; and the man cursed that should ever attempt to rebuild it \*.

The king of Ai. THE news of this soon roused up the little state of *Ai*, whose king, on the first <sup>e</sup> skirmish, gained some small advantage against *Joshua*; the occasion of which shall be related in its proper place. But he soon perceived that the war was not likely to be decided by so slight a favour of fortune on his side, and therefore sent to the men of *Beth-el*, who were his subjects, and owed him homage, to repair to

\* See before, p. 320. † Deut. ubi supr. p. 287, 294. \* See before. \* Numb. xxi. 27.  
 † Ibid. ver. 1, 2. † Deut. iii. 8. and ver. 11. \* See before, p. 293. \* Vide JOSEPH.  
 Antiq. l. 4. c. 5. † Psal. lxxviii. 15. † Deut. iii. 4, 5. Josh. xiii. 30. JOSEPH. Antiq.  
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(W) It is doubted whether this be the name of the king himself, or of his city. There was indeed a city, and one of *Canaan's* sons of that name, according to the LXX and the *Vulgate*, who so translate the *Hebrew* of *Arvad*; who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (38).

(X) This is supposed to be a road or a way, so called from the spies who entered the country formerly eight and thirty years before. Some understand it, that the king heard spies were coming

into his country. The *Hebrew* word here rendered spies, is *בִּיתְרֵי* *baathbarim*; which the LXX have retained as the name of the place, and call it *Αδαμ*.

(Y) This city being elsewhere called *Ahtaroth-Karnaim* (39), or the *two horns*, has given room to suppose it derived its name from the goddess *Astarte*. But, as is observed, that place may as well be supposed to have been built in the shape of a half-moon (40).

(38) Vide PATRICK & CLERIC. in Numb. xxi. 1. (39) Gen. xiv. 5. (40) See PATRICK

a him, that they might strengthen his arms against the enemy. It was not long ere he had advice that *Joshua* was moving towards him. In general, he apprehended *Joshua's* intent was to besiege him; but he knew nothing of a stratagem that was formed, and of ambuscades that were laid to ruin him, and destroy his city. He saw *Joshua* appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once resolved to fight him; which he no sooner offered to do, than the *Israelites* faced about and fled; which when he saw, he ordered every body to come out of the city and help to pursue the enemy that feigned only to run from him. By this means his city was left destitute of all defence, every body being at the heels of the *Israelites*; which, when it was known to a party who lay in ambush, they b rose up, seized upon the city, and set the out-skirts of it on fire. The king of *Ai* turning his head backwards, saw the smoke of his city ascending up to heaven; and in the midst of his consternation he saw also the enemy stop short, shout, and face about upon him. His return to the city was intercepted by those who had set it on fire, and were now advancing to assist in cutting him off. The men of *Ai* perceiving therefore that their city must perish without resource, and that they were to be attacked as it were on all sides, their hearts sunk within them, and they all fell by the edge of the sword, except their king, who was taken alive and led to *Joshua*. After this defeat of their army, the city was entered and burnt by the victors; and all that was found in, or about it, was put to the sword. There fell c in the whole about twelve thousand souls; the city was reduced into a ruinous heap, and continued so ever after. The captive king was hanged on a tree till even-tide, when he was taken down, and buried in one of the gates of the city, under a heap of stones which was thrown over him<sup>1</sup>.

THE sad catastrophe of those two kingdoms, made all the neighbouring ones rise up in arms against *Joshua*. *Gibeon*, a city of the *Hivites*<sup>2</sup>, but far stronger and more considerable than *Ai*, both for counsel and valour of its inhabitants<sup>3</sup>, was the only one that chose to avert the impending ruin by stratagem, rather than by joining with the united forces of their neighbours. After the best consultation they could take on so immergent a juncture, they came to a resolution to send some d ambassadors to *Joshua*, dressed in old tattered garments, with clouted shoes, dry and mouldy bread, and with such a worn-out equipage, as might make them appear like men really come from some far distant country. In this sordid guise they set out for *Joshua's* camp in *Gilgal*; where being arrived, they told him they were come from afar off to seek his friendship; and being questioned as to their sincerity, they answered equivocally, and being still further pressed upon the point, they replied with great submission, That they were actually of a very far distant country; and that the fame of the LORD GOD, and what he had done for *Israel* in *Egypt*; and since then, by the destruction of *Sidon* and *Og*, those mighty kings, had been the inducements which had brought them so far from home, being sent by e the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might make their homage, and desire to be accepted into a league with *Israel*; and as a proof that in all they had said they had confined themselves to strict truth, they produced their dry and mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken out of their houses the day they set out: our bottles of wine, said they, were new, and see how they are rent; our garments and shoes were the same, but they are worn out by reason of our very long journey. In all this they acted their parts with the utmost cunning and prevarication, and being too easily believed, gained their point, and prevailed on *Joshua* and the *Israelites* to make a league with them. Thus did they over-reach their enemies, and thereby save their lives. At the end of three days their whole artifice was f discovered, when it was too late to look back, they having brought the *Israelites* under a solemn engagement to protect them as friends: but in the conclusion they fared not so well as they, perhaps, expected, being condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that is, to be slaves, or very little better<sup>4</sup>.

WHEN *Adonizedek* king of *Jerusalem* heard how *Jericho* and *Ai* had been utterly destroyed, and what was worse to the common cause, that the *Gibeonites* had submitted to *Joshua*, he was divided between disdain and fear. But resolving to make an example of the *Gibeonites*, thereby to deter others from following so cowardly and dangerous a precedent, he called in *Hobam* king of *Hebron*, *Piram* king of *Jarmuth*, *Japhia* king of *Lachish*, and *Debir* king of *Eglon*, to join him to fight against *Gibeon*; and accordingly they all went against it, and besieged it. The

<sup>1</sup> Josh. vii, viii.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ix. compare ver. 3. with ver. 7.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. x. 2.<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ix.

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\* See before, p. 320. † Deut. ubi supr. p. 287, 294.  
 ‡ Ibid. ver. 1, 2. † Deut. iii. 8. and ver. 11.  
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the notes; p. 247. † *Jofh. ubi fupr.*

mentators imagined that the *Ifraelites* held the  
and the *Jebufites* the fortrefs of *Zion* ever  
rwards, *Josephus* (42) plainly enough tells us,  
ey had both the fort and the city when *David*  
ave them their fatal blow; and, confidering the  
temper and infolence of the *Jebufites*, it is not  
likely, that while they poffeffed the citadel, they  
would fuffer the *Ifraelites* to live quietly in the  
town. Upon the whole, though the place may  
have been reduced by *Jofhua*, and re-poffeffed by  
the *Jebufites* again, and reduced a fecond time by  
the tribe of *Judab* now, yet it is likely there were  
always difputes between the *Jebufites* and the *If-*  
*raelites*, and that thefe were driven out by thofe  
a fecond time; and that in the days of *David* the  
*Jebufites* had both the city and fortrefs in their  
own hands, as *Josephus* affures us above. It is  
probably upon this account that he tells us elfe-  
where,

† Numb. xiii. ver. ult. (42) *JOSEPH. l. 6. c. 7.*

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inhabitants in this distress dispatched notice to *Joshua* of what was befallen them, and begged his speedy succour to rescue them from their enraged countrymen. They were accordingly relieved on the very next day by their generous ally, who, after a long night's march, fell suddenly on them, and forced them to raise the siege in the utmost confusion. As they were flying away, and had almost reached *Beth-boron*, there came down a dreadful tempest of hail-stones, of such enormous size, that they knocked them on the head, and did more execution among them than the sword of *Joshua*. Thus persecuted by the heavens above, and pressed by the *Israelites* in the rear, they fled, as chance directed them, without knowing whither. By so general a dispersion it is possible that many of them might have come off with life, had not the sun, at the command of *Joshua*, miraculously stopped his career, that the *Israelites* might see to overtake and destroy the scattered multitude. And now the five kings, seeing nothing but sure destruction before their eyes, made the best of their way to a cave near the city of *Makkedab*, the only glimpse of hope they had left. Happily, as they thought, they reached this asylum, but were soon after discovered there; and information thereof being carried to *Joshua*, they quickly saw the mouth of their cave stopped up with great stones. Under this dismal confinement they remained till the action of this miraculous day was concluded, when being taken out, and brought before the congregation of *Israel*, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: which done, they were all five put to death, and their dead bodies were hung, each on a tree, till the setting sun, when they were taken down and thrown into the mouth of the cave, which was again filled up with great stones, as a monument of their unhappy end. This was the fate of the five confederate kings, while some of their subjects were so fortunate as to get into certain fenced cities, and so escape for the present \*.

Jabin.

**JABIN** king of *Hazor*, when he heard this, and that moreover *Makkedab*, *Libnah*, *Lachish*, *Eglon*, *Hebron* and *Debir* had been subverted, and all their inhabitants put to the sword, and that not a soul had been left alive in one of them: and again, that *Horam* king of *Gezer*, and his whole force, had perished in attempting to relieve *Lachish*: Such a crowd of calamities together made him resolve to raise all the tribes of the *Canaanites* to withstand the destruction which so imminently threatened them all. He sent therefore to *Jobab*, king of *Madon*, to the king of *Schimron*, to the king of *Ashdaph*, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to those in the plains south of *Cinneroth*, and in the valley, and on the borders of *Dor* on the west, and to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called, on the east and west, and to the *Amorite*, and the *Hittite*, and the *Perizzite*, and the *Jebusite* in the mountains, and to the *Hivite* under *Herman*, in the land of *Mizpeb*. These all confederated together against *Israel*; they were as the sand on the sea-shore for multitude, and were very strong in horse and chariots (Z), a dreadful enemy for *Joshua* and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided of both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of *Merom*, since called the lake *Samachonitis*. Here, as they lay consulting together, they were assaulted by surprize, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many distinct bodies, perhaps, as they were tribes, each tending homewards. But the main body of them seem to have fled with their faces towards the great *Zidon*, westward, and *Mizrephoth-maim*; while another multitude scoured towards the valley of *Mizpeb* eastward. But they were every where so furiously and effectually pursued, that most of them fell by the way. *Jabin* himself had the luck to escape for the present, but he perished with his city soon afterwards; for *Hazor* was soon after taken, her inhabitants all cut off to a man, and the place burnt down to the ground. It was reckoned as the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore was treated with the greater rigour; f

\* Josh. x.

(Z) This is all the account the text gives us of this numerous army. *Josephus* adds, that it consisted of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 20,000 armed chariots †. That of *Joshua* was not only vastly inferior in number, but was destitute of chariots and horses; so that his success was chiefly owing to the suddenness with which he fell upon them, before they could post themselves to the best advantage. For it is said that he came in sight

of them in five days, though *Gilgal*, whence he set out, was at least sixty miles off, and the country very rocky and mountainous.

And here the *Jewish* general seems to have had some doubt of success at the sight of so prodigious an host, till God was pleased to promise him a complete victory over them, or as the text has it, that he should totally cut off man and horse, and burn their chariots with fire \*.

† *Antiq. l. 5. c. 1.*\* *Josh. x. 6.*

but

a but the rest of the cities of these princes, which also fell into the hands of *Joshua*, were suffered to stand, though none of the inhabitants were spared in any of them<sup>a</sup>.

No losses, though ever so grievous, could for a considerable while break the spirits of the *Canaanites*; they stood their ground, and rose up so thick and so fast one after another, that they kept *Joshua* employed six years<sup>b</sup>. In the end, great numbers are supposed to have left their country; and travelling towards *Afric*, to have settled themselves there at last, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing against *Joshua* by a very injurious appellation, as will be observed hereafter in the history of that continent. In their way thither they are supposed to have seized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, which subsisted under several of their own kings; but being at last overpowered, were forced, some of them, farther westward into *Afric*: and thus are they made out to have been the *Phœnician* shepherds, who lorded it so long, and so rigorously over *Egypt*<sup>c</sup>.

AFTER the *Canaanites* had been successively defeated, and at length dispersed and reduced, the *Anakims*<sup>d</sup> (Z), who also inhabited some of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, and of an origin distinct from the *Canaanites*, as is thought, were invaded and cut off; and thus by degrees the *Israelites* became masters of the greatest part of the land of *Canaan*.

BUT still the *Canaanites* of several denominations were strong and potent, and held no mean share of the country; and, for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of *Joshua*'s days, they were very little molested; being suffered to breathe, while the important business of dividing their country by the conqueror could be regulated and adjusted.

THIS division being marked out, the *Canaanites* were on all sides invaded again by the tribes of *Israel*, who wanted each to drive them out of their respective lots. The *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* in *Bezek* were accordingly invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judab*, and there fell of them ten thousand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of *Bezek*, where *Adoni-bezek*, the king of that place, as his name imports, resided. This king is infamous with all men, for his singular cruelty and insolence; for, by his own confession, having taken seventy kings captive, he cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and made them receive their meat under his table, like so many dogs. The city itself was now assaulted and carried; and all those within the walls were put to the sword, which may be called the second slaughter of this dispute. *Adoni-bezek* himself was in the city at this time, though he, it seems had escaped, but was since overtaken in his flight, and his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a just requital, as he himself acknowledged, for his former cruelty; but his life was undeservedly spared, he being carried alive to *Jerusalem*, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by *Joshua* formerly, or the tribe of *Judab* now<sup>e</sup>, is not very clear (A).

<sup>a</sup> Josh. xi.  
<sup>b</sup> Judg. i. 3—8.

<sup>c</sup> USHER. Annal.

<sup>d</sup> See before in the notes; p. 247.

<sup>e</sup> Josh. ubi supr.

(Z) These are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one *Arba*, who seized on the city of *Hebron*, from whom it was called *Kirjath Arba*, the city of *Arba*. From *Arba* descended *Anak* (41), who, it seems, had three sons, whom we shall mention hereafter. From *Anak* the *Anakims* derive their name; but whether they were only a more numerous and stout people, or really men of a larger stature, has been disputed, though, we think, without reason, if we believe the description given by the spies sent by *Moses* to view the land†. As for the various etymons of their name, they are too uncertain and far-fetch'd to deserve a place here.

(A) *Jerusalem* is mentioned as taken by *Joshua*; but, as may be observed, the *Canaanites* hid hands again on several places which *Joshua* had torn from them; and the same may have happened at *Jerusalem*; for, though it is by most

commentators imagined that the *Israelites* held the town, and the *Jebusites* the fortress of *Zion* ever afterwards, *Josephus* (42) plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort and the city when *David* gave them their fatal blow; and, considering the temper and insolence of the *Jebusites*, it is not likely, that while they possessed the citadel, they would suffer the *Israelites* to live quietly in the town. Upon the whole, though the place may have been reduced by *Joshua*, and re-possessed by the *Jebusites* again, and reduced a second time by the tribe of *Judab* now, yet it is likely there were always disputes between the *Jebusites* and the *Israelites*, and that these were driven out by those a second time; and that in the days of *David* the *Jebusites* had both the city and fortress in their own hands, as *Josephus* assures us above. It is probably upon this account that he tells us elsewhere,

(41) Josh. xiv. 15. Ibid. xv. 13, 14.

† Numb. xiii. ver. ult.

(42) JOSEPH. l. 6. c. 7.

IMMEDIATELY after this the *Canaanites* were invaded in several other parts, <sup>a</sup> and particularly in *Hebron* and *Debir*, two cities which had formerly been destroyed by *Joshua*, but were now in the hands of the *Canaanites* again, an instance, among many others of the same kind, of the resolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their possessions. And, in general, the *Canaanites* in the highlands or mountains were reduced; but those in the low-country were better able to keep their ground, by the help of their iron chariots. *Hebron* was by this war put into the hands of *Caleb*, who thence expelled the three sons of *Anak* <sup>(B)</sup>.

THE other tribes made also some vigorous, but unsuccessful attempts against those cities that had fallen to their lot; as *Benjamin* on the *Jebusites*; *Manasseh* against *Beth-shean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; *Ephraim* against *Gezer*; <sup>b</sup> *Zebulun* against *Kibron* and *Nabalol*; *Naphthali* against *Beth-sheMesh* and *Beth-anath*. *Joseph* was indeed more successful against *Beth-el*, which was betrayed to them, and taken by surprise. *Asher*, on the contrary, was so far from gaining any advantage against those of *Accho*, *Zidon*, *Ablab*, *Acchib*, &c. that its settlement amongst them seems rather to have been confined to such places, and were granted only on some conditions imposed by the old inhabitants. That of *Dan* was no less oppressed by the *Amorites*, who kept them to bleach on the tops of their mountains, without suffering them to come down into the lower and more fertile lands. It is moreover observed, that those of *Ajalon* and *Sbaalim* still kept the mountain of *Heres* in their own hand. But the *Danites* being in time assisted by the house <sup>c</sup> of *Joseph*, brought them at length under tribute, enlarged their own territories, and fixed those of their oppressive neighbours from the going up to *Akrabbim* from the rock, and upwards, as the text has it <sup>(C)</sup>.

THUS upon the division of their country, and the attempts made by the several tribes to drive them out, the whole land was in a ferment of war, which ended with no great success on either side; and the adverse parties seem to have been pretty equally matched. So that although it is certain that multitudes of this people were slain in the wars with *Joshua*, and that, as is very rationally supposed, many of them fled the land in quest of more sure and quiet abodes, twenty years before; yet such was their remaining number, valour, or superior skill in war, <sup>d</sup> that after all their calamities, take them which way you will, they seem to have been but little inferior to the *Israelites*. Nor after this do we miss one tribe of them, except the *Girgashites* <sup>(D)</sup>.

THE *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians*, and the *Hivites* of mount *Lebanon*, from *Baal-hermon* to *Hamath* were left to prove *Israel*, to exercise them with temptation to idolatry and sin <sup>(E)</sup>, and the more immediately devoted nations, the *Canaanites*,

<sup>a</sup> Judg. i. 9—20.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 21—36.

where (43), that the tribe of *Judah* did now attack *Jerusalem*, but did not succeed in their attempt.

(B) The names of these sons of *Anak* are *Abimman*, *Shebhai*, and *Talmi* (44); concerning whom we shall only remark what *Bochart* has fancied, as to the import of their names. To begin with their father *Anak*, his name he makes to square with the *Latin* name *Torquatus*. The eldest, or first of the brother's name *Abimman*, that is, *who is my brother*, or *my equal*. By the name of *Shebhai* the second, he supposes him to have been six cubits high, as *Goliath* is said to have been. *Talmi*, the name of the third, he derives from *talam* a furrow <sup>\*</sup>; as if he seemed in length equal to the furrow of a field. This is an ingenious thought, some may say, and some may think it a little presumptuous. *Josephus* (45), as his custom too frequently is, gives us a fearful account of these inhabitants of *Hebron*, 'Among the slain, says he, 'were found some gigantic forms, who 'not only exceeded the ordinary size of men, but 'differed also from them in aspect and voice, — 'Some of their bones are exposed as a prodigy to 'this day.'

(C) For want of knowing the exact situation

of the places here mentioned, we are at a loss to understand whether the *Amorites* were left masters of a small or large territory. Obscurities of the same kind there are many; but our reader, we hope, will upon this occasion, and all of alike nature, pass or to come, excuse our want of presumption; or that we do not pretend to shew him the exact situations of places, which, from the best light we have, can hardly be guessed at; and must for ever, it is likely, remain a dispute among such as have time to waste, and little else to do or think of.

(D) We are positively told they fled into *Afric* (46), where they fixed their seat; whence their being omitted is very rationally accounted for; and though it were difficult to think that none belonging to the other tribes accompanied them, or trod afterwards in their foot-steps; yet may we hence conclude that the *Girgashites* were the chief of the fugitives from this country, which we shall resume when we come to *Afric*.

(E) Here we see a remarkable distinction made between the *Canaanites* of *Joshua's* conquest, and those who were not so; as if these, who were only their borderers, were more proper, or more

(43) *Antiq. l. 5. c. 2.* (44) *Numb. xiii. 22.*  
(45) *Gemar. Hierosolymit. ad tit. Shebitib, c. 6.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Canaan. lib. 1. c. 1.*

(46) *Ubi supr.*

a *Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites*, dwelt, as it were, in common with the children of *Israel* in their promised land. Being thus blended together, they in time wrought so upon the unstable minds of the *Israelites*, as to persuade them to intermarry with them, and serve their gods<sup>a</sup>, thereby captivating their minds, as they afterwards did their bodies.

For in a very few years, nine or ten, or thereabout, *Jabin*, whom we may reckon the second of the name, seeing he resided at the very same place with the former, was permitted by God to deal with the *Israelites*, as the instrument of his wrath. This prince, it is likely, rebuilt *Hazor* (F), which had been destroyed with such rigour by *Joshua*, re-established the royal seat there, was master of nine hundred chariots of iron (G), which, and the rest of his host, were under the command of *Sisera*, who dwelt in *Hazor* *bet of the Gentiles* (H). *Jabin* therefore reduced the *Israelites* to a state of slavery, and mightily did he oppress them for twenty years. But whether he held them in general under subjection, or the northern tribes only, is a matter of uncertainty. But whether his dominion over them was total or partial, it expired at the end of twenty years, as we have said. News was brought to *Sisera*; that the *Israelites* had been stirred up to rebellion, and that they were actually in arms; consulting together how they might shake off his master's yoke. Whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots of iron, and issued a proclamation, requiring the men of war to assemble together, to march out against the *Israelites*, who were but ten thousand strong, with *Deborah* and *Barak* at their head. They came to a battle; and *Sisera* was beaten, and irretrievably routed, and a general slaughter was made of his army, quite to the gates of *Hazor bet of the Gentiles*: and being himself in great danger of the pursuers, he quitted his chariot, and trusted to his feet (I), directing his steps to the tent of *Heber* the

<sup>a</sup> Judg. ii. 21—23.

Ibid. iii. 1—7.

more likely to tempt the *Israelites* than those who were actually inmates with them. Whence, whether we are to conclude, that the idolatry of the former was more enchanting than that of the latter, or their luxury more enticing, or whether, at all, there was any real difference between them, we leave the reader to fancy. Both religious and political reasons have been assigned for this mercy towards the *Canaanites*; of the former is, That the *Israelites* might not grow sluggish for want of some to waken and stir up their courage, and to keep up martial discipline among them; and that they might always be in a more immediate state of dependance on God, or look constantly up to him for succour (47). Of the latter, That no part of the country, which was too extensive to be thoroughly inhabited by the *Israelites*, might lie desolate, so as to be left for a harbour to wild beasts, who might by their encrease prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the *Canaanites* (48).

(F) We think with those, who suppose this *Jabin* to have descended from the other, who fell by the hands of *Joshua*; and that he now seized on the spot where *Hazor* formerly stood, and rebuilt that city; which, seeing he was so powerful a prince, is no unlikely matter, though some make a scruple of it. Whether *Jabin* was an appellation common to all the kings of *Hazor*, we cannot affirm from positive authority; though it seems to have been a common custom in these parts for kings to succeed each other under the same appellation, as *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, *Agag* in *Amalekites*, &c. He is in the text called king of *Canaan*; which, whether it refers to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called, or to the whole body of the *Canaanites* in general, we take not on us to say.

(G) The number of these chariots, which are

all along taken for the scythed sort, is much wondered at by the learned. Whether he had such a multitude of them before he warred upon *Israel*; or whether, by reducing them, he at once enlarged his empire, and augmented his forces, is not said; though it is probable he had not so many before. But what shall we say to the extravagant account which *Josephus* gives us of these armies (49); hinted in a late note? If *Bochart* wonders, as he does, at the nine hundred chariots the scripture gives him; observing that *Mithridates* had but one hundred in his army, and *Darius* but two hundred (50); what must he have thought of *Josephus*'s three thousand? Indeed, not only in the number of the chariots, but in that also of the horse and foot, he is too large to be easily credited. Nor is it, perhaps, safe to trust too far to that historian, who, though on this side so vastly exceeding what the scripture seems to intend, he agrees therewith in the number of the *Israelites*, who rose up to recover their rights, reckoning them at only ten thousand (51). What authority he had for this prodigious disparity, we know not: but his view may have been to do honour in this example, as in others, to his countrymen and fore-fathers, with the *Romans*, who gloried chiefly in their military exploits, and in what their fathers had done before them that way.

(H) If *Hazor* was not rebuilt, then *Hazor bet of the Gentiles* bids fair to have been the royal seat. It is called *of the Gentiles*, as is supposed, from a confluence of all sorts, who came now to put themselves under the protection of *Jabin*'s growing empire. Both cities were situate on the lake *Smachon*, or *Samechon*, through which the *Jordan* takes its course, and near the place where *Selucia* was since built\*.

(I) The particulars of the battle are not recorded in the sacred text; but thence it very plainly

(47) See *PATRICK* upon *Judg.* iii. 2. (48) See *Exod.* xiii. 29. and *Deut.* vi. 22. (49) *Antiq. lib.* 5. c. 6. (50) *Hieronic.* part I. lib. 2. cap. 9. (51) *JOSEPHUS* ubi *supr.*

*EUSEB.* loc. *Habr.*

\* *Vide*

*Kenite*, who was at amity with *Jabin*. He found *Jael*, *Heber's* wife, in the tent a door, who perceiving the hurry and disorder he was in, entreated him to step in, and fear nothing; which he did, and she covered him with a rug, or some such thing, so as not to be seen, or to prevent his taking any harm while he reposed himself after the fatigue of the battle and flight. He had not lain long ere he complained of being very thirsty, and begged a draught of water; instead whereof his kind hostess presented him with a bowl of new milk, of which when he had drank his fill, she covered him up again. Then he called out, and bad her, if any one came to enquire if she had any man within, to answer no, and to stand at the tent-door for that purpose. And now being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep sleep, and *Jael* taking one of the tent-nails and a hammer, trod softly up b to him, and drove the nail into his temples, and so killed him. By this time *Barak* had reached the tent in quest of *Sisera*; and *Jael* with a triumphant air went out to him, and invited him to the sight of the man he sought, whom he here saw dead with the nail smitten into his temples. So fell *Sisera*; and with him *Jabin's* glory and oppression, which gave the *Israelites* a forty years peaceful respite \* (K).

Now what the *Canaanites* did, or what was done against them after this, for a long series of years, we cannot say. Thus much appears, they had been able to maintain their ground in several parts, and particularly in *Jerusalem*, till the time that *David* was king of *Israel*. When the *Jebusites*, who held that city, or at least the fortress of *Zion*, saw *David* actually advancing up to them to besiege them, c they posted their lame and their blind (L) to defend them, saying they were enough to keep off so mean an invader, relying wholly on the strength of their walls and situation. They were however disappointed, and the place was carried

\* Judg. iv.

plainly appears, that there was something miraculous and extraordinary in this defeat of *Jabin's* host, thunders, lightnings, and frightful sounds rumbling in their ears, so that the heavens had the principal share in this overthrow. And *Josephus*, that we may not wonder at the ruin of so mighty a power by so contemptible a handful of the *Israelites*, tells us very circumstantially, that the armies were no sooner engaged, than there arose a furious wind, which drove such a tempest of hail and rain into the faces of the *Canaanites*, as stifled and blinded them, and benumbed their fingers to that degree that they were in all respects disabled from action; so that they were easily broken and dispersed, and trampled to death by the horse, and torn to pieces by their own chariots; which, together with the execution made on them by the *Israelites*, quite dissipated this mighty multitude, and reduced them to nothing (52).

(K) *Josephus* gives us the particulars of his downfall. *Jabin* met *Barak* as he was in full march against *Hazor*, and was encountered by him and slain; and *Hazor*, the seat of his empire, was laid level with the ground: and thus fell the empire of the *Jabins* in *Hazor* a second time (53), according to this historian.

(L) Who or what these lame and blind were, is made a doubt; it is disputed whether we must, with *Josephus* (54), understand them to have been persons actually labouring under the infirmities of lameness and blindness; or whether something else is here to be understood, as others think. *Bochart* (55) deems this so plain a case, that he wonders how some great men had puzzled their brains with finding out a solution of it; and holds it past dispute, that this was a flourish of thrausonism in the *Jebusites*, who planted their lame and their blind, that is, their most infirm and unfit people

to defend them; while our own *Dr. Gregory* (56), who has a whole dissertation about it, understands them to have been the gods of this people, who, as the Psalmist expresses it, *had eyes, and saw not, and feet, and walked not* (57); and this opinion is supported by these very plausible arguments: 1. How could *David* distinguish the halt, or the lame, or the blind from able men, when posted upon lofty walls, since those infirmities are not discernable but near at hand? 2. How can it be supposed there was such a number of these unfortunate persons in so small a city as might serve such a purpose? 3. And why should *David* say, as he does, that *his soul hated them*; when it would have been but natural in him to have commiserated their unhappy condition? From these arguments it is concluded, that it was not the lame and the blind of the city, whom the *Jebusites* relied on, but their idols, which, in the *Psalms*, are described in the sarcastical words we have inserted above, and which they planted upon their walls, by their power or influence to keep off the enemy; which they hoped would have been so efficacious a means of preserving them, that they trusted *David* would be unable to prevail against their super-natural operations. And here a parallel case is drawn in reference to the *Palladium*, the city of *Troy* being supposed to be impregnable while that remained with them: and some such, or the same notion may have obtained among the *Jebusites* now, touching their god or gods (58). To this we shall add one chimerical notion of a *Jewish* Rabbi upon this event. He pretends, that when *Abraham* bought the cave of *Machpelah* of the children of *Heb*, he formally covenanted with them, that when his posterity should come to be possessors of the land (which they had a fore-sight of) they should not touch the city of *Jebus*; and that now they engraved this covenant upon brazen statues,

(52) *JOSEPHUS* *ubi* *supr.* (53) *Idem* *ibid.* (54) *Ibid.* lib. 7. c. 2. (55) *Phalag.* l. 4. c. 36. (56) In *PATRICK'S* *Commentary* upon this passage. (57) *Psal.* cxxv. (58) *Vide* *CLERIC*, in 2 *Sam.* v. 6.



a by storm (M); but as to the circumstances of this siege, and how it fared with the conquered, we are wholly in the dark <sup>a</sup>.

THIS was doubtless a very severe blow upon the *Canaanites* in general; and must have perplexed them much: and they must again have been deeply humbled when they were invaded in Gezer by *Pharaoh*; upon what provocation given by them, or whether any, is utterly unknown (N); and their city burnt, and themselves put to the sword. This city was afterwards rebuilt or repaired by *Solomon*, he receiving it in right of his wife, *Pharaoh's* daughter <sup>b</sup>.

THUS oppressed by the *Israelites* on the one hand, and by the mighty power of *Egypt* on the other; and the glory of *Solomon* arising towards its meridian, the remnant of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebusites* were reduced to the grievous state of bondage and slavery; whence it is gathered, that they were now brought to so low an ebb as to be unable to answer the demands of a tribute; wherefore being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally supposed, with king *Solomon*, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vast and sumptuous works. And this servility was entailed on their posterity <sup>c</sup>; for, although it is apparently certain, that they upon their first reduction became profelytes to the *Jewish* religion, yet, it is thought, they were distinguished from the *Jews*, and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery. This is supposed to have been their fate, and thus are they thought to have been blended with the *Jews*; though it is far from being positively known (O). And now it remains only for us to observe, that among the tribes of the *Canaanites*, enumerated above, to have been laden with the yoke of *Solomon*, the *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called, as we have hitherto spoken, are

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. v. 6—9.  
and Nehem. xi. 3.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings ix. 16.

<sup>c</sup> See ver. 20, 21. See also Ezra xi. 55, 58.

Statues, and planted them upon their walls, pretending that *David* could not attempt them, but by the breach of the covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them (59).

(M) We have already observed that, according to *Josephus* (60), the *Jebusites* were in possession both of the city of *Jerusalem* and the fortress of *Zion*; to which he adds, that the lower town was easily carried by an assault, with *David* at the head of it; but that the castle or fortress held out till *Joab* succeeded in the important service of assaulting that.

(N) A late commentator is of opinion, that *Pharaoh* attacked the *Canaanites* at this place, out of complaisance to *Solomon*, who had married his daughter; for, apprehending the *Jews* to be very little acquainted with the arts of conducting a siege, he supposes they were not able to master this city of *Gezer* (61); which, how it came to be so much stronger than *Jerusalem*, and the fortress of *Zion*, and many other places by them subdued, we cannot see. This *Pharaoh* is by a learned chronologer, who takes this to have been the first expedition the *Egyptians* made out of their own country, called *Ramesses Miamun* (62).

(O) We will give you the most obvious texts of scripture which relate to this matter. It is first said, *And all the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able to destroy, upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-service unto this day* (63). And at the return from captivity, there is mention made of the children of *Solomon's* servants — *And all the Netbinims, and the children of Solomon's servants were three hundred ninety-two* (64): And elsewhere are the

*Netbinims* and the children of *Solomon's* servants mentioned together (65); and in these last texts our translators refer us back to the first, as if they were the children of the *Canaanites* on whom *Solomon* imposed a tribute of bond-service. But there is a difficulty to account for the smallness of the number; so that commentators are willing to deduce these mentioned upon the return from *Babylon*, from some other origin. Perhaps we shall find some traces of them in *Josephus*; who, with some variation from scripture, having acquainted us, That *Solomon* reduced a stubborn remnant of the *Canaanites*, inhabiting between mount *Libanus* and *Hamath*, made them his tributaries, they paying their tribute in servile works and labour; to which purpose they were to furnish *Solomon* with a certain number of slaves, agreed on, who were to till the ground, and go through other sorts of drudgery; and over these, says he, were six hundred officers appointed to set them their tasks, and keep them to their work (66). Afterwards, enumerating those who returned from *Babylon*, he reckons up six hundred and fifty who passed for *Israelites*, but could not make out their extraction: others of uncertain genealogy there were five hundred twenty-five; and of servants that attended upon the whole multitude, seven thousand three hundred thirty-seven (67). These three numbers making eight thousand five hundred and twelve, may, it is likely, have been *Canaanites*; but still the number is too small, except we suppose that the far greatest part of the better sort were blended with the *Jews* so intricately, that there was no distinguishing between the pretensions of each; or, which is still more probable, that much greater multitudes of them remained behind in the place of their captivity.

(59) *ELIEZER Pirke Abboth*; cap. 36. (60) *Ubi supr.* (61) *Vide* CLERIC. in 1 Reg. ix. 16. (62) *MARSH. Can. Chron. ad Sac.* 13, 14. (63) 1 Kings ix. 20, 21. (64) *Exr.* ii. 55, 58. (65) *Nehem.* xi. 3. (66) *JOSEPH. Antiq. lib.* 8. c. 2. (67) *Idem ibid. lib.* 11. cap. 4.



omitted: these therefore, we may conclude, bore none of the burthen, but remained whole and independent in their possessions on the sea-coast, and sprung afterwards to a great height of fame; continually improving themselves in navigation, commerce, and the useful arts; and becoming comprehended under the famous appellation of *Phœnicians*.

## S E C T. VII.

## The History of the Philistines.

*Their Origin.* **W**E have already observed that this people descended from the *Casubim* partly, and partly from the *Caphthorim*<sup>a</sup>, both from the loins of *Mizraim*, the son of *Ham*, the son of *Noah*. This is their origin; whence it appears, that *Egypt* was their first seat: nor have we ought to add concerning the origin of this people, except we acquaint you more particularly than we have already<sup>b</sup> with the improbable notions, as we think them, of some of the learned concerning the *Casubim* and *Caphthorim* (A). But we have, as much as possible, forbore to perplex our reader with what can afford no solid fruit. All that we can say further, with any certainty, is what *Moses* tells us elsewhere<sup>c</sup>, viz. That they drove out the *Avim*, or *Avites* which dwelt in *Hazerim*, even unto *Azzab*, or *Gaza*, and settled there. When this expulsion happened is not to be guessed at; but, upon the whole, it is plain that the *Casubim*, and *Caphthorim*, from whom the *Philistines* are descended, came originally from *Egypt*; and having settled themselves in this country, gave their name to it. We shall therefore proceed to give the best account we can of this rich and pleasant spot of ground.

*Their Country.* **T**HE land or country of the *Philistines*, known to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Palestine*, grew in time to such a height of note as to communicate its name to the whole region, of which it was only a part; so that all the land of *Promise* became comprehended under this name, which is most commonly used, even in our days, in the same extent, it having prevailed always among the *Christians* of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, from whom we have received it. d This celebrated name is very apparently derived from *Philistine*, which the *Greeks* altered into *Palestine*; though some pretend to derive it from the *Greek* it self (B), but therein they are certainly mistaken. Dismissing this obscurity, we shall proceed to mark out the boundaries of this country; which from what we have said above, may be aptly stiled the proper *Palestine*. It was a slip of land stretching along the sea-side; bounded on the east by the tribes of *Judab* and *Simeon*; on the south by *Amalekitis*, and partly, but very little, perhaps, by *Edom*; on the west by the *Mediterranean* or *midland-sea*; and towards the north it interfered with the tribe of *Dan*. It was a country much longer than broad, but neither way considerable for its dimensions, being scarce forty *English* miles in length; but what e it wanted in extent it made up in fertility of soil. Towards the sea it is a plain country, but three or four miles up it begins to swell into hills and mountains; whence it is most beautifully diversified with hill and dale, mountain and valley, productive of the most luxuriant gifts of nature, and rich in prospects, which way soever the eye be turned. Rivers in this country there are none to speak of; but that defect is supplied by exuberant springs, and brooks, and rills, down the sides of the mountains. The temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, and natural history of this delicious spot, we dwell not on here, referring our reader to the geography of the land of *Promise*, of which it was a part, and a very noble one.

**B**UT we cannot so pass over the cities of this country, which we will here enumerate and describe as well as we can, beginning from the southermost. *Gaza* the

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 165, 166.

<sup>b</sup> See before, ubi supr.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. ii. 23.

(A) As that the *Casubim* were the ancient *Colchi* described by *Herodotus*, and the *Caphthorim* the *Cappadocians* in *Asia minor*; which though we have rejected already (68), we may have occasion to resume hereafter.

(B) Deriving it from *Pelusium*, the famous *Egyptian* city of that name; from whence this people are supposed to have come; which name they deduce from a *Greek* word signifying dirt; but of this more hereafter.

(68) See before, p. 165.

a most renowned of them all, stood upon the skirts of the desert which led to *Egypt*, and was built within two or three miles of the sea, as, from the most authentic accounts, is gathered. What it was in its first days cannot be known; but in time it became considerable for strength, beauty and extent. In the *Hebrew* it is called *Azab*, or rather *Hazab*, and by the *Syrians* *Aza*, which some pretend was since altered into *Gaza*, signifying a treasury in the *Persic*; because *Cambyses*, in his war against *Egypt*, had made a magazine of it<sup>d</sup>. But this is justly rejected as a wild conclusion, nothing being more uncertain than inferences drawn from the similitude of names. And it is much more probable that the *Septuagint* were the first who called it by that name, they frequently using the *Gimel* where the *Hebrew* has the *Aleph*.

b In latter times it was also called *Ione* and *Minoa*<sup>e</sup>; and the sea which washed along the shore from *Gaza* to *Egypt* was called, say they, the *Ionian* sea, *Gaza* being called after *Io*<sup>f</sup>. This city is placed at one of the four corners of the *land of Promise* by *Moses*<sup>g</sup>, and was in the lot of the tribe of *Judab*, according to the division *Joshua* made of the whole land<sup>h</sup>. But, though it was attempted, and carried, yet the *Philistines* possessed it again, and kept it<sup>i</sup>. Whether or not it had originally the same situation which it appears now to have had, cannot be known; but it is probable that it from the beginning stood upon, or near the same spot, which was an eminence about three miles from the sea, as we have said, and was of very difficult access for the depth of the sands which surrounded it<sup>k</sup>. But by another author we understand it to have been scarce a mile distant from the shore<sup>l</sup>, a difference we shall not take on us to reconcile. If a well-esteemed traveller of our own nation be not mistaken in the place, it is now upon a hill, surrounded by delicious vales, and those again enclosed with a chain of hills<sup>m</sup>; but he mentions not a word of deep sands about it, which if so difficult, as is said above, he could not have passed over. But though he differs from the ancient historian<sup>n</sup>, who gives us the situation of this city in respect of the soil about it; yet he seems to agree with the geographer<sup>o</sup> from whom we have its last-mentioned distance from the sea, computing it at seven furlongs, which fall short of a mile<sup>p</sup>: but his expression on this point is obscure, and we cannot build on it. For the more convenient communication with the sea, it had a sea-port, *Majuma*<sup>q</sup>, a place of no great account, as seems, till *Constantine* took notice of it, and called it *Constantia*, in honour of his son *Constantius*. The ancient name of this sea-port is not ascertained; but *Julian*, out of hatred to the memory of *Constantine*, altered its name *Constantia*, into the *Port of Gaza*, or the maritime part of the said city<sup>r</sup>: and from hence we find, perhaps, *Gaza* in the plural number, *Gazæ*<sup>s</sup>. *Majuma* is also called the maritime *Gaza*: There is no sign that it ever was a commodious place for the entertainment of shipping; but a shift was made with it, where no place more convenient was to be had; and doubtless the shipping which belonged to, or frequented it, were of a nature proper for so indifferent a station; though perhaps, on the other hand, the port may have been altered from what it originally was by the incroachment of the sea, though we read nothing of this; parallel cases, indeed, happen almost every day. *Antbedon* seems also to have been another sea-port belonging to *Gaza*, situate to the southward of *Majuma*; but of what antiquity, or how far, or whether at all, it depended on *Gaza*, cannot be said: it was not quite three miles distant from it. We shall have occasion to mention it as a place of some note hereafter. We will not particularize the history of *Gaza*, and shall only say that it several times groaned under the miseries of war; that it was sometimes in a flourishing state, with mighty walls and costly edifices (C); sometimes in a low, depressed condition.

After

<sup>d</sup> POMPON. Mel. lib. 1. c. 11.    <sup>e</sup> STEPHAN. ubi supr.    <sup>f</sup> Idem ad vocem *Ioniæ*.    <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 323.    <sup>h</sup> Josh. xv. 45.    <sup>i</sup> Judg. i. 18. iii. 3.    <sup>k</sup> ARRIAN. l. 2. p. 150.    <sup>l</sup> STRABO l. 16. p. 759.    <sup>m</sup> SANDYS Trav. book 3. p. 116.    <sup>n</sup> ARRIAN. ubi supr.    <sup>o</sup> STRABO ubi supr.    <sup>p</sup> SANDYS ubi supr.    <sup>q</sup> SOZOMEN Histor. l. 5. c. 3.    <sup>r</sup> MARC. DIAC. in vit. S. PAPHYR. cap. 8.    <sup>s</sup> SOZOMEN ubi supr.    <sup>t</sup> MARC. DIAC. ubi supr.    <sup>u</sup> HIERON. in Dan. xi.

(C) It is now a miserable place; <sup>a</sup> Yet there are some reliques left, and some impressions that testify a better condition. For divers simple roofs are supported with goodly pillars of <sup>b</sup> *Parian* marble, some plain, some curiously carved. A number broken in pieces do serve for thresholds, jambs of doors, and sides of win-

dows, almost unto every beggarly cottage. On <sup>c</sup> the north-east corner, and summit of the hill, are the ruins of huge arches sunk low in the <sup>d</sup> earth, and other foundations of a stately building. From whence the last *Sanziack* conveyed <sup>e</sup> marble pillars of an incredible bigness, enforced to saw them asunder ere they could be removed; <sup>f</sup> which

After several vicissitudes it lay neglected so far, that in the New Testament it is called a desert<sup>a</sup>; such a desert as it is now, we may suppose, weak in inhabitants, and defenceless<sup>b</sup>; for so fertile a spot can never be called by that miserable appellation<sup>c</sup>, according to the common acceptation of the word with us. In this city they chiefly worshipped a deity called *Marnas*<sup>d</sup>. Its name is remembered with *Tyre* and *Sidon*<sup>e</sup>, when its sister cities are either forgot, or omitted, as not worthy of a place among the considerable towns of this sea-coast.

THE second place we shall give to *Ascalon*, *Askelon*, *Askelon* or *Askalon*, a great and noble sea-port of this country, by ancient accounts sixteen, by modern twelve, miles to the north of *Gaza*; and known to us still under the same name it bears in scripture, and in the writings of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, by whom it was had in b a religious veneration. Nor do we find any considerable variation from this name, except that the *Greeks* sometimes lengthened it into *Ascalonion*. This city, as well as *Gaza*, is reckoned into the lot or tribe of *Judah*, and was taken by them, but not held. The situations of *Gaza* and this city cannot be disputed, since they may be said to stand at this day, and have been often visited; therefore we shall multiply no words upon so needless a dispute. By *Josephus*<sup>f</sup> we understand this city to have stood upon a spacious plain, and, in his days, extremely well fortified. Though we have placed this city on the brink of the sea, and made it a sea-port of itself, yet there is a *Majuma*<sup>g</sup> given to this, as well as to *Gaza*, which, how it became necessary, cannot be precisely said; it may, perhaps, have been a distinct part of c the city next to the sea-side; or, perhaps, *Ascalon* was not quite so close thereto, but it might require the convenience of a more immediate port-town to intervene; or the harbour of *Ascalon* may have been rendered unfit for the reception of shipping, as we have before observed in speaking of *Gaza*; whence a necessity arose of seeking some other place near, and of erecting a town there. But, to have done with these conjectures, let us proceed to things we are more sure of. *Ascalon* was famous among the ancients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of *Semiramis* the *Assyrian* empress, which puts us in mind of the lake that is said to have stood near this city, wherein the goddess *Derceto*, her mother, plunging herself for shame of her rash amour, was transformed into a fish<sup>h</sup>. This city is noted for d the place which originally produced the kind of *onion* called the *shalot*<sup>i</sup>, which is supposed thence to have borrowed its name (D). It is famed also for its wines<sup>j</sup>, and very remarkable for its great flights of pigeons<sup>k</sup>, which, whence they increased to such extraordinary numbers, will be told hereafter: nor must we forget the cypresses<sup>l</sup>, which were here admired; or the extraordinary wells attributed to *Abraham* and *Isaac*<sup>m</sup>. The changes this city underwent will be shewn in the course of this work. It is now dwindled to almost nothing.

WE now strike up into the country to *Asdod*, or *Azotus*, which lay about twelve miles north-easterly of *Ascalon*. This was a city of extraordinary fame among the ancients. It had an inland situation, and is said to have been built by one who fled e from the *Red-sea*, who called it after his wife, whose name was *Aza* or *Capra*<sup>n</sup>. But this seems, at least, to be a mistake; we hear of none that fled from the *Red-sea* but the *Edomites*; and that they, under some chief, may have repaired and fortified this place is probable enough; but that they imposed this name [*Azotus*] on it, we cannot allow, it being very evidently a corruption of the *Hebrew* name *Asdod*, which was in use long before the *Edomites* were driven out of their country. But to continue what we find concerning this city, it stood in a champaign country, which produced great plenty of corn<sup>o</sup>. It held out against the longest siege re-

<sup>a</sup> Acts viii. 26.    <sup>b</sup> See SANDYS ubi sup.    <sup>c</sup> Vide eund. & ANTON. GALL. apud RELAND. Palæst. Illust. p. 788.    <sup>d</sup> STEPHEN. ubi sup. HIERON. Epist. 11. ad LAT.    <sup>e</sup> LUCAN. lib. 3.    <sup>f</sup> De Bell. Judaic. l. 3. c. 1.    <sup>g</sup> JOAN. HIEROSOLY. in Act. Concil. Constantinop. Tom. V.    <sup>h</sup> DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. par. 1. p. 65.    <sup>i</sup> STEPHAN. ad vocem Ἀσκάλην.    <sup>j</sup> ALEX. TRALL. l. 8. c. 3. & ALBERT. AQUES Histor. Hieros. l. 9. c. 15 & 51.    <sup>k</sup> PHILO apud EUSEB. de Præpar. Evang. l. 8.    <sup>l</sup> DIOSCORID. de re Med. l. 1. c. 124.    <sup>m</sup> PLIN. lib. 12.    <sup>n</sup> ORIGEN. contr. CELS. 3.    <sup>o</sup> EUSEB. ad vocem φῆμαρ.    <sup>p</sup> STEPHAN. ad vocem Ἀζότῳ.    <sup>q</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 12.

<sup>a</sup> which he employed in adorning a certain mosque 'below in the valley.' The *Jews* are silly enough to think this the building *Sampson* pulled down upon the *Philistines* (2). We must note by the by, that our traveller seems to confound *Majuma* and *Gaza* with each other.

(D) This seems at first sight to be a very oblique derivation; but the *Latin* of this plant is *Ascalonia*, whence the *French* have their *Echalote*, which we have curtailed into *Shalot*.

(2) SANDY'S Travels, l. 3. p. 116.

a corded in history, if it be true that *Psammetichus* laboured twenty-nine years in the reduction of it. Here stood the temple of *Dagon*, and here was he peculiarly worshipped.

ALMOST east from hence lay the city of *Gath*, of principal fame, as being the royal seat in the middle times of this people; but it dwindled away very early, so that we have few or no materials towards a description of it. It is famed for the remnant of the giants or *Anakims* who there fixed their abode.

b NEARLY north-west of this city, about nine miles distant, was *Ekron*, corruptedly *Accaron*, concerning which we can only say that it was the northermost of the five cities; that it was consequently a frontier town; that the famous idol *Baal-zebub* was there worshipped; that it faded away to a great degree of obscurity, and that although the name, and even considerable vestiges of what it had once been, subsisted for many ages, it happens that no mention is made of it in prophane authors.

THESE were by way of eminence called the five cities of the *Philistines*, and the whole country was sometimes from them called *Pentapolis*; and here their five lords resided. Other cities they had, as *Gerar*, venerable for its being the ancient seat of their first kings; but its exact situation being by no means determined, we for that reason pass it over with the bare mention of its name, and for the same reason we shall be quite silent as to what concerns their other places of less note.

c THEIR most ancient form of government was administered by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*; such were the kings of this people, father and son, who had to do with *Abraham* and *Isaac*: but, as we have observed concerning the *Canaanites*, and, as will be plainly seen in the following history, these first kings were under great limitations. The scepter departed from this race very soon; for in the days of *Moses* their monarchy was revolved into an aristocracy of five lords, who seem to have been in part independent of each other, though they were also apparently obliged to act in concert for the common cause. After this they had a king over them, which, how they submitted to, or whether it was their choice or not, we cannot say. This second race of kings are called, so far as we know, by the appellation of *Achish*, though they were also called *Abimelech*. Three of these, we think, we have some account of, but their power seems to have been circumscribed within very narrow bounds; they were subject to the controul of their imperious nobles, and particularly of the lords, the five, we think, who seem to have subsisted under these kings; so that these princes, it is likely, were set up to act merely as umpires, and to appear at the head of affairs; cyphers of state, without any extent of power. This kind of mixed government can be to none so aptly applied as to that of *Poland* in our days. We find little or no mention of this second race of kings. They held their residence at *Gath*, during their best times, from whence the royal seat was removed to *Ascalon*, and from thence to *Gaza*. In a word, we may say that the *Philistines* had very violent notions of liberty. They did not circumcise, and in their earliest times, at least, held adultery in the greatest abomination.

d AFTER what we have said, we need not remark that they were a very warlike people; to which we may add, that they were no less ingenious and industrious. Their character, however, must be considered at different times; for we may say, they were not always the same people. In the days of *Abraham* and *Isaac* they were, most assuredly, a righteous and hospitable nation; and so, in great measure, they may have been under all their first race of kings: upon whose decay, a revolution in government, religion, and morals, may have ensued all together. From henceforward they became like other idolatrous nations, the same enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are constantly mentioned in scripture as strangers, and though possessed of a most valuable part of the land of *Promise*, yet God would never suffer them to be driven out, they being *Egyptians* by descent, and not original natives, whose land only was promised to *Abraham* and his seed. Their arrogance and ambition were great, and their inveterate enmity (E) against the *Israelites* was such, that one would be almost tempted to think

(E) And from a passage in *Chronicles* (3) it is guessed to have been of very ancient date; where it is said, that the men of *Gath* slew the children

of *Ephraim*, who would have taken their cattle from them. This incident is no where else to be found; and there are various thoughts concerning the

(3) 1 *Chron.* vii. 21.

they were chiefly designed to be a thorn in the side of that chosen people; for although the hand of God was self-evidently against them several times, and particularly whilst they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and closed their eyes against conviction, flattering themselves that they might one day compass their ends against the *Israelites*. They seem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they persisted, though they, with their own eyes, saw the shame and ignominy which beset them, when, in the presence of the captive ark; and were even stupid enough to imagine, notwithstanding, that their gods might prevail against him, who had so greatly shamed them. They were much addicted to trade, which they, considering their situation, may have exercised from the beginning; but by the accession of the fugitive *Edomites* in *David's* time<sup>\*</sup>, they rose to so great a reputation as merchants, that the *Greeks*, it seems, reckoned them the most considerable people in that way, and from them, called all the country bordering on them, *Palestine*<sup>†</sup>. Their language was not so different from that spoken by the *Hebrews*, as to cause any apparent difficulty for them to converse together, as may be inferred from their intercourse with *Abraham* and *Isaac*; so that in all this region the several nations spoke one and the same tongue, perhaps indeed, with some variation of dialect. They had doubtless the arts and sciences in common with their most learned and ingenious contemporaries; and, perhaps, some of them in greater perfection than any where else. They had giants<sup>c</sup> among them, who, whether they were originally of the breed of the *Anakims*, who retired hither when they were expelled *Hebron*<sup>m</sup>, or whether they sprang from accidental births, is not a very clear matter. We must not forget that the bow and arrow is attributed to their invention (F), and that they were particularly skilful in the use of those weapons.

Their Religion.

THEIR religion was different at different times: under their first race of kings they were of one religion with the *Hebrews*: *Abimelech*, in the sin he had like to have committed with *Sarab*, through *Abraham's* timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from God; and by his speech and behaviour at that time, d it seems as if he had been used to converse with God. In after-times they erred into endless superstitions, and a multifarious idolatry, each of the principal or five cities, seeming to have had a deity of its own. *Marna*, *Marnas*, or *Marnashe*, was worshipped at *Gaza*, and is said to have migrated into *Crete* (G), and to have become the *Cretan Jupiter*. *Dagon* was worshipped at *Azotus*; he seems to have been the most grand, the most ancient, and most favourite god they had: to which may be added, that he, perhaps, subsisted the longest of any<sup>o</sup> that did not straggle out of the country, as we are not sure he did. To him they attributed the in-

<sup>\*</sup> See before, p. 314, 315. <sup>†</sup> See CUMBERLAND *Origin. Gent. Antiquiss.* p. 37. <sup>m</sup> See before, p. 333, 334. <sup>c</sup> HIERONYM. in *Esai.* <sup>o</sup> See 1 *Macch.* x.

the sense we must take this passage in. As to the time it was transacted, most allow it to have been while the children of *Israel* were sojourners in *Egypt*. It plainly appears by the next verse, that *Ephraim* himself was living at the time. The *Targum* supposes his children mis-computed the time they were to serve in *Egypt*, and began too early an attempt upon their promised land. Dr. *Lightfoot* (4) makes the men of *Gath* to have been the aggressors, and supposes the *Ephraimites* only stood up to defend themselves and cattle. But taking the words in the first sense, which seems most obvious, they may serve to account for the reason why *Moses* would not conduct the *Israelites* by the way of the *Philistines*. If this be the case, it must have been some horrid injury, or very uncommonly resented.

(F) It is supposed (5) that before they removed from *Pelusium*, where they are thought to have first inhabited, as we shall shew hereafter, they had occasion to annoy the enemies, who then infested them at a distance: whereupon the bow and arrow came into their head, wherewith they armed

their stoutest men, whom they called *Cherethites* (6), a name which includes this whole nation, as will be observed hereafter.

(G) The migration of this god may be naturally enough accounted for, if true it be that the *Philistines* planted the island of *Crete*; and it seems plain also, that the inhabitants there were a colony from *Gaza* in particular, the peculiar place of his worship. The *Philistines* are in several places of scripture (7) called *Cherethites*: particularly, they are so called by the *Egyptian* (8), whom *David* laid hands on, when he was in pursuit of the *Amalekites*, who had burnt *Ziklag*; whence we may infer this to have been their *Egyptian* name, or the name they were known by in *Egypt*. The LXX do every where translate the word *Cherethim*, or *Cherethites*, by that of *Cretans*; as they do that of *Philistines* by *Allophyloi*, strangers. Hence have some learned men built their notion of deriving the *Cretans* from the *Philistines*; and from hence they proceed farther, and derive the *Curetes* also from them, which we may consider hereafter.

(4) *Annotat. in Gen. sub fin.* (5) See BEDFORD'S *Script. Chronol.* p. 245. (6) BOCHART. *Can. l. 1. c. 15.* (7) 1 *Sam. xxx. 14, 16. Euk. xxv. 16. Zephan. ii. 5.* (8) 1 *Sam. ubi supr.*

a vention of bread-corn, or of agriculture, as his name imports \*. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being represented as a monster, half man, half fish; or consequently into another, almost as common, that he is the same with the Syrian goddess *Derceto*, who, we are told, was represented under some such mixed form. Our opinion is, that this idol was in shape wholly like a man; for we read of his head, and his hands, and his feet † (H). He stood in a temple at *Azotus*, and had priests of his own, who paid a very constant attendance on him, as one would think ‡. Next to *Dagon* was *Baal-zebub*, the god of *Ekron*. In the text of the New Testament he is *Belzebub* and the prince of Devils. His name is rendered lord of flies, which it is very likely was an opprobrious appellative given him by the b stricter part of the Jews. Others, indeed, think him so styled by his worshippers, as *Hercules*, *Apomyos*, and others were, from his driving those insects away; and urge that *Abaziab*, in his sickness, would scarcely have applied to him, if his name had carried any reproach with it. But it must be remembered, that it is the sacred Historian that makes use of that contemptuous term in derision, whereas the idolatrous monarch, who was one of his votaries, might call him by his common name, supposed to have been *Baal-zebooth*, the lord of armies, or *Baal-shamim*, lord of heaven; or some other bordering to *Baal-zebub*. How, or under what form he was represented is uncertain: Some place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly †: a very wide difference. To have c done with this obscurity, it appears that he became an oracle in highest repute for omniscience and veracity; that he had priests of his own; and that he, in the middle times at least, was much sought after by those who were anxious about futurity, or solicitous concerning other hidden matters. *Derceto* we take, certainly, to have been the goddess of *Ascalon* ‡; but, as we are herein only supported by prophane authority, without the least countenance from scripture, we shall not insist on it. *Gath* is seemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the scripture declares that *Astarte* †, or *Astarte*, was worshipped by this people, we are ready to place her at *Gath*, and the rather, as this of all their cities may have had most communication with *Sidon*; but concerning her we d must be silent here, seeing we shall have a more proper opportunity to touch on her hereafter. To speak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do; it appears as if they erected very large and spacious temples, or else very wide halls for the celebration of their solemn seasons and festivals ‡, for such they surely had; that their religious offices were attended with much pomp; and a great concourse from all parts; and that they presented their gods with the chief of their spoil, and carried them about to war with them. We do not find in scripture that they sacrificed their children, and yet the *Curates* (I) are derived from them.

\* See before in the notes, p. 135.

† See FULLER'S Pisgah-fight, book 2. c. 10. § 32.

‡ See

1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

§ 2 Kings i. 2.

¶ PROCOPIUS GAZEUS.

‡ Vide DIOD. SIC. l. 2. p. 65.

¶ 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

¶ Judg. xvi. 27.

(H) That he had feet, we understand from a Greek reading of the LXX in Fuller (9), where mention is made of *Dagon's* mutilation, which runs thus, ἀποτέτρα τα ἰχθυ τοῦ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν. Here we are told that the soles of his feet were off; that is, his feet. In the edition before us, which is after the Vatican copy, we read τα ἰχθυ τῶν χειρῶν, or the soles of his hands, which seems absurd. We have never observed that the Greek word ἰχθυ is put for the palm of the hand. And we the rather reject this reading, because a very senseless tautology follows it; for it is said, that the wrists of his hands were gone also. Whence it must appear that hands, in the first place, are corruptly placed for feet; and that *Dagon* had hands, and head, and face, and feet. Sure no one, allowing this, will give him a fish's tail: that would make him *Horace's* monster indeed. And here we cannot but note the fondness of the generality of the learned, rather to derive his name from דָּג *Dag*, a fish, than from דָּגָן *Dagan*, bread-

corn (10): it seems no difficult matter to choose which we are to stick by. From this last etymology, it may be rationally enough supposed that they borrowed their idolatry from Egypt (11); and that *Dagon* is a copy of their *Isis*, to whom much the same invention is attributed. Not that they originally brought it away with them from Egypt; for their history plainly assures us, they brought a pure system of religion from thence; and we do not remember that *Moses* mentions the Egyptians of his time as idolaters once throughout all his writings.

(I) The *Curates* did sacrifice their children to *Saturn* (12); and from the similitude this name bears to *Corethites*, or *Philistines*, it has been advanced that they are the same (13); but as we have no warrant for saying the *Philistines* practised so barbarous and unnatural a custom, we may venture to pronounce that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elsewhere.

(9) Pisgah-fight, book ii. c. 10. § 32: in the margin.

(10) See before, p. 135.

(11) See

SHUCKFORD'S Connexion of the fact, and proph. Hist. vol. 1. p. 344.

(12) ISTER and PORPHYR.

l. 2. § 56.

(13) BOCHART. CASTLE, &c.



*Their History.* IT is now time for us to think of the history of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of *Egypt* (K); but upon what motive is not positively known, no more than the time of their removal: and, finding that the *Avims* were a people seated in a pleasant and fruitful land, and that they were strong enough to expel them, they made their attempt, and succeeded. We are not much inclined to think them a very numerous multitude when they first settled in this their conquest; for their king, even in the days of *Isaac*, grew jealous of that patriarch's power, which is no great sign that his own was as yet very great; though possibly they may have been settled there many years before, and must consequently have been very much increased to what they were at first. But supposing this kingdom or state to have been but weak in its beginnings, as most others have been, we proceed, continuing with the next notice we have of their affairs.

*Abimelech I.* ABIMELECH (L) their king in *Abraham's* days was an holy and just person, and appears to have had some intercourse with God †. He resided at *Gerar*, of which place he is called king, and had like to have been drawn into a very fatal snare by the too great caution of *Abraham*; who coming into his kingdom to be out of the stench of the vale of *Siddim*, then reeking under the calamitous judgment of heaven, gave out that *Sarab* was not his wife, but his sister. *Abimelech* saw her, and was smitten with love of her; and, understanding she was a single woman, resolved to take her to his bed. He took her accordingly to him with that intent, but ere he accomplished his desires, he was warned by God to return the woman to her concealed husband, and that immediately, upon pain of death. *Abimelech* hereupon excused himself to the divine vision upon the innocence of his intentions; and seeming to have fresh in mind the terrible overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, Lord, says he, wilt thou also slay a righteous nation? that is, wilt thou take vengeance on this people for a crime I was going ignorantly to commit? But he had the comfortable answer from the vision or dream, That God knew well, and approved his integrity, and had prevented him in his intentions; and, to conclude, that *Abra-*

† Deut ii. 23.

† Gen. xx. 3. &amp; seq.

(K) This we take to have been really the case, and so do many of great authority; but there is also another opinion concerning this matter. For it is thought there is a great affinity in name between the *Castubim* and the *Colchi*; whence it has been taught, that they migrated first into the country of *Colchis*, now *Mingrelia*; and from thence returning towards *Egypt*, in their way seized on the country of the *Avims*, and there fixed their abode. *Bochart* (14) takes this to be plainly proved by what is said of the agreement between the *Colchi* and the *Egyptians* in *Herodotus* and others; therein forgetting that the *Philistines* did not circumsise, which *Herodotus* assures us the *Colchi* did. Again, nothing can be positively asserted in this matter, by what the same author relates, who speaks of them as dwelling in *Colchis* in his time, where they had abode so long, that it was doubtful when they settled there first; so that from him there is no solid argument to be deduced that the *Colchi* he speaks of were the *Castubim* of *Moses*. In like manner the *Caphtorim*, from whence also the *Philistines* are derived, are placed in *Cappadocia*, a country of *Asia minor*, adjoining to the country of *Colchis*. Here, say they (15), we find the city called *Side*, and the country *Sidene*, mentioned by *Strabo*: and because *Side* in *Greek*, and *Caphtor* in *Hebrew*, signify a pomegranate, therefore, in all likelihood, the same country was by the *Hebrews* called *Caphtor*, and by the *Greeks* *Sidene*. But, to shew that nothing can be fixed from such a manner of arguing, it may not be amiss to add, that the *Caphtorim* are on the other hand supposed to have dwelt in *Afric*, on the bay of the great *Syrtis*, which is supposed to have been

called *צִי־עֵינָן* *chaph ether*, the circular shore, as it forms a semi-circle; and that the pomegranate was so called by the *Hebrews*, because it first came from that part of *Afric*, consonant to what *Pliny* writes concerning the origin of that fruit (16). Another judicious modern has made it much more probable that *Caphtor* is the island of *Crete*; we refer our readers to him for his reasons †, as well as to what we have already advanced as our opinion elsewhere (17). It would be in vain for us to touch on the history of the *Philistines* before they removed out of *Egypt*, or from the last place of their abode, before they came into the land of the *Avims*; but we will, however, briefly insert what some have been tempted to say upon that very obscure subject. According to bishop *Cum-berland* (18), they cohabited with the *Phœnicians* or *Canaanites* in *Goshen*; that is, that side of *Egypt* next to *Arabia*; but finding their country invaded by their kindred, the other sons of *Mixraim*, they left it to avoid the miseries of the impending war between the pastors and the pure *Egyptians*; that is, removed into the land where *Abraham* found them.

(L) One *Philistinus*, whom *Josephus* (19) makes a son of *Mixraim*, is sometimes reckoned their first king (20), from whom that *Hebrew* writer derives the name of *Palestine*. Whatever truth there may seem to be in this, it is at least as likely that either they borrowed their name from *Pelusium*, or *Pelusium* from them; for here, or hereabouts, did they first settle, as is by most allowed (21); and it will not be much out of the way if we suppose they founded that city, and dwelt there till force or inclination made them remove.

(14) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 31.(15) *BOCHART. ubi supr.*(16) *Vide CLERIC. in Gen. x. 14.*† CALMET. *Dissert. in 1 Sam.*(17) *See before, p. 165, 166.*(18) *ON SANCHON, p. 372.*(19) *Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.*(20) *Vide Hist. Jul. in Regn. Palest.*(21) *See before, ubi supr.*

<sup>a</sup> *ham* should, at his request, pray for him, and all would be well again. Being thus admonished, he first acquainted his servants with what had happened, and all were instantly seized with a general dread for the consequence which might ensue: Then, calling *Abraham* to him, he asked what he had done to him, that he should mislead him into so dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed against him, that he should tempt him to such a sin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himself only, but of his whole kingdom also? Indeed, says he, you have not used me well; what have you observed in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you should imagine we would offer any violence to you out of desire for your wife? The answer he received from *Abraham* to all this, was a frank confession of the truth, he acknowledging, without disguise, that he feared they had not been indued with right notions of God and his laws, and that he should certainly be deprived of his life, that they might enjoy *Sarah*. Moreover, that in saying she was his sister, he had not spoken wrong, she being really so; and, to save the matter in some measure to the king's good-liking, he acquainted him, that in strange places it had always been his custom to make her pass for his sister, only for fear of the worst. *Abimelech* was satisfied with what he heard; and in consequence thereof, and in obedience to the divine admonition, not only returned *Sarah* to *Abraham*, but in so doing, made him a very noble present in sheep and oxen, and in servants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he <sup>c</sup> was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he best liked. He also made a considerable present to *Sarah*, and accompanied it with a speech which ours, and most versions, have rendered as a reproof, but was the quite contrary, as we shall show in the Jewish history. In this manner did *Abimelech* acquit himself of the divine admonition, and, upon the prayers of *Abraham*, he and his whole house, were restored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for *Sarah's* sake, the Lord having struck them all with barrenness and impotency (M). Ever after this, *Abimelech* lived in perfect harmony with *Abraham*, and that the same might be transmitted down to their posterity, *Abimelech*, with the participation of *Phicol* the chief captain of his host, proposed an oath to *Abraham*, whereby he <sup>d</sup> should bind his posterity to live in love with his, and deal by them just as he had dealt by him. This was readily embraced by *Abraham*; but first he desired a dispute might be set right, concerning a well which *Abimelech's* servants had forcibly taken from him. *Abimelech* declared he never had heard a word of this outrage till that moment, and that nothing of this kind should have been then to be complained of, had *Abraham* informed him of it. And that this matter might be terminated in such a manner as to admit of no farther dispute, *Abraham*, among the numerous presents he made him of sheep and oxen, severed seven ewe lambs, which he gave him to be a standing witness of his having digged, and consequently of his being the right owner of that well. *Abimelech* accepted of them accordingly, and the <sup>e</sup> well was from them called *Beer-shebah*. After a mutual ratification of their covenant, *Abimelech* rose up, and *Phicol* the chief captain of his host, and returned from whence they came \* (N).

\* Gen. xx, xxi.

(M) \* Or, as some understand it, with such swellings in the secret parts, that the men could neither enjoy their wives, or the women, who were cith child, be delivered (22).<sup>b</sup> If so, they must have been quickly sensible of such an alteration; but it is by others supposed to have been something imperceptible, both by the men and women, and a matter not to be discovered but by length of time; and thence it is concluded, that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were a considerable time at *Abimelech's* court (23). Nothing can be positively determined in this case from the words of the text. We find this whole story quite altered by *Josephus* (24), who says, *Abimelech* was taken with so violent a fit of sickness, that his life was despaired of; that in the midst of it he had a

dream which admonished him concerning *Sarah*; that finding himself upon the mending-hand, he called together his friends, and disclosed to them his dream, and the violence of his passion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with *Abraham*, and so on.

(N) In the text it is, *They returned into the land of the Philistines* (25); as if they had come out of it to make a league with *Abraham*, who was still a sojourner in *Palestine*: It can therefore mean no more than that *Abimelech* returned to the place of his own abode, as if a distinction was now made of that part of the country occupied by *Abraham*, which, by the covenant made, was now considered as his own, and no longer under the jurisdiction of the *Philistines*.

(22) PATRICK upon Gen. xx, 18.  
(25) Gen. xxi. 31.

(23) Vide CLERIC. in Gen. xx. 17.

(24) Antiq. l. v. c. 13.

Abimelech II.

ABIMELECH the son of *Abimelech*, and therefore called the second (O) of a that name or appellation, succeeded his father in the kingdom of the *Philistines*, and reigned also at *Gerar*. He had almost the same transactions with *Isaac*, as his father had with *Abraham*, and seems to have been actuated by the very same principles with his father, and, by what appears, well deserves to be styled a just and pious prince. In his days came *Isaac* to *Gerar*, sore pressed by famine, and conducting *Rebekah* with him, whom in imitation of his father, he gave out as his sister or cousin. Whether *Abimelech* and his subjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like thereupon to have ensued to the grievous detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were still so pure, and chastity and hospitality in such due and high esteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure or dangerous attempt, we take not on us to say; but so it was, that *Rebekah* was unmolested by suitors of any sort; and *Isaac* was perfectly at his ease upon her account. However, it is pretty evident that *Abimelech* himself, at least, had a shrewd suspicion they were man and wife; for, looking one day out of his window, as it is expressed, he saw *Isaac* caressing *Rebekah* in such a manner as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore, he called *Isaac* to him, and asked him how he could be so deceitful, as to pretend that she, who was really his wife, was no more than his sister? To which *Isaac* pleaded his father *Abraham's* excuse. *Abimelech* replied, It was by no means kindly done of him, for that ignorantly some or other of the people might have lain with her, and thereby have involved the whole nation in a most dangerous sin (P). Which to prevent, he made proclamation of the matter, and forbade any to seek *Rebekah* in marriage, or attempt to hurt her husband, upon pain of death. Nothing can well be added to give us a more favourable idea of this upright king than his behaviour in this case; doubtless he was no stranger to what had happened in a like case to his father; and having the fearful judgments of God before his eyes, he had faith therein, and dreaded to incur the wrath of God. And very remarkable it is, that though, considering the dreadfulfulness of his apprehensions, it might have been expected that he would have driven out *Isaac* from his dominions, as one who either maliciously or ignorantly had exposed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin; yet, instead of that, he suffers him to abide in the land till his vast success made him look on him more as a dangerous rival, than a harmless inmate. Then indeed, when the *Philistines* beheld the prodigious increase of *Isaac's* store, they began to envy him in good earnest, and to give him all possible uneasiness, by filling up all his wells as fast as his servants digged them, and by other such-like ill offices. At length *Abimelech* sent him a positive order to remove, and acquainted him, that he should never be at rest whilst he had so powerful and near a neighbour. This message was couched, seemingly, in such civil terms, that *Isaac*, who knew himself free from any ill design against him, and relied still on the equity of his old friend, only removed from one part of his country into another. But though he judged rightly enough of *Abimelech*, it not

(O) Some (26), between these two *Abimelechs*, place *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was so kind to *Abraham* (27); which, perhaps, is the best, if not the only ground of such a surmise. It is supposed he may have been surnamed the *Hittite*, either from having conquered that tribe, or from having entered into a league with them (28); but nothing of this kind can be depended upon or believed. This second *Abimelech* seems plainly the natural successor of the former, as appears by his name or appellation, and by the series of time; his father being contemporary with *Abraham*, as he was with *Isaac*; and so plain a case can admit of no dispute with any but such as are fond of nothing else.

(P) Notwithstanding this *Abimelech* makes so amiable a figure in the writings of *Moses*, *Josephus* (29) represents him as a very ill and corrupt person; and, to mend the matter, tells his story in a very broken manner. Passing over what relates to *Rebekah*, and *Isaac's* denial of her for his

wife; he says, that *Abimelech* did behave with much outward respect to *Isaac* upon his first arrival in his country; but in time, finding him to be more in the favour of God than himself, he broke with him, and burned with envy of him, and gave him all the ill-natured trouble he could upon all occasions. But in the end, perceiving the man's increase, and well knowing the corruption of his own heart, he began to be afraid of the consequences his inhospitable breach might bring on him and his, and thought it best to propose a renewal of the covenant which had been made between him and *Abraham*; for he all along takes this *Abimelech* for the same that conversed with *Abraham*, thereby to blacken him the more, as a man of no faith or sincerity; and besides, thereby makes him abundantly too old, except he supposes *Abimelech* to have been but a child, or a meer lad, when *Abraham* first removed into the land of the *Philistines*.

(26) THEOPHIL. ANTIOCH. lxi. p. 76.

(27) See before, p. 329.

(28) Antiq. d. i. c. 18.

(29) Vide Hist. Jul. in Regn. Pa-

a appearing that he used any violence to drive him further from him, he had not been long come to this new canton, before new broils and contentions arose between his servants and the *Philistines* of *Gerar*, chiefly on account of their wells. *Isaac* had caused all those which his father *Abraham* had digged, and which had been since stopped, to be opened afresh; which was no sooner done, than the *Philistines* claimed them as their own. For this *Isaac* expressed his resentment only by giving such names to the wells, according to the customs of those times, as might expose the violence that was offered to him; calling one of them *Hefek*; that is oppression or contention; another *Sinab*, hatred; but by these vexations and contentious claims, *Isaac* was obliged to shift from place to place. At length b *Abimelech* remembering, we may suppose, the covenant between his father and *Abraham*, and plainly perceiving that *Isaac* was favoured with God's special favour and blessing, thought it his duty, or his interest, to renew the aforesaid covenant; and taking with him *Abimelech*, an intimate friend, and *Phicol* (Q) the chief captain of his host, went to *Isaac*, who at first wondered to see them, after what had past, and plainly told them as much. To which they answered, That they plainly saw God was with him, and that he was rising to a high pitch of power and prosperity; and therefore desired to enter into bonds of friendship with him by a new covenant, or by a revival of the old; desiring no other terms, than that the *Philistines* and their posterity might be used and considered by *Isaac* and his posterity, as he and his family had been considered and used by *Abimelech* and his people. They were all three then entertained by *Isaac*, and the league they desired was mutually sworn to next morning, and they departed in peace c.

THE history of the *Philistines*, hitherto pretty clear and circumstantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable mist, through which we can only perceive that the men of *Gath* fell on the children of *Ephraim*, and slew them for attempting to drive off their cattle d. When this happened, or the particulars of it, or the consequences that ensued, we know not e.

For a very long series of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left to guess, that they in the mean time dissolved their ancient form of government; and contracted an aversion to the *Israelites*; for, when they are next mentioned, they are represented under distinct jurisdictions, and at strife with the children of *Israel*.

WE do not read of any war they had with *Joshua*; but soon after his death *Gaza*, *Ashkelon* and *Ekron* (R) were taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judab* f; but they possessed the said cities again in a very short time g: but whether they recovered them by force of arms, or whether they were restored to them by the conquerors, is not said.

ABOUT one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the *Philistines* held the *Israelites* under their yoke, till they were delivered by *Shamgar*, who slew six hundred of this people with an ox-goad h (S). Nor must we forget, that the *Philistines* suffered in common with the *Israelites* i by the furious incursions and ravages of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* kings of *Midian* n.

\* Gen. xxvi.  
• Ibid. iii. 3.

b Chron. vii. 21.  
f Ibid. ver. 31.

c See before in the notes, p. 342.  
g See Judg. vi. 4.

d Judg. i. 18.  
h See before, p. 304.

(Q) The chief captain of his father's host, as may be remembered, was also called *Phicol* (30); but, as it is impossible, or very highly improbable at least, that this was the same man, we conclude *Phicol* to have been a title of honour or dignity; and that as the king was constantly called *Abimelech*, his chief minister or general was constantly called *Phicol*.

(R) Here *Josephus* (31) tells us of only *Ashkelon* and *Azidon* or *Anotus*, as subdued; and, by an unpardonable inaccuracy, reckons them to the *Canaanites*. But for *Gaza* and *Ekron* or *Acaron*, says he, they were in the flat country, very strong in chariots, and well able to make good their defence, whereby they saved themselves from the calamities of their neighbours.

(S) It is worth observing that *Josephus* (32),

who is so fond of extraordinary events, and so apt to make more of them, than, it is likely, he found them, quite passes over this. We will not dwell on the niceties which are offered to explain or illustrate this action. A parallel case is found in *Homer*, where *Lycurgus* put to flight the *Bacchæ* with an ox-goad. By the *Vulgate* it is interpreted a plow-share, induced thereto by the LXX. But those (33) seem to think very rationally, who imagine that *Shamgar* put himself at the head of a tumultuary rise of country people, who were armed in their rustic way with the implements of tillage, and that *Shamgar* happened to have an ox-goad in his hand when these six hundred of the *Philistines* fell; not that he killed them all himself with that weapon.

(30) See before, p. 345.  
in *Judic*, iii. 31.

(31) *Antiq. l. 5. c. 2.*

(32) *Antiq. l. 5. c. 5.*

(33) *Vide CLERIC.*

A SECOND time they oppressed the *Israelites* in conjunction with the *Ammonites* in a the days of *Jephthab*<sup>1</sup>.

A THIRD time they reduced the *Israelites* by the permission of God, and kept them very strictly under forty years. In the mean time was *Samson* born to check their pride, and give them great trouble (T). He, when grown up, was smitten with love of a damsel of this country, who dwelt at *Timnath*. At the celebration of the nuptials, thirty young men of the *Philistines* were appointed to attend on *Samson*, as we now speak (U); who, among other discourse, proposed a riddle to these thirty youths concerning a lion he had killed, in whose carcass a twelvemonth after he had killed him, he found honey. It was proposed to these young men by *Samson*, that if they got the better of his riddle, he would give them thirty suits b of apparel, one to each; but that if they could not answer him at the end of the seven days of the marriage-festival, they should each of them give him the same. They accepted the offer, and desired to hear the riddle, and in vain perplexed themselves therewith for three days together, and then, despairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their country-woman, *Samson's* bride, to desire her to get the mystery out of her husband, or else they would burn her and all her kindred, as persons who had on set purpose introduced a stranger to trick them out of their substance. This made a deep impression on the young woman, who, by continual entreaties, prevailed at last on her husband to disclose the ambiguity to her, which she communicated to the thirty young men; in consequence of which c they won the prize. This brought a misfortune upon *Askelon*; for *Samson*, to make good his engagements, went down thither, and slew thirty men, whose garments he gave to the thirty expositors of his riddle<sup>2</sup>.

THIS marriage was a very obscure beginning of great misery upon the *Philistines*; for *Samson's* father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well possessed of her husband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied *Samson*, who had been absent a twelvemonth, all access to his wife; but, to pacify his resentment, would have given him another daughter, who, as he said was younger and handsomer. This did by no means mollify *Samson*, who, in revenge, sent out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails into the corn-fields; and all the standing corn was d thereby consumed with fire, as were also the other fruits of the earth, and the vines, and the olives. The *Philistines* were amazed at so terrible a disaster, and understanding the motives which had provoked *Samson* to use them so cruelly, they looked on his father-in-law as the incendiary in a primary sense; and therefore went and burnt him, together with his daughter, who also may be called the cause of all this mischief (W). But this execution they did not with impunity, they were smitten hip and thigh by *Samson*. They determined then to take their revenge on him; and understanding he had retreated to the rock *Etam*, they went thither to take him; but he was delivered bound to them by the men of *Judah*, who dreaded their displeasure. The *Philistines* shouted aloud at the sight of *Samson* e bound; but their joy was soon turned into mourning, for *Samson* breaking his cords, found the jaw-bone of an ass at hand, and killed a thousand of them therewith<sup>3</sup>.

ALL this the *Philistines* never forgot, and wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to be revenged on *Samson*. The *Gazites*, about twenty years after the last slaughter, thought they had him secure in their city. They had information

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 359.    <sup>2</sup> Judg. xiv.    <sup>3</sup> Idem xvi.

(T) *Josephus* (34) reckons that the *Philistines* were stripped of their dominion over *Israel* by *Samson*, but he is plainly mistaken.

(U) This we take to have been the custom of the country in cases of a like nature, and a usual compliment now paid to *Samson*, who was come to marry among them; but nothing less appears by *Josephus* (35), who writes, that these young men were set as a guard upon him to prevent his doing any mischief in his cups.

(W) This seems to have been inflicted on them by way of retaliation; for, as through their indiscretion they drew on their country so sad a revenge by fire, the rest might think it but just and

natural that they should perish thereby to expiate their crime. But on the other hand, we find that punishing or revenging by fire was a notorious practice in those days with this people; for the thirty young men, as may be remembered, when they began to despair that they should ever unfold *Samson's* riddle, threatened the bride to burn her and her father's house with fire if she did not befriend them, and help them out. It is supposed they were taken by surprize, and burnt in their house; and it is observed, that the bride and her father's house suffered the same calamity she sought to avoid by betraying her husband (36).

(34) *Antiq. l. 5. c. 10.*    (35) *Ubi supr.*    (36) See *PATRICK* upon *Judg. xv. 6.*



a that he was with an harlot of theirs ; and they watched him, and made fast their gates, being sure they should kill him the next morning. But their precaution was to no purpose, and they were disappointed ; for *Samson* rising at midnight, took the city gates and posts, and bar and all, and carried them away towards *Hebron*, leaving an open place behind him.

THE lords of the *Philistines* then heard that *Samson* was ensnared by another harlot of their nation in the valley of *Sorek*, whose name was *Delilah*. The five lords came to this woman, and promised her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of silver, if she would betray *Samson* to them, by enticing him to tell her where his strength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary strength of another  
b man. So large a bribe corrupted *Delilah's* heart, and she used her best endeavours to earn the very many pieces of silver she had in prospect ; and thinking she was mistress of the secret, she sent for the *Philistines* to execute their pleasure on him ; but she was deceived, and they were disappointed. A second time she was deceived in like manner, and a third time ; but the fourth time she was sincerely informed that his strength lay in his hair, which she cut off, and delivered *Samson* a helpless prey to the lords of the *Philistines*, who gave her the promised reward of her treachery, and put out *Samson's* eyes, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to *Gaza*, and there made him grind in the prison-house.

THEY then met in a solemn manner to celebrate a festival to their god *Dagon*,  
c and to offer him thanks, and praises, and sacrifices. They met together to the number of many thousands, and were all in one place ; which, whether it was a temple, or a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown ; but it was of such extent that no less than three thousand persons were on the top of it (X). In the height of their jollity they sent for the blind *Samson* from the prison-house to make sport with him (Y), forgetting his hair was by this time pretty well grown again (Z), and his strength, consequently, returned to him. They made what diversion they pleased with him, and dearly they paid for it ; for they all perished by the fall of the building they were in, which was brought down by the strength of *Samson*. This was a terrible disaster, and most of, if not all the chiefs of the *Philistines*, were lost  
d in this mighty ruin ; so that the nation must, upon that account, have been reduced into a low and distracted condition, being destitute of governors, and commanders, and men of wisdom =.

FOR a considerable time the *Philistines* lay quiet : they recovered their loss at *Gaza*, and grew to a greater pitch of power than ever. They now made war upon the *Israelites* again, who had as good as thrown off their yoke since the fatal overthrow *Samson* had given them. They pitched first in *Apbek*, and the *Israelites* incamped at *Eben-ezer*. The two armies soon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the *Philistines*, who put the enemy to a precipitate flight, and in all  
e slew four thousand of them, and drove them into their camp. The *Philistines*, in the midst of their triumph, upon this occasion, heard an uncommon shout of joy from the *Hebrew* camp ; and enquiring into the cause of it, were told, that the *He-*

= Judg. xvi.

(X) We find the generality of the learned most inclined to think this vast building a theatre, such as formerly the *Romans* contrived, and which were almost incredibly capacious : this may have been the truth of the matter, and we should most readily have embraced the same opinion, did we not perceive that this building was roofed, and that so firmly, as to bear the weight of three thousand persons upon its top. A difficulty starts up here ; how could this roof be contrived so, that such a multitude might partake of the diversion *Samson* was making below ? It is answered, that those on the roof were the vulgar sort, who had conveniences of looking down into a great hall, where the lords and chiefs, and better sort, sat in state ; which will still make the building more extensive. A roof it had, which we sufficiently understand by the two pillars which *Samson* pulled down, and which supported it. It hence must have been a place of a particular construction, like the *Egyptian* hall in

*Vitruius* (37), and nothing like the theatres of the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*.

(Y) *Josephus* (38) understands that they wanted to flout and jeer him ; though also they may have made him go through a course of ridiculous gestures and speeches.

(Z) In the margin of our version it is, *As when he was shaven* ; or it was grown to the same length it was of when *Delilah* clipped it. Whence we gather, that *Josephus* (39) is right in saying this was an annual feast in honour of their god *Dagon*, as appears also by the text of scripture ; where great thanks are returned to *Dagon* for delivering *Samson* into their hands, which was still uppermost in their thoughts, and what they had chiefly desired several years past. From hence we may learn, that the worship of *Dagon* was not confined to *Apbek*, though it may have been his peculiar place, and that in these days he was the most highly revered of any god they had.

(37) *Lib. 6. c. 5.*

(38) *Ubi supr.*

(39) *Ubi supr.*



*breus* had sent for the ark of the lord, and that it was come into their camp. <sup>a</sup> Upon hearing this they cried out in the utmost consternation, God is come into the enemy's camp, what will become of us! Such a thing was never known before; and greatly did they bewail their unhappy lot, despairing to be delivered from those mighty gods, as they spoke, who had so severely smitten the *Egyptians*. They now were quite daunted and spiritless, till their chiefs, or some of the more resolute awakened them from their fears, exhorting them to be of good cheer, and behave like men, lest they fell under the power of the *Hebrews*, and became their servants, instead of being their masters, as they were: Behave like men, said they, and fear not. This exhortation had its effect upon the drooping hearts of the *Philistines* in general, and inspired them with fresh courage. Thus ani- <sup>b</sup> mated, they came to a battle, and fell on so furiously, that they slew thirty thousand of the enemy's footmen; and to crown all, took the ark of God, which, at first, gave them so much trouble, and slew *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, the priests who attended it. Doubtless they called this a most compleat victory, and rejoiced in a most extraordinary manner, ignorant of the evil consequences they were to suffer in return. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to *Ashdod*, and placed it in the temple of their idol *Dagon*, as an acceptable offering to him, and as properly his captive, we may suppose. The next morning they went into the temple, and behold, *Dagon* was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the Lord. They took him up therefore, and set him in his place again, attributing <sup>c</sup> this first humiliation to some unheeded accident (A). But on the second day, when they went in again, they not only saw their god in the prostrate posture they beheld him yesterday, but dismembred also of his head, and hands, and feet, which lay upon the threshold; nor was any thing left of him but the stump, or, as we rather choose to express it, the trunk of his body. Hence came a superstitious custom among his priests, never to tread on the threshold as they went into his temple (B), either looking upon this mutilation as a great misfortune on their *Dagon*, or, perhaps rather, on the threshold as hallowed by the touch of the scattered limbs of that mangled deity. But their concern for him was quickly diverted by a more lively sense of their own real calamities, their whole country being smit- <sup>d</sup> ten with a sudden plague, of which many of them died, while those who survived were grievously tormented with emerods. *Ashdod* and its whole territory laboured under so dreadful a calamity, that they resolved to keep the ark no longer among them, being too sensibly convinced that they suffered because of the ark. But that they might not take a hasty step, they called an assembly of all the lords of the *Philistines* to deliberate upon the means of delivering them from this raging evil, and what was best to be done with that dire symbol of the Jewish God. The resolution they came to was, that the ark should be removed to *Gath*, apprehending, as is thought, that *Ashdod* was a place unacceptable to it (C). They carried it thither, and the same plague, and another sort of emerods (D) followed it to *Gath*, <sup>e</sup> without distinction of small or great. The men of *Gath* then sent the ark to *Ekron*;

(A) They might impute it to some defect in the pedestal, or might imagine the statue itself not to have been exactly poised; or, finally, they might attribute it to some unusual shock, as of an earthquake, and the like.

(B) This superstition obtained for many ages, as may be gathered from *Zephaniah* (39), where those are threatened *that leap on, or rather, over the threshold*, as not daring to set their feet upon it; which had, doubtless, an eye to the ridiculous and stupidly-grounded superstition of that people (40). The *Jews* have an idle story, that the *Philistines*, henceforward forsaking *Dagon* himself, worshipped the threshold of his temple (41).

(C) Just as *Aeneas* and his people indited their beds and their houses of the disasters that befel them; and *Cadmus* forsook his own city.

— *tanquam fortuna locorum,*

*Non sua se premeret* —

*As if the ill luck which hunted him had been the*

*place's, not his own; as our Dr. Jackson observes out of Ovid, in his Original of Unbelief, chap. 18. paragr. 4. (42).*

(D) At *Ashdod* it is said, they were smitten with emerods only, without any addition; but now it is said they were smitten with emerods in their secret parts: whence it is evident enough that this plague was some how or other altered; and it being the most universally interpreted in both places that they were afflicted by emerods, there is no other way that occurs to us of accounting for this alteration, but that at *Ashdod* they had the ordinary sort, which appear outwardly; and that now at *Gath* they had the blind sort, which are inward. Instead of emerods some (43) speak of violent disorders in the intestines, of their rotting alive, and of their wasting away by dysenteries and vomitings, thereby discharging their loathsome corruption. Other opinions there are concerning this matter; but none so generally received as what we have said of the emerods.

(39) *Zeph. i. 9.* (40) *Vide BOCHART. Hierozoic, par. 1. l. 2. c. 36.* (41) *Vide Buxtorf Hist. Arc. c. 19. p. 172.* (42) *PATRICK upon 1 Sam. vi. 8.* (43) *JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 6. c. 1.*

a where, knowing what *Gath* and *Ashdod* had already suffered by the detention of it, they cried out with a frightful voice, that the ark of the God of *Israel* was sent to destroy and afflict them also. Their fears were not vain, and great was their lamentation for the loss of those that died, and for the grievous soreness of the emerods, the affliction gathering strength, and growing worse, as it spread (E). But they had no sooner received the ark than, all in confusion, they sent to the lords of the *Philistines* to consult with them, entreating them to fix upon some manner of sending it to its place. The result of this council is not expressed; but it seems as if, observing the afflictions to ravage the cities chiefly, they removed the ark into the country (F), which, as seems also, only added to the number of their plagues, b the country being now desolated by an extraordinary production of mice. Finding therefore there was no respite to be had, and that the persecution lay harder and harder upon them, and multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their priests and diviners to demand of them what they thought most expedient to be done to get rid of their plagues, and in what manner it would be fittest to remove the dreadful cause of them out of their land. Their answer was, That they ought not to send it away empty, but by all means, with a trespass-offering, as an atonement. They were then asked what this trespass-offering must be: They replied, five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the *Philistines*; 'for the same plague was common to you all; make c ' images of your emerods, and images of the mice, which have been so destructive to your land; and humble yourselves to the God of *Israel*, that he may ' withdraw his avenging hand from among you. Do not offer to harden your ' hearts, as *Pharaoh* did: proceed then, and make a new cart, and take two milk ' cows which have never felt the yoke, and take their calves away from them, and ' harness them to the cart you make (G), and on it place the ark and the jewels ' you offer for a trespass-offering in a coffer by it, and in that manner suffer it to ' depart. If it takes the way which leads to *Beth-shemesh*, you need not doubt who ' has so sorely afflicted you; but if not, you may conclude, that what you have ' suffered has proceeded from a mere natural cause.' They obeyed the voice of d their priests, and punctually followed their directions. The cows moved away for *Beth-shemesh*, lowing as they went along, nor turned once to the right or the left, the lords of the *Philistines* keeping after them till they saw them clear of their borders, where they wondering stood to observe in what manner the sacred captive was received by those with whom it would dwell<sup>a</sup>.

WE have sufficient reason to conclude, that the *Philistines*, by dismissing the ark in the manner they did, freed themselves from their bitter afflictions, and that,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 5, 6.

(E) We find their lamentation and affliction expressed in deeper terms, upon every removal, which gives room for this assertion.

(F) *Josephus* (44) relates, that the ark went through all the five cities of the *Philistines*, which we have no warrant to assert from scripture, except that the five cities being equally afflicted, and their gods equally persecuted, as afterwards appears, may be accepted for a demonstrative proof thereof; but there is no room to suppose this, since we find, that the *Ekronites*, convinced of the destruction and plague which followed the ark, did not so much as think of procuring it to be sent either to *Askelon*, or *Gaza*; but only, that it might be sent back to its place. Their request, it seems, was no farther complied with by the rest, than the removing it from them into the country, or the fields, for that is the sense of the original, where it remained seven months; nor is it likely that either of those two cities would have admitted it within their gates after a thrice-repeated experience of what the consequence would be, if they did admit it; nor does it appear that they had yet been afflicted in the manner of *Ashdod*, *Gath*, and *Ekrone*, where the ark had been lodged. It seems that the ark being removed into the fields, gave birth to those prodigious swarms of mice which

did eat up the country, and that *Gaza* and *Askelon* were now smitten by the plagues also, that the whole body of this people groaning under the same severities and distresses, there might be no dissension among them about dismissing the ark. And hence, perhaps, we may discover, that as much as they were divided into five satrapies or lordships, they were nevertheless so linked together, that one of them could not act in any matter of public concern without the concurrence of all the rest; which is no where so evident as in this case of the *Ekronites*, who were so thoroughly convinced the ark was to be sent home, that we cannot conceive what should have prevented them from acting accordingly, had it not been that they were afraid of making a breach into their common constitution; or dreaded to be called to an account by the rest, for presuming to act of their own heads in an affair of such moment.

(G) The new cart was ordered in honour of the God of *Israel*; and the kine, wholly unused to the yoke, were to prove whether or no he would interfere in the return of his ark. And, indeed, such unbroken cattle could never go on right together, or at all, as we may say, but by a miracle.

(44) *JOSEPHUS*. l. 6. c. 1.

being

being thereby made thoroughly sensible of the hand that had chastised them, they <sup>a</sup> did not quickly forget the mighty power of it. And it was not till above twenty years afterwards, that understanding the *Israelites* were gathered in a body at *Mizpeb*, they resolved to disperse them, jealous, perhaps, that they were upon measures of throwing off their yoke. They marched therefore towards *Mizpeb*, and a terror went before them, which quite confounded the *Israelites*, who having *Samuel* in the midst of them, begged, that, without ceasing, he would entreat God for them. The *Philistines* marched on, unmindful of him, who when his people turned to him, was ready to confound the strength and devices of the wisest and mightiest, but being on the edge of assaulting the *Israelites*, a fearful storm of thunder and lightning fell on them (H), which beat down, and dispersed them; so that <sup>b</sup> being broken into this wild disorder, they were pursued and slaughtered by the *Israelites* to *Beth-car*. This was a blow indeed, and such a one as deprived them of the dominion they had exercised over the *Hebrews*, and was the loss of all the encroachments they had made upon their territory, and reduced them so low, that they never offered to molest *Israel* again all the days that *Samuel* <sup>c</sup> governed.

DURING all this time that they had held *Israel* in subjection, they had quite disarmed them, and would not so much as suffer a smith to dwell among them <sup>d</sup>. How sensibly soever the *Philistines* may have been affected by this last rout; yet in a few years they seem to have been vastly, nay, infinitely more formidable than ever. For understanding that a fortress of theirs, called *Geba*, had been surprized by *Jonathab* the son of *Saul*, they gathered together thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horsemen (I), and foot as the sand of the sea, to fight with, or rather plunder the *Israelites*, who still laboured under the ill effects of their tyrannical policy, by continuing destitute of arms. This very numerous multitude went out, and pitched in *Micbmash*, and sent such a terror before them, that happy was the *Israelite* who could hide himself to his satisfaction from them, or get out of their way. *Micbmash* was their station, from whence they sent out three bands, three several ways, to spoil the country; and great damage they did to the whole land, as we have room to infer. Their ravages they committed without interruption, having to deal with an unarmed enemy, who consequently were in no condition to <sup>d</sup> make head against them.

AT *Micbmash* they continued to lie encamped, while their spoilers quite ruined and stripped the country; and here they took up their quarters some time. But in the midst of their depredations they received a check from *Jonathab*, who, hurried on by a divine impulse, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a considerable slaughter of one of their out-guards; the noise of which spreading to the whole body, they were seized with a sudden pannick, and an unspeakable tumult arose among them; so that, hyperbolically speaking, the very earth trembled therewith (K). In the height of this disorder, it came to pass that they fell

\* 1 Sam. iv. 5, 6.

† Ibid. xiii. 19.

(H) To this *Josephus* (45) adds, that it was so violent, that it was as much as they could do to keep their legs; and that another part was swallowed up by an earthquake.

(I) Sir *Isaac Newton* (46) from this vast number of chariots and horsemen is tempted to think the *Philistines* were now very powerfully succoured, and their numbers mightily increased by the accession of the shepherds out of *Egypt*, who were now expelled that kingdom: We shall not contend with him upon so dark a point, wherein he may as well be right as not. But we cannot refrain from noting, that he takes these thirty thousand chariots to be of the warlike sort, and designed for battle, wondering, as well he might, if they were really such, at the great excess of the number, when compared with those that followed *Pharaoh*, who perished in the *Red-Sea*. But, for our part, we cannot but look upon the far greater number of them to have been chiefly designed either for carriages, such as the baggage and lumber of so vast an army must needs require; or, perhaps also, to carry

off the plunder of the enemy, at which they seem to have been grasping with the most insolent presumption. Nothing, indeed, but such a supposition, can account for that prodigious number of chariots, especially if we consider the nature of the ground, for the most part rocky and uneven, and, consequently, unfit for turning and winding with the dexterity which warlike chariots required. We may add, that though we reduced these to three thousand, as they stand in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions, they would be still far too many for warlike use, as a learned commentator judiciously observes (47), since *Mithridates* had but one hundred, *Darius* but two hundred, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* but three hundred; and no one can imagine that the *Philistines*, and whosoever else may have joined them upon this occasion, were able to muster up such a force in chariots as either of those three monarchs.

(K) Not that there was really an earthquake upon this occasion. Besides the thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen mentioned in

scripture,

(45) *Antiq.* l. 6. c. 2.  
1 Sam. xiii. 5.

(46) *Chronol. of anc. king. amended*, p. 167.

(47) *PATRICK* upon

a upon each other with a most fearful slaughter of themselves (L), and presently they began to move off in a wild uproar and fury; which, when it was observed by the *Israelites*, they moved after them by degrees, and at length pursued them one and all, with *Saul* at their head, who, if he had not been in too great a hurry, and forbid his troops to stand to take a little refreshment, the *Philistines* had lost a great deal more blood than they did upon this occasion; but as it was, their loss was very considerable (M), they being pursued from *Michmash* to *Aijalon*.

THOUGH they were thus visibly defeated by the hand of heaven; yet in a few years they revived again, and put themselves under arms, once more to try what they could do with the *Israelites*: but they were now, perhaps, chiefly induced b thereto upon hearing that *Saul* was gone distracted. But, though they made a great noise and parade this time, yet they did not proceed with such fury as formerly, and do not seem to have been very eager for a battle. They found *Saul* in the field ready to contend with them, which checked them in their career. They first rendezvoused in *Shobchob* in the tribe of *Judab*; and advancing thence, and still finding the *Israelites* in a posture to fight them, they went, and pitched upon a mountain opposite to that on which *Israel* was incamped. They had in their army at this time a giant, one *Goliath* of *Gath*, who was six cubits and a span high, and wore a ponderous and well wrought suit of brass armour: he had a helmet of brass on his head, a coat of mail (N) of the same on his body, and a target or gorget between his shoulders, and greaves upon his legs, all of the same metal. The staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed six hundred shekels of iron; and before him went one who bore his shield. This gigantic person seems to have been very sensible of his warlike abilities and strength, and to have fancied that he alone could support his country's cause. Accordingly, whether by his own suggestions, or at the solicitation of his countrymen, we know not; this man took on him to fight any one in the host of *Israel*, and by a single combat to determine which of the two nations should rule, and which obey. With this view he went down into the valley which parted the two camps, and called up to the *Israelites*, 'To what purpose do you draw yourselves out in battle array? d ' here am I, a *Philistine* (O), and ye the slaves of *Saul*, find me out a man among ' you that has the heart to come down and fight me: if he kill me, we will submit to be your subjects; but, if I kill him, you shall serve us, as you have done

1 Sam. xiii, xiv.

scripture, *Josephus* (48) numbers the foot at three hundred thousand. Here a late bold commentator (49), from the alarm given them by *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer, and the fearful effects which ensued, takes occasion to think that the *Philistines* were neither so numerous, as is in scripture said, or so well skilled in war as they are usually deemed, and infers that the text must have been corrupted; but of this see the next note.

(L) This favours, very much, the conjecture of *Sir Isaac Newton*, who supposes they had, about this time, an accession of the shepherds from *Egypt*, as we have already noted from him (50). It looks very much as if this great host, for such it may be justly stiled, though not perhaps quite so strong as is represented to us, had not a mutual confidence in each other, so far, as to be certain that a defection and treachery might not be brought to pass among them by the artifices of the enemy. The out-guard routed by *Joshua* and his armour-bearer, favoured strongly of treachery. The bare fame of an attack made by any two persons on so vast an army, could never, of itself, have caused so wild an uproar; but something, at the same time, must have been added thereto, that made them enraged against each other, and fired them with the utmost fury and indignation. Nor does what we here insinuate, by any means derogate from the concern the Almighty had in this miraculous deliverance of his people, since, in

cases of this kind, he has so often acted by second causes.

(M) According to *Josephus* (51) it amounted to sixty thousand men.

(N) According to the *English* standard, the height of *Goliath* was twelve foot eight inches, and somewhat better than three tenths. His coat of mail alone weighed five thousand shekels of brass, or upwards of one hundred and eighty nine of our pounds *Troy*; and by the same rule, the head of his spear, which weighed six hundred shekels of iron, exceeded two and twenty of the same pounds (52). The weights of these and the other parts of his armour and arms, whose weight is not specified, was not, perhaps, too heavy for so gigantic a person, whose strength, doubtless, was in proportion to his stature: and yet some are willing to think it was too cumbersome; and therefore chuse to say the shekels enumerated above, and commonly taken for the weight of his coat of mail, were the price of it (53), which seems to be as much too little on this hand, as it may appear too much on the other.

(O) It is generally thought that he, here, vaunts himself as a lord among the *Philistines*; or rather, that he boasts of his liberty, as he was born of that country, and reviles the *Israelites* as servants or slaves; insinuating, that he did them honour in offering to demean himself so far as to contend in single combat with any one of them.

(48) *Antiq. l. 6. c. 7.*

(49) *Cleric. in 1 Sam. xiv. 15.*

(50) See before in the notes,

p. 352.

(51) *Ubi supra.*

(52) See *Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient coins, weights, and*

*measures.* (53) See *Patrick upon 1 Sam. xxii. 5.*

heretofore : mark that I defy every one of you ; let who dare advance out of a  
 ' your ranks to fight me ! ' This arrogant challenge met with no acceptance, and  
*Goliath* was left to himself to vapour his fill ; but the figure of the man, and his  
 menacing deportment stood the *Philistines* in good stead, by quite disheartning the  
*Israelites*, who were greatly dismayed, both at him and his words. But, as con-  
 fident as *Goliath* was in his own strength, and, in consequence thereof, how ready  
 soever he was to fight, the rest of his countrymen had not the least stomach to it :  
 They remembered how terribly it had more than once fared with them in their  
 contentions with *Israel*. Wherefore, though the first day's experience convinced  
 them, that not one soul of the *Israelites* would undertake a single combat with  
*Goliath* ; yet, having no mind to come to a battle, they every morning and even- b  
 ing sent out *Goliath* to repeat his idle challenge, for forty days together. At last,  
 as the armies were drawing down to each other in battle array, *Goliath* advanced  
 out of the ranks as usual ; and in the height of his pretended expectations for one  
 to come out (for pretended they must have been, after so many fruitless repetitions  
 of the same defiance) he saw a handsome ruddy youth advancing towards him,  
 from the *Israelites*, in the habit and appearance of an ordinary shepherd. The  
 sight fired him with indignation, and observing a staff in his hand ; ' What, says  
 ' he, am I a dog, that thou art come against me with a staff ? and cursing him  
 ' by his gods, Come hither, that I may give thy flesh to the fowls of the air and  
 ' the beasts of the field.' Having heard what the young man, *David*, had to say c  
 in answer to him, he stepped towards him to seize on him, and crush the presump-  
 tuous lad ; but ere he reached him, a stone was slung at him by *David*, which took  
 his forehead, and laid him flat at his length on the ground ; and his head was in-  
 stantly severed from his body by his own sword, and carried off as a trophy by the  
 conqueror. The *Philistines* no sooner say their champion gone, than they fled (P),  
 as if their hopes and all had centered in him ; and to judge by their behaviour, it  
 was really the case. They fled, and were pursued by *Saul*, quite home to the gates  
 of their own cities, *Gath* and *Ekron*, with a fearful slaughter no doubt (Q) ; leav-  
 ing all their tents and baggage behind them\*.

THE same hand which had deprived them of *Goliath*, persecuted them again soon d  
 afterwards ; for two hundred of them were slain by *David* for the sake of their fore-  
 skins only, that he might perform the condition imposed on him by *Saul*, before  
 he would give him his daughter to wife ; but the particulars of this slaughter are  
 not specified in the text of scripture. But thence it may be gathered, that this was  
 the cause of a fresh rupture, and that the princes of the *Philistines* undertook to re-  
 venge the injury, but what success they had, is not said\*.

Achish.

Soon after this they were overthrown in battle by *David*\*, and some great  
 change seems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government ; for,  
 as ever since the *Abimelechs* they are represented under lords or princes ; so now we  
 read of a king they had, whose name was *Achish*, and who resided at *Gath*†. He e  
 is elsewhere called *Abimelech*\*, the ancient appellation, as we have seen, of the first  
 kings of this people. *David*, to avoid the terrible intentions of *Saul*, fled to *Gath*,  
 and was brought before this king ; who imagining him, by his behaviour, to be  
 beside himself, would take no farther notice of him, than to order he should be  
 brought no more into his presence\*.

THE *Philistines* all this time were upon no settled terms with *Saul*, but invaded  
 him, and thereby diverted him from laying hold on *David* in the wilderness of *Maon* ;

\* 1 Sam. xvii.

\* Ibid. xviii.

\* Sam. xix. 8.

\* Ibid. xxi. 10.

\* Psal. xxiv.

\* 1 Sam. ubi supr. Ibid. xxi. 27—29.

(P) From this slight commentators are apt to imagine, that what *Goliath* did in offering to decide the fate of each nation by single combat, was his own act and deed, and without the assent of the *Philistines* ; or else, that if they did bind themselves to submit to the fate of such a battle, they were faithless enough to slight the obligation. To us it appears, that they did in a very great measure depend on *Goliath* for success in this war ; that they prided themselves chiefly in him ; and that, flattering themselves he was invincible, and, by his strength and armour, an over-match for any

in the host of *Israel*, they were not against what he took on him, as their champion ; but that they did formally agree to stand to what he promised, is unlikely : Such decisions, by single combat, seem not to have been the custom of these early times ; but the whole seems to be the effect of great pride and vanity in the champion, and a mixture of stupidity and cowardice in the rest.

(Q) If we hearken to *Josephus* (54), they had thirty thousand killed, and twice that number wounded in this pursuit, which seem to be somewhat exaggerated by that historian.



a but it seems they had ill success this time again, and fled before *Saul*, or else retreated for fear of him.

ACHISH the son of *Maach* (R), after this received *David*, and his wives, and all his train of followers into his protection, and treated the distressed refugees with great hospitality. And at *David's* request, that he might have some place allotted him for his particular dwelling, he readily appointed him the town of *Ziklag* for that purpose, from whom it was ever after claimed by the kings of *Judah*. This was, indeed, the most effectual means of binding *David* to his interest, as we observed in the last note; and *Achish* had, it seems, influence enough over the *Philistines*, to make them sacrifice their resentment for the wrongs they b had received from that fugitive prince, to their present interest and safety, and to let him live peaceably among them, rather than hazard the consequences of his return, or reconciliation with *Saul* (S). *Achish*, who conceived very high thoughts of *David*, understanding he had been out upon some expedition, examined him about it, and receiving from him such an answer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation; expressed great satisfaction thereat, hoping *David* had done something to make himself odious in the eyes of his countrymen, and that now he should have him a servant for ever. Preparing soon after to war with *Saul*, he told *David* that he expected him to head his followers, and march with him; and promised to recompence him with some most eminent post in his service. The c *Philistines* first gathered together at *Shunem*, and there encamped. From thence they removed to *Aphik*, where the several bodies of the *Philistines* appeared together, in a kind of review, under their respective chiefs, and *David* and his men followed about, or after *Achish*; from whence it is gathered, that the post he promised him, was to be captain of his guard. When the lords and chiefs of the *Philistines* observed this, they were offended, and expostulated with *Achish*, who in vain endeavoured to persuade them that *David* was a fast, and very trusty friend. Instead of being satisfied with what the king said, they grew angry with him; and insisted on it, that *David* should not stir a step further with them; that he should return to *Ziklag* his appointed place, and not have it in his power to betray them in d battle, the only way he could have to reconcile himself with his natural lord and master, at the cruel expence of the *Philistines*. In short, they could not imagine that *David*, who was the idol of his own people, would forfeit his valuable popularity among them by fighting against them. *Achish* was unable to resist all this clamour, and calling *David* to him, assured him, that for his own part he had the highest sense of his sincerity and innate worth, and had been perfectly satisfied with his behaviour ever since he had sheltered him; but, that since the lords were far from being disposed to think so well of him, it were in vain, and imprudent to contend against them in this matter; and therefore desired him to return quietly to *Ziklag*. *David* resenting the unkindness of the notions the lords entertained concerning him, and protesting his readiness to fight in his cause, *Achish* answered him e with great earnestness, that he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a singular veneration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was as an angel of God: but that seeing the lords were so unreasonably bent against him, he must consent to set out for *Ziklag* early the next morning, and thereby prevent their falling into a

(R) From this mention of his father's name, some are willing to think him a different person from the former; to which they seem to be partly inclined, by the kind manner in which he received *David*, whom the former had spurned at, as an idiot or a madman. But we must remember that *David* actually play'd that part to save his life; and it is no wonder if *Achish* did not care to be troubled with so unhappy a wretch, as *David* then made himself: but the same man may have returned to a better mind concerning him, when he was let into the secret of *David's* fears; and may afterwards have entertained a correspondence with a person of such known worth, and invited him into his dominions, and assured him of protection against the evil intentions of *Saul*; hoping thereby

to weaken *Saul*, and keep up a division in his kingdom, at the same time that he strengthened himself. If no humanity may be allowed to *Achish* in this case, a large share of human policy may be admitted: nor do we perceive any solid ground for supposing this *Achish* and the former to be different persons.

(S) It seems, at least, more reasonable to us to attribute their unexpected moderation towards a man that had so ill deserved of them, to some such by views, than either to the extraordinary generosity of that nation, or to the interposition of providence, as many have done.

As for *Ziklag*, *Joshua* places it in the tribe of *Simeon* †, and *Eusebius* on the southern side of the land of *Canaan* \*.

† *Josh. xix. 5.*

\* *Loc. Hebr.*



discord, which would, in all likelihood, do more hurt to the common cause, than all his known valour and experience could do it good.

So David went his way, and Achish and the Philistines marched against Saul, who was encamped on mount Gilboa. A battle was fought between them on that same mount, and the Philistines prevailed mightily against the Israelites, and drove them before them with a great slaughter. In particular, they pressed hard after Saul and his sons; and these, Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchishua, they slew. They sent their arrows with great eagerness after Saul, and did hit him several times, but did not lay him along, nor had they the honour of dispatching him: he was dead, ere they reached him, by his own weapon. Thus the Philistines at length obtained a complete victory, in consequence of which, they possessed themselves of a great part of the enemy's country. On the morrow after the battle, when they came to strip the slain, they found Saul king of Israel, and his three sons among the rest, in mount Gilboa. They did cut off Saul's head, and dispoiled his body of his armour. His armour they dedicated in the temple of Ashtaroth; and his body, and those also of his sons, they ignominiously hung upon the walls of Beth-shan. What they did, particularly with his head, is not related; but it seems as if they at first sent it up and down with his armour, to dedicate both in the temples of their idols, and to feast the eyes of their people with those grateful objects, and demonstrative marks of victory. But the bodies of Saul and his three sons hung not long where the Philistines exposed them, for the brave inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, whom that monarch had lately saved from imminent destruction, as we have formerly seen in the history of the Ammonites †, took this opportunity of shewing their gratitude to their late deliverer, and, at the peril of their lives, to fetch away those mangled remains from the enemy, and give them a more honourable burial in their own city. How David did afterwards dispose of them, when he came to the crown, shall be seen in the history of the Jews.

THE death of Saul and his two brave sons having rid David of his fears, and paved him a sure way to the Israelitish crown, he stayed no longer at Ziklag, after the battle of Gilboa, than was necessary to take a decent farewell of his royal friend and protector, and removed to Hebron, an ancient and famous city in the tribe of Judah \*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel. Hither the greatest part of the tribes repaired to him, and unanimously proclaimed him king. As for Achish, though we read no more of him, yet there is reason to suppose that he continued his good offices towards him for some considerable time, at least so far, as to restrain the rest of the Philistines from any hostilities whilst he was strengthening himself on his throne. For it is very remarkable, that all the while the contest lasted between him and Ishbosheth, the surviving son of Saul, they never gave him the least disturbance. This pacific disposition of theirs towards a man so suspected and hated by them, at a juncture when they might easily have crushed him in the bud, by allying with his competitor, can hardly be ascribed to any thing but the kind interposition of Achish in his favour. And accordingly we find, that they did not begin their hostilities against him till after the death of Ishbosheth, when they understood that all Israel and Judah had submitted themselves to him, under two of the bravest and most experienced generals that ever Judea had. But whether this rupture was owing to their fear of his resentment for the affront they had put upon him, to a dread of his excessive power, or to their mutual hatred of the Jewish nation, or to the loss of his friend and protector, who might be either dead by this time, or, perhaps, wrought by the other Philistine lords into this change, the text leaves us wholly in the dark. But whatever might be the cause of this new war, we find that it began almost as soon as David had been acknowledged king of all the Israelitish tribes, and began to give them real occasion to dread his over-grown power. They therefore lost no time to raise a powerful army, and to invade his territories before he was grown too strong for them. They marched and incamped in the valley of Raphaim, from whence they removed to Baal-perazim, where they were encountered by David, and by him so completely overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they left their baggage behind them, and even their gods, which they carried about with them, in imitation of the Israelites, when they brought their ark against them. The Philistines seem to have rallied again, upon recollection, to rescue their captive gods, and

† See before, p. 297. a.

\* Vid. 2 Sam. ii. 1. & seq.

- <sup>a</sup> drew up again in battalia in the valley of *Repbaim* (T); but they were defeated again by *David* in a sudden onset, by the immediate interposition of God, and pursued with a long and bloody slaughter from *Geba* to *Gazer*\*, a place, it seems, on their own frontiers.

THE war did not end here; for a short time afterwards they were invaded by *David*, and subdued, and *Metbeg-ammab* (U) was taken out of their hands\*.

- THE *Philistines* had several men of extraordinary stature among them, and all it seems of the kindred of *Goliath* (W). And, though they had experienced the little use of such men in an army, yet they seem foolishly to have cast their eyes upon these; now flattering themselves, that by their help they might retrieve their honour, and take revenge on *David*. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet several years, they broke out into a war again with *Israel*, and their giants marched with them. They came to a battle, in which *Ishbi-benob* (X), a son of *Goliath*, as is thought, taking *David* at some disadvantage, had like to have slain him. But missing his aim, he fell by the hand of *David*, assisted by *Abishai*, although the head of his spear weighed three hundred shekels of brass (Y), and although he was extraordinarily accoutred (Z) for war. A second battle was fought near a place called *Gob*, wherein *Saph*, another son of *Goliath*'s was slain by *Sibbecbai* the *Hushathite*. A third battle they fought, at *Gob* also, and *Goliath*'s brother, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam, fell by the valorous might of *Jaare-oregim* a *Beth-lehemite*. From this last place the war was transferred into the territory of *Gath*; and in this fourth battle, another son of *Goliath*'s, who had six fingers upon each hand, and six toes upon each foot, did, in imitation of his father, challenge the whole army of *Israel* to send out one of their number to fight him, and was brought down by the hands of *Jonathan* the brother of *David*. The *Philistines* thus exhausted of their gigantic brood, or perceiving that their mighty stature and strength stood them in no manner of stead, refrained from a further prosecution of the war they had so

\* 2 Sam. v. 17—25. \* Ibid. viii. 1.

(T) Or the valley of the giants, as *Josephus* (55) renders it; who supposes that they were now unable to raise any thing of an army themselves, and that they were joined by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*; as a proof of which he alleges that they returned home upon their first defeat, and came back to the charge again with thrice the numbers they had before, and drew up in the same place where the former battle was fought; and that they were again miraculously defeated with very great ease, and put to flight with the loss of all their baggage and their gods. *Josephus* is very fond of trebling the forces of a vanquished people, as we have observed before (56), and may have occasion to observe hereafter. But why he should imagine the *Philistines* were at so low an ebb as to be unable to make war with *David* of themselves, we do not clearly perceive, even though we should allow of the great slaughter and destruction he makes of them in some of their preceding battles (57).

(U) Or, as it is in the margin, the *bridle of Ammah*; or, as it is explained in the *Chronicles* (58), the city of *Gath* and the territory thereunto belonging. There are many and very various expositions of this point; but as the context clears it up naturally, we shall pass them over, and adhere to that, as most likely and just. Only let it be observed, that as *Gath* was the royal seat, it may, on many accounts, have been called a *bridle* to the rest of the land. As to its standing upon a hill called *Ammah*, as some commentators teach, they would have done well, had they produced their authority for it. The word *חממה* *Ammah* on the contrary doth signify a river, which the *Jews* therefore suppose to have run between *Gath* abovemention'd, and *Metbeg*, a fort on the other side, which receiv'd

new reinforcements from the former, till *David* had cut off the communication, by stopping or turning the course of the stream.

(W) If they were not immediately his sons, they may possibly have been of the same family. To say nothing of their descent from the *Anakims*, who were expelled from *Hebron*, and took up their abode at *Gath*, which is a very obscure piece of history; it is common in all nations to see families remarkable for their extraordinary stature: nor is there any need to suppose them descended from any ancient race of giants. We are indeed told that the *Anakims* either fled from *Hebron* to the cities of the *Philistines*, or else were planted there of old time (59). But how it came to pass that they were so dwindled away there in the days of *David*, and how it comes to pass that we read no where of them in the armies of the *Philistines* till the days of *Saul*, we presume not to say.

(X) *Josephus* (60) calls him *Amchob*.

(Y) To judge of him by the weight of his spear, he was not of much above half the strength and stature of *Goliath*, the head of whose spear, as we have noted (61), weighed six hundred shekels, or twenty-two of our pounds *Troy*; whereas this man's weighed but three hundred shekels, or eleven of the same pounds.

(Z) The words of the text are obscure; it says, he was girded, or accoutred anew, or had on a new accoutrement — *Josephus* (62) says only, that he had his sword by his side. Of all the expositions we have seen, we approve of that most, which guesses that his armour, or military accoutrement, was made on purpose for him (63), to suit his strength, which surpassed that of an ordinary man.

(55) *Antiq. l. 7. c. 4.* (56) See before in the Notes, p. 297. (57) See before in the Notes, p. 353. (58) *1. xviii. 1.* (59) *Josh. xi. 23.* (60) *Antiq. c. 10.* (61) See before in the Notes, p. 353. (62) *Ubi supr.* (63) Vide *CLERIC. in 2 Sam. xxi. 16.*

obstinately maintained in spite of the frowns of fortune in three successive conflicts, a before this last <sup>b</sup>.

FROM henceforward the affairs of this people are more slightly touched on; whence it may be argued that they suffered a decay; and, accordingly we are told, that *their horn was broken asunder* by these unfortunate wars with *David*<sup>c</sup>; who now made them tributaries to his throne, as we shall see anon (A); though on the other hand it may be also concluded, that having so often, and to so little purpose, engaged themselves in bloody and destructive wars, they grew wiser, and rather applied themselves to commerce and the advancement of their nation that way (B). And hence it may be that we find their country open to the *Israelites* in the beginning of *Solomon's* reign, *Achish* the son of *Maachab* then reigning at *Gath*; who, <sup>b</sup> whether he is the same *Achish* who was so kind to *David*, we must not hope to determine, though commentators are divided upon it: probably he was not <sup>d</sup>.

MANY years after these wars, the *Philistines* were harrassed by *Nadab* king of *Israel*, who laid siege to a city of theirs, called *Gibbethon*; which city was again besieged by *Elab* king of *Israel*<sup>e</sup>, some years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the *Philistines* finding it deserted by the *Levites*<sup>f</sup>, seized on it, and kept it, notwithstanding these several efforts to tear it from them; the kingdom of *Israel* at this time being in great distraction.

BUT notwithstanding this their obstinacy against the kings of *Israel*, they afterwards courted the favour of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, by a voluntary payment of <sup>c</sup> the tribute <sup>h</sup>, which had been, as we may hence conclude, imposed on them by their conqueror *David* (C); and which, it seems, they had neglected to pay to some of *Jehoshaphat's* predecessors, as this story plainly enough insinuates, and as will be further confirmed by what follows.

FOR they rebelled against *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, and brake into his kingdom, and in the end rifled his palace of all the wealth they there found; and even extended their rage against him, to the cruel butchery of all his house, except *Ataliab* and her son *Abaziah*, who some how or other escaped. At this time we also gather that they carried off a great number of captives, some of whom they sold to the *Edomites*<sup>i</sup>, next to themselves, the worst enemies the *Israelites* had; <sup>d</sup> and some to the *Grecians*<sup>k</sup>, thereby sending them so far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of seeing their native country again. This their extraordinary success may have been brought to pass either by the conjunctive, or distant co-operation of the *Arabians*, who made war at the same time upon *Jehoram*.

WHENCESOEVER their success arose, it in the end proved a very unfortunate affair to them. They were invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who dismantled *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, with *Asdod*, and reared cities of strength among them to awe

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xxi. 15--22. \* See Ecclesiast. xlvii. 7. <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings ii. 39. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xv. 27. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xvi. 15. <sup>g</sup> 2 Chron. xi. 14. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xvii. 11. <sup>i</sup> Amos i. 6. <sup>j</sup> Joel iii. 6. <sup>k</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17.

(A) According to *Josephus* (64), this was the last battle they had with the *Hebrews*, never daring to look them in the face again; which must be one of his mistakes.

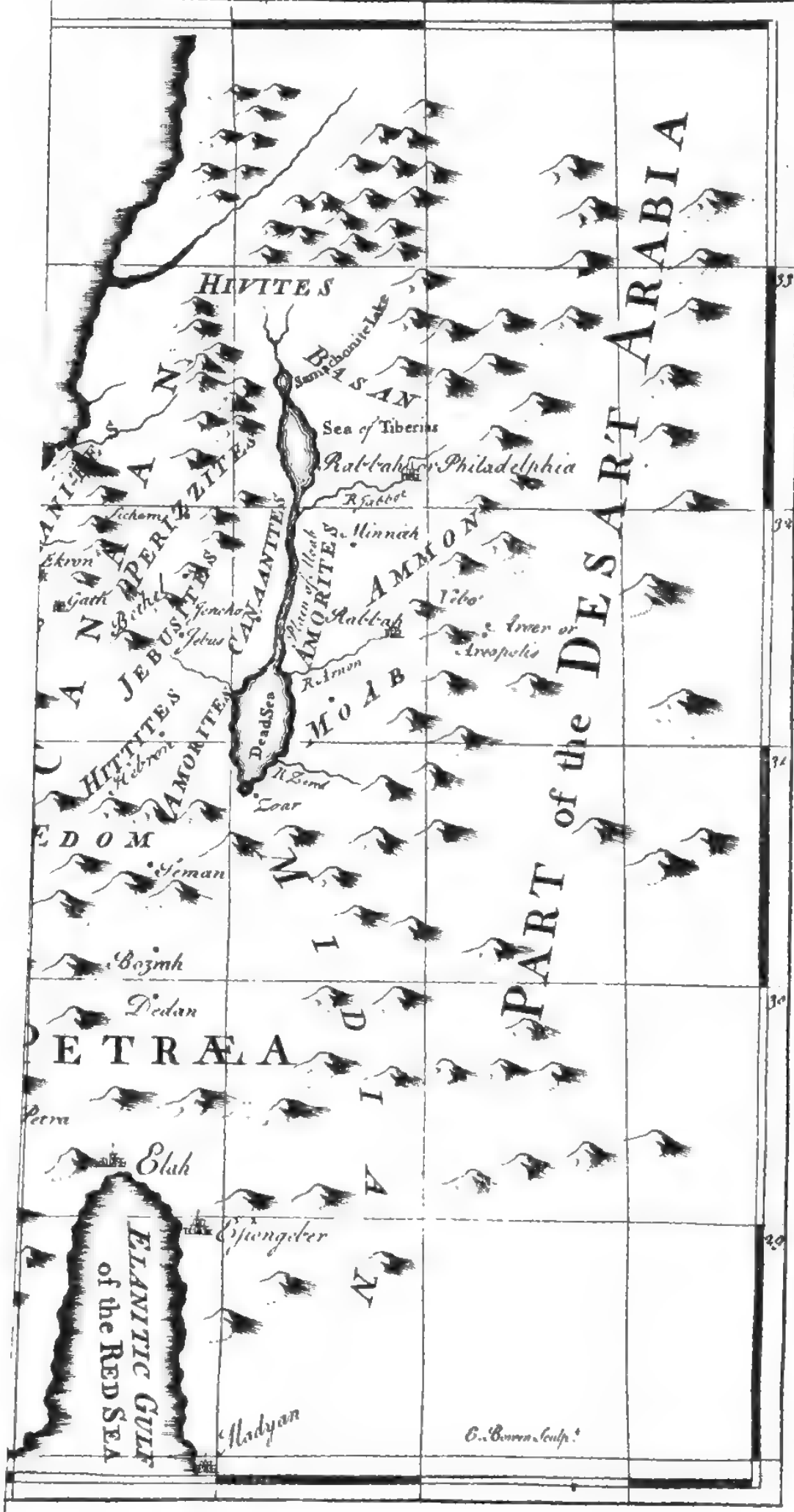
(B) We the rather think after this manner, it being pretty evident that they had been increased some years ago by the fugitive *Edomites* (65), who brought with them their superior skill in commercial and nautical affairs; not that the *Philistines* were wholly ignorant therein till the *Edomites* came among them; but it is now likely they applied themselves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir *Isaac Newton* (66) reckons that they took *Sidon* by the advice and assistance of the *Edomites*; thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by destroying so dangerous a rival. He

also (67) supposes this to have fallen out in the reign of *David*; for he observes that in *Solomon's* reign the *Zidonians*, tho' settled at *Tyre*, had not yet lost their name. We read in *Justin* (68), that *Sidon* was expugned by the *Philistines*; though he seems to mistake, in saying it was done by the king of *Ascalon*; for we do not read of a king of that place any where else. Remembering the story of the Syrian goddess *Derceto*, who was metamorphosed here (69), the *Greeks* and *Romans* may have considered the city of *Ascalon* as the metropolis of *Palestine*; whence we find the king of *Palestine* placed in that city by *Trogus*, whom *Justin* epitomizes.

(C) *Josephus* (70) calls it their accustomed tribute, and it can have been no body but *David* himself that imposed it on them.

(64) *Ubi supr.* (65) See before, p. 342. (66) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended*, p. 104, 105. (67) *Ubi supr.* (68) *l.* 18. *c.* 3. (69) See before, p. 340. (70) *Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 9.

of the Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, and the Children of ISRAEL, according to this History.



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FOR they rebelled against *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, and brake into his kingdom, and in the end rifled his palace of all the wealth they there found; and even extended their rage against him, to the cruel butchery of all his house, except *Abiah* and her son *Abaziah*, who some how or other escaped. At this time we also gather that they carried off a great number of captives, some of whom they sold to the *Edomites*<sup>g</sup>, next to themselves, the worst enemies the *Israelites* had; <sup>d</sup> and some to the *Grecians*<sup>h</sup>, thereby sending them so far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of seeing their native country again. This their extraordinary success may have been brought to pass either by the conjunctive, or distant co-operation of the *Arabians*, who made war at the same time upon *Jehoram*.

WHENCESOEVER their success arose, it in the end proved a very unfortunate affair to them. They were invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who dismantled *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, with *Ashdod*, and reared cities of strength among them to awe

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xxi. 15--22. <sup>c</sup> See Ecclesiast. xlvii. 7. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings ii. 39. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xv. 27. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xvi. 15. <sup>g</sup> 2 Chron. xi. 14. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xvii. 11. <sup>i</sup> Amos i. 6. <sup>k</sup> Joel iii. 6. <sup>l</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17.

(A) According to *Josephus* (64), this was the last battle they had with the *Hebrews*, never daring to look them in the face again; which must be one of his mistakes.

(B) We the rather think after this manner, it being pretty evident that they had been increased some years ago by the fugitive *Edomites* (65), who brought with them their superior skill in commercial and nautical affairs; not that the *Philistines* were wholly ignorant therein till the *Edomites* came among them; but it is now likely they applied themselves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir *Isaac Newton* (66) reckons that they took *Sidon* by the advice and assistance of the *Edomites*; thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by destroying so dangerous a rival. He

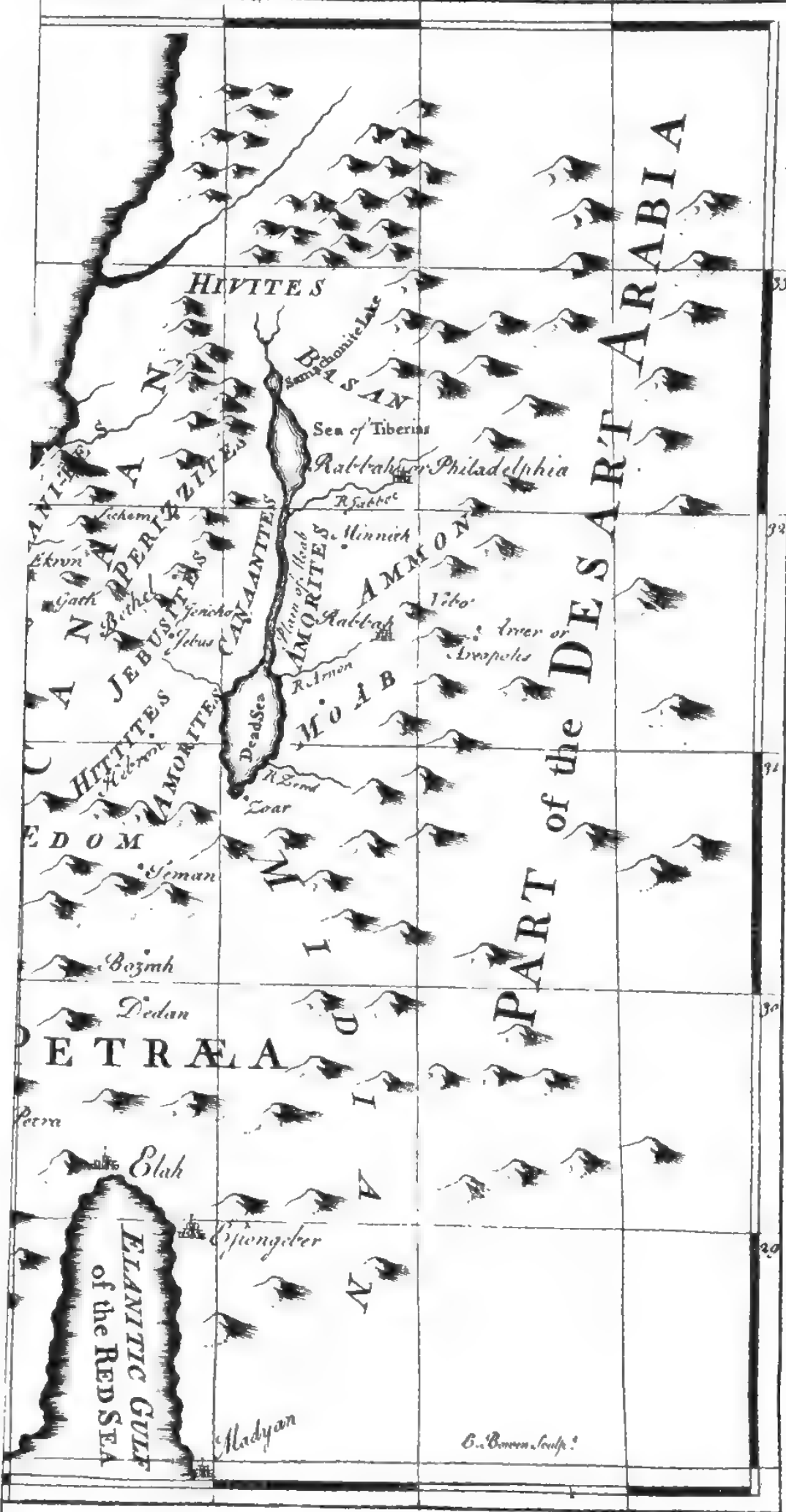
also (67) supposes this to have fallen out in the reign of *David*; for he observes that in *Solomon's* reign the *Zidonians*, tho' settled at *Tyre*, had not yet lost their name. We read in *Justin* (68), that *Sidon* was expugned by the *Philistines*; though he seems to mistake, in saying it was done by the king of *Ascalon*; for we do not read of a king of that place any where else. Remembering the story of the *Syrian* goddess *Derceto*, who was metamorphosed here (69), the *Greeks* and *Romans* may have considered the city of *Ascalon* as the metropolis of *Palestine*; whence we find the king of *Palestine* placed in that city by *Trogus*, whom *Justin* epitomizes.

(C) *Josephus* (70) calls it their accustomed tribute, and it can have been no body but *David* himself that imposed it on them.

(64) *Ubi supr.* (65) See before, p. 342. (66) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended*, p. 104, 105. (67) *Ubi supr.* (68) *l.* 18. c. 3. (69) See before, p. 340. (70) *Antiq. l.* 8. c. 9.

them,

of the Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midian  
 odus of CHILDREN of ISRAEL, according to this History







a them, and keep them in subjection<sup>a</sup>; which must greatly have broken their spirits, and have brought them low.

THEY groaned under this fearful blow all the days of *Uzziah*, we may suppose, and, perhaps, all the days of *Jotham*; but in the reign of *Abaz*, they perceived the crazy state of the kingdom of *Judah*; and observing the opportunity to be favourable, they took up arms again. They warred against *Abaz* with a success which made ample amends for their sufferings by *Uzziah*, his grandfather; reducing the cities of *Beth-sheMesh*, *Ajalon*, *Gedoroth*, *Shococho*, *Timna*, and *Gimzo*, and the several territories thereunto belonging, and there settled themselves, thereby adding a large portion of the kingdom of *Judah* to their own country<sup>\*</sup>.

b THUS did the *Philistines* rather more than reinstate themselves; but this fine acquisition was a very short time in their hands. They were immediately after this conquest admonished not to rejoice, because the rod of him that smote them was broken: *for that out of the serpent's root should come forth a cockatrice . . . . . which should dissolve their whole country*<sup>°</sup>. And this was severely fulfilled on them by *Hezekiah* the son of *Abaz*, whom they had conquered; for *Hezekiah*, as we understand it, over-ran their whole country<sup>°</sup>, and forced ample retribution of all sorts from them. This, though it had been, alone, a very grievous oppression on them, they saw almost at the same time the *Affrians* among them, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, who sent his general *Tartan* to reduce them. Their city *Ashdod* was besieged accordingly, and taken by *Tartan*<sup>†</sup>; and thus successively were they broken, almost without any intermission.

AND now the burthen of their final extinction comes heavily upon them. By their subjection to the *Affrians*, their liberties departed entirely from them; and, what was worse, their country became the seat of a long and obstinate war. For *Psammitichus* king of *Egypt* beholding the vast progress of the *Affrian* power, grew jealous, and apprehensive that *Egypt* might share the fate of its neighbours; and therefore to be as timely in his opposition as he could, he undertook to drive the *Affrians* out of *Palestine*. To this purpose he particularly laid siege to *Ashdod* of *Azotos*; but he was twenty nine years before that place ere he could reduce it<sup>°</sup>:

d during all which time it cannot be doubted but that the country sighed under all the calamities usual in such cases.

FROM henceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they succeeded each other. In the beginning of this servitude they were miserably harrassed by the *Egyptians*, who, willing to make their barrier as strong as possible against the dreaded invader, laid hands on all they could of this country, and, particularly, took *Gaza* from them<sup>†</sup>.

AFTER this we read of a king of *Gaza*<sup>\*</sup>; concerning which we have nothing to add, nor have we ought else to relate concerning this people. What in the end became of them will be best learned from the threats of the prophets, and particularly *Zephaniah*, who paints their destruction in very lively and natural colours (D): *Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noon day, and Ekron shall be rooted up. Wo unto the inhabitants of the sea coasts, the nation of the Cherethites: the word of the Lord is against you: O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant; and the sea-coast shall be dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks*<sup>†</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. xxvi. 6. <sup>\*</sup> Ibid. xxviii. 18. <sup>°</sup> Isa. xiv. 29—31. <sup>°</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 8. <sup>†</sup> Isai. xx. 1. <sup>°</sup> HERODOT. l. 2. c. 157. <sup>†</sup> Jerem. xlvii. <sup>°</sup> Zach. ix. 5. <sup>†</sup> ZEPHAN. xi. 4—6. See also Joel iii. Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ubi supr.

(D) Here it is worth observing, that *Gath* is omitted, as if already destroyed, as it doubtless was, being most obnoxious to the enemy, as it was the royal seat of this turbulent people; and as it was a key to, and a curb upon the whole country (71). Hence therefore it must have been that the throne of this kingdom was removed to *Gaza*; but to pursue this point any further were time lost.

We must only acquaint the reader that the *Gath* which *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* mention as still standing in their days (72), were different from this metropolis. *Gath* in the *Hebrew* signifies a vine or oil press. And it is no wonder we find several towns of that name, and some of them tacked to another appellative; such as *Gath-Rimmon*, *Gath-Epher*, *Gath-Shechem*, and the like.

(71) See before in the Notes, 357. (72) *Loc. Habr. & alib.*

## C H A P. V.

*The History of the ancient Syrians.*

## S E C T. I.

*A Description of Syria.**Its Names.*

**S**YRIA is in *Hebrew* *Aram*, so named from *Aram* the youngest son of *Shem*.<sup>a</sup> This *Hebrew* name is of very wide extent; perhaps, of little less than the *Greek* name *Syria*; at least it included what we now call *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, which is the *Aram Nabaraim* or *Syria* of the two rivers<sup>b</sup>.

*ARAM* then is its first and genuine name; how it came to be called *Syria* is variously said. Some<sup>c</sup> derive it from one *Syrus*, who sprung from the earth (A). Others<sup>d</sup>, from *Syrus*, the son of *Agenor*. Other thoughts there are upon this subject; but the most certain opinion is, that *Syria* is a contraction of *Affyria*<sup>e</sup>, and that the ancients usually confounded them together (B).

*AUTHORS* are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, because they consider it at different times, when its name was more or less famous, and its empire more or less ample. But, confining ourselves to the proper *Syria*, we may venture to set bounds to it, and determine its dimensions. It lay between the *Mediterranean* on the west, and the river *Euphrates* on the east: and between mount *Taurus* on the north, and *Arabia* the desert, *Palestine*, and *Phœnice* on the south. And this tract extends from the thirty second to the thirty seventh degree of north latitude, and from the fifty eighth to the sixty second degree of longitude. Its length from north to south three hundred seventy five miles; its breadth from east to west three hundred miles.

*Its Divisions.*

*SYRIA*, in ancient times, has been very variously divided. At first, we may be sure, it was parcelled out into endless little kingdoms and jurisdictions. In after-times it seems to have been divided into four principal ones, *Zobab*, *Damascus*, *Hamath* and *Geshur*. These were the principal divisions; the rest we find in scripture, such as *Beir-rebob*, *Ishtob*, *Maacha*, were subdivisions, as we think. Afterwards the whole country was divided into two parts only, though the *Phœnicians*, *Idumeans*, *Jews*, *Gazites* and *Azotites*, or the whole country of the *Philistines*, were included, which two parts were *Calesyria*, and *Phœnice*<sup>f</sup>. After the death of *Alexander*, *Syria* in the great extent of its name was thus divided, *Commagene*, *Seleucis* of *Syria*, *Calesyria*, *Phœnice* on the sea-coast, and *Judea* in the midland. This is *Strabo's* division; but *Ptolemy* subdivides these, and in the proper *Syria* only, reckons *Commagene*, *Pieria*, *Cyrristia*, or *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, *Cassotis* or *Casictis*, *Chalybonitis*, *Chalcidice* or *Chalcidene*, *Apamene*, *Laodicene*, *Phœnicia Mediterranea*, *Calesyria*, and *Palmyrene*.

*Commagene.*

To follow the division of *Ptolemy*; *Commagene* or *Comagene*, had on the west mount *Amanus*; on the north, part of mount *Taurus*; on the east it was washed by the *Euphrates*; but on the south, whether it was conterminous with *Seleucis* or *Cyrrhestica*, or with both, is uncertain. It was the north corner of *Syria*. The chief cities of this province were *Samofata* upon the *Euphrates*, *Antiochia ad Taurum*,

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 163.<sup>b</sup> *AFRICAN.* apud *SYNCELL.* p. 150.<sup>c</sup> *Chronic. Alexandr.* p. 101.<sup>d</sup> Vide *HERODOT.* l. 7. c. 63. *JUST.* l. 1. c. 2.<sup>e</sup> *STRABO,* l. 16.

(A) Perhaps this fabulous account may have taken birth from an ancient tradition, which still obtains, in the country, as we shall shew hereafter, that *Adam* was created in *Syria*.

(B) Mr. *Selden* in his *Prolegomena* to his *Syrian* *gods*, has dwelt on this point, to whom we refer

our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We shall only add, that *Lucian* (8), who was himself a *Syrian* of *Samofata*, calls himself an *Affyrian*.

(8) *De Dea Syr.* p. 1.

- a or at the foot of *Taurus*, and *Germanicia*; these and other cities and eminent places stood within this compass, once flourishing and magnificent, but now obliterated, and in ruins.

THE maritime *Seleucia* contained *Pieria* and *Casotis*, which were subdivisions *Seleucia*, thereof; the first lying to the north, and the last to the south. Within these limits *Pieria* and stood *Alexandria* upon the *Simus Issicus*, *Seleucia*, *Pieria* upon the *Mediterranean*, and *Casotis*. *Laodicea* upon the same.

IN the inland or *Mediterranean Seleucia*, stood the famous *Antioch* upon the *Orontes*, *Seleucia Me-* *diterranea*. These two *Seleucides* are by *Mela* and *Pliny* called *Antiochene*.

- b APAMENE lay to the eastward of *Casotis*, and had *Apamea*, at least half sur- *Apamene*. rounded by the *Orontes*, for its chief town.

CYRRHESTICA was a province upon the *Euphrates*. *Cyrrhus*, or *Cyrus*, was *Cyrrhestica* the capital of this part of *Syria*. Here also stood a famous city called *Hierapolis*, *Bambyce*, and, by the Syrians *Magog*<sup>1</sup>, where the Syrian goddess was worshipped.

CHALCIDINE was wholly an inland province, nor bordered either upon the *Chalcidene*. *Mediterranean* sea, or the *Euphrates*, and had *Chalcis* for its capital. It was surrounded by *Antiochene* or *Seleucia* on the west; by *Cyrrhestica* on the north; by *Chalchbonitis* on the east; and by *Apamene* and *Cele Syria* on the south.

ON the east of *Chalcidene* lay *Chalybonitis*, on the *Euphrates*, its chief city *Chalybonis*. *Chalybon*.

- c PALMYRENE was a spacious and fertile province in the midst of a frightful *Palmyrene*. desert to the south of *Chalybonitis*; washed on the east by the river *Euphrates*; once stored with great cities; all of which are quite perished, but their metropolis *Palmyra*; which, though now as much a desert as that which surrounds and divides it from the rest of the nations, is yet deservedly reckoned one of the wonders of our present world.

- THERE is no reconciling the ancient geographers, so as to be able to determine *Cele Syria* the bounds of what they mean by *Cele Syria*; but before all of them we prefer *Strabo*, who tells us that *Cele Syria* was the vale between *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*; which however the name may have been extended, was undoubtedly the proper *Cele Syria* and *Syria Cava*, which we take to have been the same. The principal cities of this part are *Heliopolis*, now *Balbek*, which we shall have occasion to resume hereafter, and *Damascus*, now *Sbām*, as is commonly and inaccurately said, which lying eastward of *Anti-Libanus*, cannot be immediately reckoned into the proper *Cele Syria*.

WE know not how to fix the place of *Laodicea*. It may have been a part of *Laodicea* the proper *Cele Syria*. Its chief city was *Laodicea Cabiosa* or *ad Libanum*.

OF the *Phœnicia Mediterranea*, we shall speak in the next chapter.

- UNDER the Roman empire, the proper *Syria* was divided into *Comagena* or *Ober Prid.* *Euphratenfis*, *Syria*, *Palmyrena* or *Syria Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libani* or *Libanefia*, *fims*. *Libanefia* and *Libanufia*, as we think. The *Arabs* reckon *Palestine* into *Syria*, on the one hand, and even *Cilicia* on the other, and call it *Sbām*, and *Abulfeda* divides the whole into five *Junds* or provinces, the *Kinnesryne*, the *Hemfene*, the *Damascene*, the *Jordanitic*, and the *Palestine*.

THE climate of *Syria* is happy, if any be so, and its fertility so great, that it *Climate and* may be justly stiled a pleasant garden almost throughout. We shall not here enter *Fertility*. into a detail of its productions, which are many, noble, useful and delicious. It abounds with sufficient of all things, both for the profit and delight of man. It is mostly a plain country, and for the most part covered over with a deep and rich soil. In short, it yields to no spot on earth that lies under the same happy parallel.

THE rivers of this country that we shall take notice of, are the *Orontes* (B), the *Rivers*. largest of them all, a turbid, rapid stream, with waters not fit to drink, and fish unfit to eat<sup>2</sup>; and the *Barrady*, formerly the *Chrysorrhoas*, which rushing from *Anti-*

<sup>1</sup> PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 19, or 23.

<sup>2</sup> See MAUNDRELL'S Journey from Alepp. to Jeruf. p. 4.

(B) This river, according to *Strabo* (2), disappeared at a place called *Charybdis*, between *Apamea* and *Antioch*; and after having run five miles under ground, appeared again. In the same author (3) also there is a fabulous tradition concerning the origin of this river, as that *Typhon*, in his flight, furrowed up the earth, and formed the

canal; that he was thunder-struck at the fountain-head of this river, and that his going down, was the cause of the spring which rises there. They feigned him to be a huge dragon. This may be added to the fabulous accounts we have already given of *Typhon's* exit (4).

(2) l. 6. p. 275.

(3) l. 16. p. 750.

(4) See before, p. 244.

*Libanus* down to *Damascus*, is there divided into endless streams for the supply and a decoration of that city; whence recollecting at some distance, it soon loses itself in a bog \*. The rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar* must have been only branches (C) of this.

Natural Rarities.

THINGS more particularly remarkable in this country are the two valleys of salt, the one within four hours of *Aleppo* <sup>b</sup>, the other in the neighbourhood of *Palmyra* <sup>i</sup>, which shoot forth that mineral in surprizing abundance; the soil to a considerable depth being strongly impregnated therewith, as is said of the valley near *Aleppo*; and as might, doubtless, have been said of the other, had trial thereof been made. The medicinal waters also in and about *Palmyra*, and in several other parts of *Palmyrene* <sup>a</sup> might claim our attention, were this a proper place. Among the remarkable of this country we may also reckon the few cedars which are now standing upon *Lebanon* <sup>b</sup> or *Libanus*. They are near a Christian monastery, called *Canobine*, about ten hours journey from *Tripoli*. They stand in the midst of snow (D), near the highest part of *Libanus* or *Lebanon*. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only sixteen, but young ones of a lesser growth there are in great numbers. One of the largest of the former being measured, was found to be twelve yards six inches in girth, yet perfectly sound, and the spread of its branches was thirty seven yards in circumference: and about five or six yards from the ground it divided itself into five limbs, each equal to a great tree <sup>t</sup>. Another traveller <sup>\*</sup>, who was also on the spot, tells us, that the largest he measured was, towards the middle of the trunk, seven foot wanting two inches round, at the same time that he reckons the spread of its <sup>c</sup> boughs one hundred and twenty foot about. In which last dimension, agreeing so nearly with what is said before of the same, there must be a monstrous slip of the pen, or oversight of the press, either in this or the former account; for the difference between seven foot and twelve yards is quite surprizing. But the difference between these travellers goes on: the latter says, the largest of the cedars had not a trunk above six or seven foot high out of the ground, which falls most unaccountably short of what has been just now said upon that point: and yet this author [*De la Roque*] talks of the enormity of the trunks of these trees, and of the prodigious branches which part therefrom; which is throwing away great words very improperly, if he is not most egregiously out in the dimensions he gives us, which are <sup>d</sup> so trifling that they cannot deserve admiration in any degree. This, though a digression of such a kind as is unfit to find a place in a work of this nature, we hope

<sup>a</sup> MAUNDRELL'S Voyage from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 113.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. sub fine.

<sup>i</sup> Philosophical Transact. Numb. 217. p. 83.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 103, 104.

<sup>t</sup> MAUNDRELL ubi

supr. p. 142.

<sup>c</sup> DE LA ROQUE, Voyage de Syrie, Tome I. p. 88.

(C) *Radziwille* (2), the *Palatine* of *Wilna*, tells us roundly of the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*, which watered the city of *Damascus*, when he was there, which is about one hundred and fifty years ago, and that they were unnavigable, but full of fish, and streamed down to it from the mountain *Chrizorea*, which should have been written *Chrysorrhoas*, the Greek name of the river which watered *Damascus*, and not of any mountain there. *Thevenot*, who was so curious and minute an observer of every thing in and about *Damascus*, never once mentions the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*; but tells us (3) of three rivers that water *Damascus*, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls *Banias*. There is no footsteps of the names *Abana* and *Pharpar* <sup>\*</sup> among the best Arabian geographers. *Abulfeda* tells us, that the stream which supplies *Damascus*, comes out of a cavern on the west side of the city, and immediately divides; which is so exactly Dr. Maundrell's (4) description of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This last traveller could not so much as find any memory of the names of *Abana* and *Pharpar*, and supposes they must have been branches of this river *Barrady*, which comes out of the rock. And, as he so nicely agrees

with *Abulfeda* in the approach of this river to *Damascus*, he does the same with *Thevenot* in its departure therefrom; they both agreeing, that its divided streams meet again on the other side of the town. Dr. Maundrell then in this case may be safely relied on, in what he says of this remarkable stream.

(D) *Ramwolf*, who visited these cedars about midsummer, complains of the rigour of the cold, and the snows here. *Radziwille*, who was here in *June*, about five years after him, talks of the snow that never melts away from these mountains. Other travellers talk to the same purpose; among whom our Maundrell represents the cedars standing in the midst of snow; but he was there in the month of *May*. From all this we might have formed a judgment that the cedars stand always in the midst of snow; but we are assured of the contrary by another traveller (5), according to whom the snows here begin to melt in *April*, and are no more to be seen after *July*; nor is, says he, any at all left, but in such clefts of the mountains which the sun cannot come at; that the snow begins not to fall again till *December*, and that he himself, when he was here, saw no snow at all; and it is probable, that he speaks nothing but the truth.

(2) *Peregrin Jerusolym. Epist.* 2. p. 31. (3) *Travels in the Levant, Part 2. Book 1. c. 4.* \* Vide ALBER. SCULT. *Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damascus.* (4) *Journey from Aleppo to Jerus.* p. 122. (5) DE LA ROQUE *Voyage de Syrie, Tome I. p. 89.*

- a we shall be excused it, meaning thereby only to obviate what might be objected, by some, to the discredit of a very sincere traveller of our own nation (E). It will not be expected of us to give an accurate description of this noble tree; therefore we shall only say, that it bears a narrow leaf, of a sad green, together with a cone like that of the pine-tree, but darker, and of a smoother coat. As these cedars spread out extremely with a broad flat head, which is compared to the top of an umbrella, the weight of the snow that might lodge upon them at certain seasons, would break down their branches: but, to prevent this, they are reported to have the extraordinary faculty of preparing themselves against so destructive a danger, by stretching their branches upwards till they form a cone; thereby exhibiting the smallest surface possible to the heavens, and by that means, preserving themselves from ruin<sup>m</sup>. These cedars of *Lebanon* making so noble a figure in the book of the Old Testament, and having been anciently the pride of this country, we could not well say less than we have concerning the few of them left, which are held in such veneration by the inhabitants in these parts, that nothing can be added thereto (F).

- As we have been so particular in describing the Egyptian monuments of antiquity, *Artificial Ramus*, we cannot pass over the chief, at least, of those which are to be found in this country, which in the judgment of many, may be thought no way inferior to any thing of the kind in *Egypt*. Who founded the noble edifices, whose remains we shall have here occasion to describe, is quite uncertain; but nothing is more probable than that they were not erected under any of the princes in the ensuing history, they being in the most correct stile of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Upon this account we might be taxed with irregularity in introducing them into a period, when they had no being, had we not this for our excuse; that being quite in the dark, as to the time when they were built, we may as well speak of them here as any where else.

THOUGH there are many noble vestiges of the magnificence of *Syria*, scattered up and down the country, both Pagan and Christian, we shall dwell on two only; *Balbek*, formerly *Heliopolis*, as is commonly supposed, and *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* in the wilderness.

- d BALBEK or *Balbeck* is mentioned by the *Arabians* as the wonder of *Syria* (G); and such of our *European* travellers as have visited it, are so charmed with what they there behold, that they are at a loss how to express their admiration. On the south-west of the town, which stands in a delightful plain on the west foot of *Anti-Libanus*, is a heathen temple, together with the remains of some other edifices; among the rest, a palace of a true magnificence. These ancient structures have been patched and pieced in latter times, and converted into a castle, as it is called. As you draw

= DE LA ROQUE ubi sup. p. 90, 91.

(E) We cannot forbear observing, that there seems to be almost as great a difference, concerning these cedars, between *Rawley* (5) and *Radzeville* (7); who visited them about a century and a half ago. The former reckons the largest cedars at several fathoms in circumference. The latter says, they were handsome proper trees, with wide spreading branches, like the trees the *Poles* call *Modrazes*; he does not raise the admiration at all. But the truth of it is, Mr. de la Roque must be excused, if he does deceive us by lessening the cedars so much. It is not his own voyage, though he sets his name to it, which is somewhat odd. He is no more than editor of this, as well as of other voyages under his name, which were really and properly *Monf. le Chevalier d'Arvieux's*. To prove that it must be his mistake, we shall only recur to the memoirs of the missionaries (8) in the *Levant*, where a Jesuit, who measured the largest of these cedars, tells us it was in girth six fathoms, which square very well with *Maunderell's* twelve yards.

(F) We are told (9), that at the foot of the largest of these cedars are four stone altars: That upon the day of the transfiguration, the

patriarch of the *Maronites* repairs to them, attended by a number of bishops, priests, and monks; and followed by five or six thousand of their religion from all parts; and that under these trees they celebrate that festival, which they miscall the *feast of cedars*. By another it is added, that the patriarch officiates pontifically upon this solemn occasion; that they are particularly mindful of the blessed Virgin upon this day; because the scripture compares her to the cedars of *Lebanon*; and that the same holy father threatens with his church thunderbolts those who presume to (10) hurt or diminish them.

(G) The *Arabian* geographical lexicographer, cited by *Schultens*, in his geographical commentary (11), at the end of his edition of *Soltan Salâh'addin's* life says; *Balbek* is a city of three days journey from *Damascus*, where are wonderful foundations and magnificent vestiges of antiquity, and palaces with marble columns, such as in the whole world are no where else to be seen. And *Abulfida*, at *Balbek* are places of hewn stone with most lofty columns; nor is there in all *Syria* any stone structures more admirable or magnificent.

(6) RAY's *Collect. of Voyages* ubi sup. (7) *Peregrin Jerosolym.* ubi sup. (8) *Tome IV. p. 358.*  
(9) *Ibid.* (10) DE LA ROQUE ubi sup. p. 87, 89. (11) *Ad vocem Balbecum.*

near



*The Rotunda.* near to these venerable ruins, you meet with a *rotunda*, or round pile of building, <sup>a</sup> incircled with pillars of the *Corinthian* order, which support a cornish that runs all round the structure; the whole of great elegance and stateliness, but now in a very tottering condition \*. It is mostly of marble, and though round on the outside, is an octogon within; being withinside adorned with eight arches, supported by eight *Corinthian* columns, each of one single piece. It is now open at top, but appears to have been covered with a shell, and to have been much embellished with the figures of eagles. The *Greeks*, who have converted this lovely round into a church, have barbarously spoiled the beauty of the inside, by daubing it over with plaster \*. Leaving this, you come to a large, firm, and very lofty pile of building, which has the air of an adjectitious work; and through this pile you pass into a noble arched <sup>b</sup> walk or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

*The great Temple.*

THIS temple has, ~~on~~ a miracle, resisted the injuries of time, and the madness of superstition, being as good as entire. It is an oblong square, in its general form and proportion exactly like *St. Paul's Covent-Garden*; but for magnificence of structure and dimension, there is scarce any comparison, this temple being almost as big again every way. Its length on the outside is one hundred ninety two foot, and its breadth ninety six \*. Its length within side is one hundred and twenty foot, and its breadth sixty. The *pronaos*, or anti-temple, took up fifty four foot of the hundred and ninety, but is now tumbled down, and the pillars which supported it are broken. The whole body of this temple, as it now stands, is surrounded with a noble portico, supported <sup>c</sup> by pillars of the *Corinthian* order, six foot three inches in diameter, about fifty four in height (H), and each of three stones apiece. Their distance from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine foot. There are fourteen of them on each side of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and cornish, which are supported all round by these pillars, are exquisitely carved. And as you walk round this temple, between its wall and the pillars which go round it, you have overhead, a solid arcade all the way, of great stones hollowed out arch-wise; in the center of each of which is a god, a goddess, or a heroe (I), struck out with that life that is not to be conceived \*; and all round <sup>d</sup> the foot of the wall of the temple itself is a double border of marble, the lowest parts of which is a continued bas-relief in miniature, expressing heathen mysteries and ceremonies; where, without any confusion, you see a surprizing mixture of men and beasts, in the most happy composition and most agreeable variety \*.

HAVING thus described the outside of this temple, we will proceed to the inside; but let us first take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more august. The ascent to it is by thirty steps, on each side bounded by a wall, which terminates in a pedestal, on which formerly stood a statue, as may be safely supposed. The front is composed of eight *Corinthian* pillars, as we have already said, fluted, as are all the rest that go round the temple, and an ample and nobly proportioned triangular pediment. Within these eight pillars, at the distance of about six foot, are four others, like the former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate the walls of the temple, which come out a good way from the body of the temple itself. All these form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty four foot, and in breadth sixty odd. Through these pillars appears the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; but it there appears with great majesty, and without the least confusion; so nice are the proportions of the pillars, their distance from each other, and the recess of the door itself. The door-case or portal is square and of marble, in proportion and construction just like the great

\* MAUNDRELL ubi supr. p. 135.    ° LA ROQUE ubi supr. p. 152.    P MAUNDRELL ubi supr. 1 Idem ibid.    ° DE LA ROQUE ubi supr. p. 138, 147.

(H) These fifty four are *French* feet, which, according to Maundrell, ought to be but forty five *English*, which is a very great difference. The *French* author viewed this place for a fortnight together, whereas our *English* traveller was scarce here a day; so that the former may be chiefly relied on in most particulars, and accordingly we have adhered chiefly to him; though they both agree very well, considering that the one was a transitory, the other a constant ob-

server, as we may call them. Besides, in this case the thing speaks itself; for, according to our mean skill in architecture, a *Corinthian* pillar, whose diameter is six foot, in which they both agree, will require at least fifty foot of height to appear with any manner of elegance and delicacy.

(I) An emperor or an empress, says *De la Roque* (12); but in this we choose to rely on Maundrell's judgment.

(12) Ubi supr. p. 148.

a marble portal at the west end of *St. Paul's*, but far richer in sculpture, and larger, if we mistake not. The whole height of it is about forty foot, and its whole width about twenty eight, with an opening of about twenty foot wide <sup>r</sup>. You are no sooner got under this portal, but, looking up, you see the bottom of the lintel, enriched with a piece of sculpture, which has scarce its equal in the world. It is a vast eagle in bas relief, expanding his wings, and carrying a caduceus in his pounce; and on each hand of him is a fame <sup>r</sup> or cupid <sup>r</sup>. These, each of them, support the one end of a festoon by a string or ribbon, the other being held in the eagle's beak on each hand, inimitably fine <sup>v</sup>.

When you are got withinside of the temple, you find it divided into three isles, b two narrow on the sides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of our churches, being formed by two rows of fluted *Corinthian* pillars, of between three and four foot diameter, and in height, including the pedestal, about thirty six. These pillars are twelve in number, six on a side, at the distance of about eighteen foot from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilasters one over another, and between each two of the lowermost is a round nich about fifteen foot high. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the bases of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a *Corinthian* pedestal, and the niches themselves are *Corinthian* in all their parts, with the strictest precision and nicest delicacy. Over these round niches are a row of square ones between the pilasters of the c upper order: the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment (K). Towards the west end of the middle isle you ascend to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen steps, which are the whole breadth of this part in length. This choir is distinguished from the rest of the temple by two large square columns adorned with pilasters, which form a noble entrance, exactly corresponding with that of the temple itself. Here is a great profusion of astonishing sculpture; but the architecture is the same here as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedestals, and the niches stand upon the pavement<sup>s</sup>. The two large square pillars which so remarkably distinguish this part of the temple, d are thought to have supported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be seen now. In the bottom of this choir is a vast marble nich, where stood the principal deity here worshipped. In this choir are seen the most finely imagined sculptures, festoons, birds, flower, fruits; and fine bas reliefs, neptunes, tritons, fishes, sea-gods, *Arion* and his dolphin, and other marine figures <sup>r</sup>. The cieling or vault of this temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lanthorn stood there for the admission of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be judged at this distance of time <sup>s</sup>. In a word, the charming symmetry, the correct taste, and the height wherewith all the carvings are finished, even at such elevations, where such niceness e is thought unnecessary, are such, that it may be truly said, the whole pile is faultless, and without the least blemish. The whole stands upon vaults of such excellent architecture, and so bold a turn, that it is thought they served for something more than merely the support of the superincumbent weight, and may have been a subterraneous temple, applied to some particular service in the Pagan worship. And, though this temple now stands by itself, there are evident marks that it was accompanied by other buildings, no way unworthy of it; among which are reckoned four different ascents to it, one upon each angle, with marble steps so long that eight or ten persons may go up abreast <sup>s</sup>.

f Within the walls of this castle, as it is now called, are also great remains of what must have been a palace scarce inferior to any royal seat that has ever been in the world; but being by no means in so perfect a state as the temple, we shall speak of it in general terms, and insist only on such parts as deserve our greatest attention. But first of all, it must be observ'd, that the old wall which enclosed both this and

<sup>r</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 136.    <sup>s</sup> MAUNDRELL ubi supr.    <sup>v</sup> DE LA ROQUE ubi supr. p. 137.  
<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>x</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 140--142.    <sup>y</sup> MAUNDRELL ubi supr. DE LA ROQUE  
 ubi supr. p. 143.    <sup>z</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 144, 145.    <sup>aa</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 149, 150.

(K) In the draught *Maundrell* (13) has given is a remarkable difference; but which way to us of the inside of this temple, the upper and the lower niches are exactly alike, both round: this reconcile them we know not.

the temple above described, is built of such monstrous blocks of stone, as exceed all a belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil. There are particularly three, which lie end for end with each other, and which together extend one hundred eighty three foot in length, whereof one is sixty three foot long, and the other two sixty apiece. Their depth is twelve foot, and their breadth the same; and, what adds to the wonder, these stones are lifted twenty foot from the ground. The rest of the stones of this wall are of surprising dimensions, but none quite so large as these <sup>b</sup>.

The Palace.

GOING through the long arched walk, which we have already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a subterraneous passage, adorned with many buits, which for want of light cannot well be discerned, the first object which b strikes the sight is a spacious hexagonal building or wall, which forms a kind of a spacious theatre, which is open at the other end, and presents you with a terrafs, to which you ascend by marble steps. This aperture admits you into a square court, larger than the first, round which are buildings more magnificent than what you see till then. Here, on each hand, you have a double row of pillars, which form portico's or galleries of sixty six fathom in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was taken up by a third building, more sumptuous than the rest, and deeper, and seems to have been the body of the palace, fronting east, as all the fronts in this castle do. The columns belonging to this part are of such size, that they are compared with those of the hippodrome at *Constantinople*. Nine of these c columns are standing (L), and a good piece of the entablature, which evince it to have been one of the wonders of *Asia*; and, to crown all, each of these nine pillars is but one block. Many considerable and distinct vestiges of the several parts of this palace are still extant. The *Corinthian* order prevails chiefly throughout the whole; and scarce is there any where to be found such precious remains of architecture and sculpture. The ornaments are various, but without any of the wild extravagancies of modern architects. The fine taste of *Greece*, and the magnificence of *Rome* here meet; statues without number, buits of all sorts, proud trophies, curiously-wrought niches, walls and cielings enriched with bas-reliefs, incrustations, and other works of the finest marble; therms and cariatydes judiciously d placed. Underneath the whole are vast vaults; where from time to time you discover, through the ruins, long flights of marble stairs, near two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of these vaults are bold and surprising: and in these subterraneous parts you find many rooms, halls, rich appartments entire, and many marble tombs. The walls here also are adorned with niches, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions in *Roman* characters; but these inscriptions are quite effaced by the length of time and the damps. Some of the vaults are quite dark, and must be visited with lights, either because of their great depth, or because the passages which may have given them light are stopped up by rubbish; but others receive light by great windows, which stand on the level of the ground above: and lastly, all these edifices are built with e stones of the enormous size already mentioned, without any visible mortar, cement or binding whatsoever <sup>e</sup>. The temple and these ruins stand in the same inclosure, as we have said, and may challenge any monument of antiquity now extant, either at *Athens* or *Rome*, or even in *Egypt*. All over and about the town you, at every step, meet with some melancholy fragment of antiquity. The quarry from whence they had the stone for these works is a little way out of the town. It is cut out in steps something like an amphitheatre, where there lies one stone ready hewn, which seems to surpass what have been already described. It is a notion, it was too heavy to be moved; but, upon a nice examination, it is fast to the rock <sup>d</sup>. Such was *Balbeck*, which might tempt one to think it to have been once the most considerable place in *Syria*, and the delight of some mighty prince, who there chose to reside (M).

BUT

<sup>b</sup> MAUNDRELL ubi supr. p. 138. DE LA ROQUE ubi supr. p. 121. p. 124—132.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ubi supr. p. 151, 155.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ubi supr.

(L) Maundrell remembers these pillars in the following words: *About fifty yards distant from the temple, is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a most stately architrave and cornice at top. This speaks itself to have been part of some very august pile; but what one now sees of it is but just enough to give a regret, that there should*

*be no more of it remaining* (14). He did not visit the palace; not being prepared, we suppose, with the thoughts that there had been any building of the kind there.

(M) We flatter ourselves, that no antiquary will, according to this description of *Balbeck*, allow *Solomon* to have had any hand in what we see there;

(14) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruf. p. 137.*



THE PROSPECK OF BALBECK.





a BUT the magnificent ruins of *Palmyra* seem equally to claim our admiration. We shall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, whether *Solomon*, or any other before him, nor will we endeavour to investigate to whom we are indebted for what now stands of this desolate and abandoned town. Such discussions will come more naturally in their proper places, as they may occur in the body of this work. Thus much, however, we may safely premise, that at *Palmyra* we see no remains, or next to none, of *Solomon's Tadmor*, this city having being more than once sacked and demolished since his time, as will appear, when we come to mention the vicissitudes thereof.

b PALMYRA, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; in the scripture, *Tadmor* in the wilderness; by *Josephus*, *Palmyra* and *Tbadamor*; by the *septuagint* copies, *Theodmor* and *Tbedmor*; and by the *Arabs* and *Syrians* at this day, *Tadmor*, *Tadmir*, and *Tatmor*; was once a noble city in the south-eastern parts of *Syria*. The origin of these names is dark and uncertain (N). It stood on a fertile island, if we may so call it, surrounded on all sides by a thirsty and barren desert. The first object that now occurs as you approach this forlorn place, is a castle of mean architecture and uncertain foundation, though impreguably situated, as we say, about half an hour from the city. This castle stands on the north side of the city, and from thence you descry *Tadmor*, inclosed on three sides by long ridges of mountains; but to the south is a vast plain, which stretches away out of sight. The air is exceeding good; but the soil is barren (O), affording nothing green but a few palm trees in the gardens, and a few more scattered up and down. The city must have been of large extent by the space now taken up by the ruins; but there are no vestiges of the walls, whereby to judge of its ancient form. It is now a deplorable spectacle to behold, being only inhabited by thirty or forty miserable families, who have built them poor huts of dirt, within a spacious court, which once enclosed a magnificent heathen temple.

To begin the description here; this court, which stands about the south end of the city, is two hundred and twenty yards on each side, with a high and stately wall of large square stone, adorned with pilasters within and without, to the number, as near as

there; and yet prince *Radziville* (15), who is, in the main, a very judicious traveller, thinks it past dispute, that it is the work of *Solomon*. He imagines it to be the house he built for *Pharaoh's* daughter, and that it most exactly answers the description of that palace in the book of *Kings* (16), and indeed we cannot say there is no similitude in the case. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent observation, as he tells us; and adds as a further proof of it, that the buildings have not suffered any violence, but are crumbled away and decayed by meer length of time. He must have minded these ruins in general; he cannot have descended to particulars; or he had never been so egregiously overseen as he seems to have been.

(N) The author of the description of *Palmyra* (17), calls it *Palmyra*, which he derives from the palms about it, and supposes it to be the translation of a *Hebrew* word, importing a palm. *Halley* (18) derives it from *Πάλμυς* *Palmys*, which *Hesychius* interprets a king or father, or from *Παλμυτης* *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god, according to the same *Hesychius*. *Seller* (19) is of another mind, he cannot think of deriving it from *Palmys*, a king or father, or from *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god; for what, says he, had the gods of *Egypt* to do so near the banks of *Euphrates*? He derives it therefore from *Πάλμυς*, *Palme*, a *Persian* shield, or *Parma*, as the *Latins* render it. This he supports with some authority, and a good deal of probability, rejecting the fantastic etymology of *Makela* (20), who will have it called *Palmyra*, *ὅτι τὸ πάλαι μολύραν γὰρ ἴσθαι τὸν κῆρυον τῷ Γαλιᾷ*, because *David* slew *Goliath* there, which few or none will be willing to

allow. The etymology of *Tadmor* is still darker, if possible; but as dark as it is, we cannot forbear acquainting the learned and inquisitive reader with the thoughts of *Shultens* in his geographical commentary (21) upon both the names *Tadmor* and *Palmyra*. He observes, that in the text it is written *תדמור* *Tamor*, and in the margin *תדמור* *Tadmor*. *Tamor* he reckons to have become the usual name of this place, for softness sake, and to refer to *תדמור* *Tamar* the palm; with which in the next note this place will be seen to have abounded. He supposes also that originally in *Arabic* they did not spell it [תדמור] *Tadmor*, but [תדמור] *Tadmor*, and thus he accordingly finds it in his *Arabic* geographical Lexicon; as if you should say *palmiferous*, or *palm-bearing*, the *T* for sound sake being changed into *D*. The alteration of this name he ascribes wholly to the *Romans*, who upon finding the place called *Tadmor* or *Tadmor*, may at first have corrupted it into *Talmura*; but that soon after, understanding the city had its name from its palm-trees, they converted *Talmura* into *Palmyra*, whence *Palmyra*.

(O) Not that it had always the same sterile appearance. *Abulfeda*, who though he calls *Tadmor* a small city in the desert of *Syria*, yet places it in *Arabia*, writes, that *Palmyrene*, for the most part, abounded in salt; and that the palm and olive flourished there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be seen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual springs, and yielded fruits and corn. Upon this occasion it may not be amiss to refer you back to what we have conjectured concerning the present sterility of the land of *Edom* (22).

(15) *Peregrin. Jerusalem. Epist.* 2. p. 27. (16) 1. vii. 8—13. (17) *Philosoph. Transact.* Num. 217. p. 85. (18) *Ibid.* Num. 218. p. 161. (19) *History of Palmyra in the Appendix*, p. 177. (20) *Par.* 1. p. 182. *Par.* 11. p. 153. (21) *In ult. Salad. ad vocem Tadmora*. (22) See before in the *Notes*, p. 309.



could be judged, or sixty two on a side. The beautiful corniches have been purposely <sup>a</sup> beaten down by the *Turks*, who have thereby deprived the world of one of the finest works of the kind, that, perhaps, was ever seen, as here and there a fragment, which has escaped their fury, abundantly evinces. The west side of this court, by which you enter it, is most of it broken down; and towards the middle of it there are remains of an old castle, built by the *Mamlûks*, as is supposed, out of part of the ruins which are here in such abundance. This castle shrouds the remains of an ancient fabrick of exquisite beauty, as appears by what is still standing of its entrance, being two stones of thirty five foot in length, carved with vines and clusters of grapes, exceeding bold, and to the life. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears that the door or gate was fifteen foot wide. In this great court <sup>b</sup> are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty seven foot high, with capitals of the finest carved work; and the corniches must have been of equal beauty, though quite destroyed by the relentless superstition of the *Mohammedans*. Of these pillars fifty eight are entire. They must have been many more in number; for by what appears, they went quite round the court, and supported a most spacious double piazza or cloister. The walks on the west side of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, seem to have been the most spacious and stately of all; and at each end of it are two niches for statues at their full length, with their pedestals, borders, supporters and canopies, carved with the greatest artifice and curiosity. The space within this once beautiful inclosure is conceived to have been an open court, as we have already called it, in the midst of which stands the temple, incompassed with another row of pillars of a different order, and far exceeding the former in dimensions, being fifty foot high. Of these, sixteen are now standing; but there must have been about double that number, which, whether they formed an inner court, or supported the roof of a cloister, is utterly uncertain. One great stone lies down, which seems to have reached from these pillars to the walls of the temple; so that the latter conjecture may naturally enough take place. The whole space contained within these pillars is one hundred and seventy seven foot in length, and in breadth, eighty four. In the midst of this space is the temple, extending ninety nine foot in length, and in breadth, about forty. It has a sumptuous entrance on the west, exactly in the middle of the building, and, by what remains, seems to have been one of the most glorious edifices in the world. You here see vines and clusters of grapes executed to the life; and over the door you can just trace out a spread-eagle, as at *Balbek*, which takes up the whole width; with some angels or cupids accompanying it on the same stone, and several eagles are seen upon stones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is standing but the walls, in which it is observable, that the windows, though not large, are narrower at top than at bottom, but mightily enriched with sculpture. It has been awkwardly patched up to serve for a mosque, all but the north end, where are very precious reliques: which whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or to what use else they served, <sup>c</sup> is not easy to conjecture. They are beautified with the most curious fret-work and sculpture; in the midst of which is a dome or cupola, six foot diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the solid rock, or molded of fine cement or composition, is made a doubt.

Promiscuous  
Ruins.

LEAVING this court and temple, your eyes are accosted with an amazing sight of marble pillars, scattered up and down for the space of near a mile of ground; but, in such lamentable confusion, that there is no room to guess for what ends they were framed. But, to pass by the ruins of a mosque, as not worth our observation, and not bewilder your eye with the sad confusion which here presents itself, we will proceed to particulars as they occur after, or correspond with, each other. <sup>f</sup>


Obelisk and  
two Pillars.

ADVANCING towards the north, as you leave the temple, you have a tall and stately obelisk or pillar before you, consisting of seven large stones, besides its capital. It has a wreathed work about it; the sculpture here, as every where else, extremely fine. It exceeds fifty foot in height, is twelve foot and an half in compass just above the pedestal, and a statue is conceived to have once stood upon it. On the east and west of this, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, is a large pillar, which seem'd to have corresponded with each other. And there is a piece of another near to the eastern pillar, which looks as if there had been once a continued row of them. The height of this eastern pillar, as taken by a quadrant, is above forty foot. Its circumference is proportionable, and on the body of it is a *Greek* inscription in commemoration of two patriots, by a grateful order of the senate and people, which, with the others of the same and other kinds, we may hereafter meet with, we shall pass over

a over for the present, that we may not break in upon the thread of this description. The western pillar has another inscription of the like sort ; but not quite so perfect as the former.

PROCEEDING ON from the obelisk or pillar last mentioned, at the distance of one hundred paces, is a magnificent entrance, vastly large and lofty, and for work-<sup>The great piazza.</sup>manship nothing inferior to any piece hitherto described ; but unhappily it has suffered the same fate with the rest. This entrance leads into a noble piazza, above half a mile long and forty foot broad, formed by two rows of stately marble pillars twenty six foot high and eight or nine about. Of these pillars one hundred and twenty nine are standing ; but by a moderate calculation they cannot have been b fewer at first, than five hundred and sixty. Covering over them, there is none remaining, nor pavement beneath, that can be seen. Upon most of these pillars are inscriptions in *Greek* and *Palmyrene* characters ; so that it seems to have been a much frequented and most conspicuous part of the city, and most proper for the daily and honourable commemoration of such as had deserved well of their fellow citizens, or friends and relations. And, as if inscriptions were not sufficient, it seems as if here they fixed the statues also of the persons celebrated ; there being pedestals jetting out from these pillars, sometimes one way, and sometimes more, whereon must have stood statues, which have long ago fallen victims to the furious and barbarous zeal of the *Mohammedans* ; and upon these pedestals are inscriptions, even when none are c on the pillar they belong to, and sometimes even when there are. The upper end of this spacious piazza was shut in by a row of pillars, standing closer together than those on each side, and perhaps a banquetting-house stood upon them, though no sign of it be spared. But on the left hand, a little further, appear the ruins of a <sup>Banquetting-house.</sup>very stately pile, which may have been of such a kind ; of finer marble than is observed in the piazza, and with an air of delicacy throughout the whole, far surpassing what is observed in the piazza itself. The pillars which supported this last pile are all of one stone, twenty two foot long and eight foot nine inches round. Among these ruins is found the only *Latin* inscription that was seen in this place.

In the west side of the above piazza are several openings, supposed to have been d for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of these gates look as if they had been the most magnificent and glorious in the world, both for the elegance of the work in general, and for the stately porphyry pillars, wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four, not standing in a line with those of the wall, but placed by couples in the front of the gate, facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other. Of these porphyry pillars, there are but two entire, and but one of them standing in its proper place. They are about thirty foot in length, and nine in circumference, and of so very hard a consistence (P) that it is a very difficult matter to injure them. These, of all the pieces of porphyry here found, are the most beautiful. The palace itself is so compleatly demolished, that e there is no forming a judgment of what it has been, either for majesty or ornament. It plainly appears to have been thrown down by violence, which, together with the length of time, has quite defaced and obliterated this once noble pile, there being only a broken piece of its walls left standing here and there. But, it is very likely, that it fronted the famous piazza before-mentioned, and that it was surrounded with rows of pillars of different orders, many of which are still standing, some plain, and some wrought and channelled, as those immediately encompassing the temple. To these pillars also there are pedestals with inscriptions on them.

ON the east side of this same piazza is, if the expression may be used, a wood f of marble pillars, some perfect, some deprived of their beautiful capitals, but so scattered and confused, that there is no reducing them to order, or conjecturing to what use they formerly served. In one place are eleven together, forming a square in this disposition,  paved at the bottom with broad flat stone, but without any manner of roof.

AT a little distance from hence, is a small ruined temple, which, by what remains of it, must have been a very curious piece. The entrance into this temple <sup>The little temple.</sup>looks to the south, and before it is a piazza of six pillars, two on one hand of the door, and two on the other, and one at each end. The pedestals of those in the front have been filled up with inscriptions, both in *Greek* and the other characters, g but scarce intelligible.

(P) This our author says, supposing porphyry to be fictitious, which is disputed.

BUT of all the venerable remains of this desolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious, than their costly sepulchres, which are square towers, four or five stories high, standing on each side of a hollow way, towards the north end of the city. They extend a mile, and may anciently have extended farther. At a distance they look like the steeples of decayed churches, or the bastions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have proved faithless to their charge; having sunk under the weight of years, or submitted to the inexorable malice of violent hands. They are all of one form, but of different size, in proportion to the fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them, that was entirely marble, were found the pieces of two statues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a sitting, or rather leaning posture. By these it is discovered, that their habit was very noble, rather agreeing with the *European*, than the present eastern fashions; whence they are conjectured to have been *Romans*. Of all these sepulchres, there are two which seem to be more entire than the rest. They are square towers, five stories high, their outsides of common stone, but their partitions and floors within, of good marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breast and shoulders, but miserably defaced. Under them, or on one side, are *Palmyrenian* characters, which are thought to be the names of the persons there deposited. To judge of the construction of the rest of these sepulchres, by what is observed in one of them; they had a walk quite across them from north to south, exactly in the middle, by which they entered. The vault below, was divided in the same manner, and the division on each hand subdivided by thick walls into six, or more or less, partitions, each big enough to receive the largest corps, and deep enough to contain at least six or seven piled one upon another. In the lowest, second, and third stories, these partitions were the same, excepting that the second had a partition, answering to the main entrance, for the convenience of a stair-case. Higher up this method was discontinued; because the building growing narrower towards the top, could no longer admit of it. In the two uppermost rooms, it is likely that no bodies were deposited, except that of the founder himself, whose statue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a lying posture, is placed in a nich, or rather window, in the front of the monument, so as to be visible both within and without. Here is a *Greek* epitaph<sup>f</sup>.

SUCH were once the magnificent abodes, and such the noble sepulchres of the *Palmyrenians*; enough to evince that the world never saw a more glorious city; the pride, it is likely, of ancient times, and the reproach of our own: a city not more remarkable for the state of her buildings and unwontedness of her situation, than for the extraordinary personages who once flourished here; among whom the renowned *Zenobia* and the incomparable *Longinus* must for ever be remembered with admiration and regret.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Syrians.*

Antiquity.

THE ancient *Syrians* or *Aramites* (A), scarce submitted to any other nation under the sun, in point of antiquity, being the first that inhabited the fertile and well situated region of their abode after the general deluge, as we have already observed<sup>a</sup>. This is indisputably the case, and therefore there may be no need of expatiating thereon. But the posterity of *Shem* by *Aram*, did not possess this country wholly to themselves; their relations of *Canaan's* line, being straitned for want of room in the places where they settled at first, encroached upon them by degrees, and seized on a portion of their lot, and kept the same, till one common destruction and captivity involved them both. To use many words in proof of this twofold descent of the *Syrians*, from the righteous line of *Shem*, and the unrighteous line of *Ham*, is needless, since we find a very noted portion of the country of *Aram* or *Syria*, denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the eleven sons of *Canaan*, who may have even settled

<sup>f</sup> Philosophical Transactions, Numb. 217.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 163.

(A) This name was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks*. *Strabo* calls them *Aramæi*; for those, says he (1), whom we call *Syrians*, call themselves *Arameans*. Hence, the *Arami*, *Arimi*, and *Erembi*, and the like names.

(1) *Geograph. l. i. p. 42.*

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(1) *Geograph. l. i. p. 42.*

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- <sup>a</sup> here in person. The same we might here say of the *Arkite*, the *Simite*, *Zemarite*, and the *Arvadite*, though indeed we have not such positive assurances thereof, as of what we say of the *Hamathite*. We can only deliver it as our opinion, that these *Canaanite* families did most, if not all of them, fix their abode in *Syria* (B). But whether the country was more or less divided between the *Aramites* and *Canaanites*, we forbear to enquire into, since we have little or no authority to build upon. The ancient *Syrians* then were partly descended from *Ham*, and partly from *Shem*, and both of nearly equal standing in this country, and very little behind any nation in antiquity; but if we believe a tradition current among the present inhabitants, it must be called the oldest country in the world (C).
- <sup>b</sup> THAT they were anciently governed by heads of families, called kings, and that *Government* there were great numbers of them in the country, is certain; and that they continued under the same government, in part, even to the days of *Saul*, is plain by the kings of *Zobab*<sup>b</sup>; and by the petty kings in *Mesopotamia*, who were summoned to attend *Benbadad* in his wars, no fewer than thirty two. Seeing therefore that this most simple and natural form of government, obtained in *Canaan* on the one hand of them, and in *Mesopotamia* on the other, and that even we find vestiges of the same in *Syria* itself, down to the days of *Saul*, we cannot doubt but that they were at first divided into many small kingdoms. Not that this was the only form that seems to have taken place; for as *Gibeon* in *Canaan*, in the days of *Joshua*,
- <sup>c</sup> seems to have been a commonwealth among the many kingdoms there; so *Damascus* in *Syria* seems to have been the same in *David's* time. What we have to offer in support of this opinion, is not indisputably clear; but *Damascus* is spoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people in *David's* time. It is said, that the *Syrians* of *Damascus*<sup>c</sup>, not their king, sent an army of upwards of twenty thousand to the relief of *Hadadezer* king of *Zobab*, which seems to imply, as if they were something like what we call a republic. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of *Zobab*, we pretend not to speak of; but that of *Damascus*, which rose upon its ruins, as *Zobab* did upon the subversion of the smaller principalities, seems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom
- <sup>d</sup> of *Damascus* was established in violence, by a strong hand, and the constitutions thereof must, one would think, have been of a piece with its foundation; haughty, uncontrolable, and ambitious to subdue its neighbours; and, in truth, it rose to the universal monarchy of all the parts on both sides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hazael*, as will be shewn in its due place. This may be said of the kingdom of *Damascus*, which supported itself with various fortune, till *Syria* changed both inhabitants and masters, which it did upon the first rise, as it were, of the *Assyrian* power.
- WE have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them, but we are not so much at a loss for what concerns their
- <sup>e</sup> religion. THE ancient state of their religion, indeed, we are wholly at a loss for, nor will *Their laws.* we dwell on the obscurities thereto relating. It is certain they had many idols among them of very ancient repute; among the rest *Rimmon* (D) may be reckoned, whole
- <sup>e</sup> *Their religion.*

<sup>b</sup> See 1 Sam. xiv. 47.<sup>c</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 6.

(B) The *Arabs* have a tradition there were *Canaanites* very anciently in *Syria*, for they talk of *Dimashe* (2) the son of *Canaan*, who built the famous city of *Damascus* (3).

(C) For here they particularly pretended that *Adam* was formed (4), and that *Cain* slew *Abel*<sup>\*</sup>; both which places they shew to travellers that visit *Damascus*, for they are in the neighbourhood of that city (5). To which *Radziwile* adds, that hollow groans are sometimes heard under ground, in testimony of the innocent *Abel*, as they told him; that the place is held in deep veneration, and indued with a miraculous power of healing such as labour under any violent disease, if they but lie down naked thereon,

restoring them immediately to their pristine health.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Testament, signifies a *pomegranate*; whence this deity, whether god or goddess, is thought to have born some relation to *Venus*. *Selden* (6) is most inclined to derive it from *רומ* *rum*, *high* or *lofty*. We forbear to speak of *Gad*, and refer you to this last author. The *Syrians* had a deity also, called *Babia*, a goddess from whom the children and young people were called *Babia's* (7). They may have esteemed them under her tutelage, and our *English* word, *babes*, says one (8), may thence have been borrowed.

(2) Vide SCHULTENS, *Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damascus*. (3) See before, p. 136. (4) See THEVENOT, MAUNDRELL, &c. \* See before in the notes, p. 74. (5) *Peregrin. Jerusolym. epist. ii. p. 30.* (6) Vid. SELDEN de *Di Syr. Syntag. ii. c. 10.* (7) *Damasc. vit. Isidor. apud Pbo. c. cxlii.* (8) PURCHAS'S *Pilgrim*, book i. co. xx. at the end.

temple stood at *Damascus*: He seems to have been, at least the principal god of a *Damascene*, which is all we shall venture to say concerning him.

THIS ancient god in time gave way to another; for the *Syrians* deifying their king *Ben-badad* II. under the title of *Adad* or *Ader*<sup>a</sup>, he was considered as their most glorious and auspicious god (E). This fancied god, and others of the same stamp that may have succeeded him, flourished as long, we may safely suppose, as the ancient *Syrians* possess'd this their seat, or were masters thereof. But both they themselves and their gods, in great measure, submitted to fate, when *Syria* was conquered and transplanted by *Tiglatb-pileser*.

HEREUPON the religion of the country may, without straining the point, be said to have changed face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many additions to the old<sup>b</sup> were brought in, by the new inhabitants, who were sent hither by the *Affrian*; and now the religion of *Affyria* prevailed chiefly all over the country. That this is true, will be pretty evident from some arguments you will find in our chronology of *Affyria*. What changes and alterations this system suffered under the *Babylonians* first, and the *Persians* afterwards, and lastly under the *Selucidae* and *Romans*, we cannot presume to say; but such as it was, in the second century of the christian æra, we shall borrow from *Lucian*, who was an eye-witness of what he says for the most part, and the rest he received from the priests.

AT *Hierapolis*, or the holy city, or *Magog*, as the *Syrians* themselves are said<sup>c</sup> to have called it, in the province of *Cyrrhestica*, stood the temple of the great *Syrian Goddess* (F). It was upon an eminence in the midst of the city, surrounded by a double inclosure or two walls, the one old, the other new. At the north side it had a court, or porch before it, of about five or six hundred foot in circumference, where stood the *priaps*, of three hundred fathom, or three hundred cubits high; for we find both these measures, but both exceedingly too large, to our apprehension. These obscene images, or rather columns, were but slender, as we shall shew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the subject of much fable. The front of the temple itself stood east, and before it was a tower raised upon a terras, about twelve foot high; which<sup>d</sup> was no sooner mounted than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the *Ionian* temples; the porch of it was adorned with golden doors; nay, the whole temple glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air about it was enchanting, nothing inferior to the sweetest of *Arabia*, and so strongly perfumed the garments of all that visited it, that they were scented for a considerable time.

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> PLIN. Hist. Natur. ubi. supr.

(E) *Adad* is called also *Adod* the king of the gods (9), and *Adad* is interpreted *One* (10); and where we have this interpretation we are told, he was their greatest god. *Selden* (11) and *Isaac Vossius* (12), are very nice in deducing the true import of this name, which we shall for this once pass over, because it appears to us, that according to the scripture orthography, it ought to be spelt *Hadad*, as is plain from *Josephus* (13), who, in speaking of the scripture kings of *Syria*, calls them *Adad* or *Ader*; and particularly writing of the great *Ben-badad*, the second of that name in scripture, he tells us he was deified or honoured with divine worship, as was also his successor *Hazael*. Here we have the first account of their deifying of *Adad*, or as the scripture styles him, *Ben-badad*, who, if we except his successor *Hazael*, was the greatest prince the ancient *Syrians* can boast of; and we are clearly of opinion, that this great god *Hadad* or *Adad*, is no other than the deified *Ben-badad*; and from thence it appears, that there were *Syrian* princes of the name of *Adad*, before they had any god so called. By *Adad* they meant the sun, and pictured him with

rays darting downwards, to express his beneficence, and to shew that the chief influence of the heavens is in the beams of the sun (14). This high compliment might have suited better with *Hazael*, whose reign was a continued series of prosperity, than with *Ben-badad*, who was several times unfortunate; but, as *Josephus* tells us, they were both deified, and as *Adad* or *Hadad*, was a name common to all the kings of *Syria*, as appears both by scripture and *Nicolas of Damascus* (15), it may have been the *Hazael* of scripture, who was so highly revered.

(F) It is impossible to say who they meant by this *Syrian Goddess*; but we find a story in *Justin* (16), which we suppose to be borrowed from *Nicolas of Damascus*; that a king from whom *Damascus* derived its name, had a queen called *Arathis*; whose sepulchre was religiously frequented by the *Syrians*, who esteemed her as their principal deity: and this queen, according to our author's account, was older than *Abraham*, whom he reckons among the kings of *Damascus*, as we shall have occasion to observe again hereafter.

(9) SANCHON. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evangel. lib. i. p. 38.

(10) MACROB. Saturnal. l. i.

c. 18. (11) Ubi supr. Syntag. x. c. 6.

(12) De Idololatria, l. i. c. 22.

(13) Antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

(14) MACROB. Saturnal. ubi supr.

(15) Apud JOSEPH.

Antiq. l. vii. c. 6.

(16) L. xxvi. c. 2.

- a THIS temple was not without its sanctuary, into which no admission was allowed, even to such of the priests, as were not in an especial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their service and worship. Within the sanctuary, which was always open, were the statues of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the *Greeks* were so complaisant as to call them, though the inhabitants, as our author assures us, had other names for them. But since we have not their true names, we must be contented with the *Greek*. These statues of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were of gold. *Juno* sat upon lions, and *Jupiter* was supported by bulls, being in looks and posture like the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; but the statue of *Juno* was contrived so as to participate of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemesis*, and the *Destinies*, according to the view you had of her. In one hand she had a scepter, in the other a distaff. On her head she had rays and a tower, and she was girt with the cestus or girdle of the celestial *Venus*. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been presented to her, by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*. But of all these, the most remarkable was the *Lycnis* she wore at her side. This stone is said to shine most by candle-light. With this *Lycnis* therefore she illuminated, says our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable lustre, and only looked of a fiery aspect. It was wonderful of this statue, that though a person stood either on one side or before it, still it looked at him. Between *Jupiter* and *Juno* was another golden statue, but with no characteristics or peculiar ensigns, and only called the *Sign*. It was uncertain who they pointed at by this statue; but because it had a golden dove on its head, some were willing to think it was *Semiramis*. Twice every year it went in procession to the sea-side. On the left hand going into the temple, was the throne of the sun, but it had no statue in it; for they held it absurd to make statues either of the sun or moon, who were so resplendently visible to mortal eyes; but no more than right, to form the statues of such as were invisible. Next after this throne was the statue of *Apollo*, not a stripling, but with a large beard; for they could not endure the thoughts of addressing themselves to any god that was under age; and moreover, they did put cloaths on this idol, which was done to no other. Next to *Apollo* stood *Aias*, then *Mercury*, then *Lucina*, all which made the side furniture of the temple. On the right hand as they entered the temple, stood *Semiramis*, pointing to *Juno*; for that empress had had the arrogance to claim supremacy to herself, in the adoration of mankind, not excepting even *Juno*; whereupon being severely punished by the gods, who persecuted her with diseases and various calamities to humble her pride, she at last submitted to the goddess; and for this reason was figured as pointing to *Juno*, in perpetual acknowledgment of her arrogant error; and to direct people that the said goddess was to be worshipped, not herself. Next to *Semiramis* stood *Helen*, then *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *Nereus* the son of *Aglaia*, *Philomel* and *Pronge*, *Tereus* turned into a bird, another statue of *Semiramis*, *Combabus*, *Stratonice*, a beautiful piece, *Alexander* done after the life, and *Sardanapalus*, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they shewed the cleft where the waters drained off at *Deucalion's* flood: on this place, said they, did *Deucalion* erect an altar to *Juno*, and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we shall mention hereafter. This hole or cleft was but small when our author saw it. We had almost forgotten, that on the right hand of the temple, there was a little brazen man, with privities far beyond their due proportion.
- FINALLY, within the inclosures of the temple, they kept oxen, horses, lions, bears, eagles, all which were no way noxious to men, but all sacred and tame.
- f ADJACENT to the temple was a lake, where sacred fishes were preserved and attended. Some of the largest had names given to them, and came when called. One of these our author particularly observed, had golden fins. The lake itself was deep, two hundred fathom, the priests reported; and in the midst of it stood a stone altar, which seemed to swim, as most thought it did; for the pillar, or what else supported it, was not easily to be discerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and reeking with incense, and daily frequented, as we shall see anon. Without the temple stood a large brazen altar, and statues for kings and priests almost innumerable.

THE oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may serve to evince, how deeply the priests were versed in the mystery of their profession. Here were images that would move, sweat, and deliver oracles, as if alive; and noises were often heard in the temple, when it was shut up. *Apollo*, as we understand our author,

was the chief oracle. Other idols delivered their answers by their priests : This *a* *Syrian Apollo* did all himself. He, as we have already observed, was the only god that had cloaths put on him ; the reason of which, to our apprehension, was, that a living person might the more speciously be substituted to act the part of the stupid block. However this were, this *Apollo*, when he was inclined to make an answer upon any consultation, began first to move himself ; upon which the priests immediately stepped up to him to lift him, or else he fell into great agonies, sweating and bestirring himself after a furious rate. But with the priests who came to his assistance, he behaved in a very unruly manner, tossing and tumbling them about from place to place as they pleased ; till the high priest coming up to him, proposed his question. If the question was unacceptable to him, he retired ; if other- *b* wise, he drove his supporters onwards. He had the direction of all matters sacred and civil, being upon all occasions consulted, and always declared the time when it was proper for the image, we have called the *Sign*, to make its procession to the sea. In fine, our author assures us, that he saw this god walk in the air.

*Riches of the temple.*

THE revenues and treasure of this temple were in proportion to its splendor, to the great majesty of the goddess, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attend her. *Arabia, Phœnice, Babylonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia,* and *Syria*, paid their liberal contributions. Here were costly presents shewn, in garments and other things of inestimable price, which were very carefully kept ; so that, in this respect, it was a very *Loretto*. *c*

Now for the priests. There were several sorts of them, each assigned to particular tasks. Some killed the sacrifices, some bore the drink-offerings, some carried fire, and some waited at the altar ; and of these above three hundred in white habits, and with caps or bonnets on their heads, attended the sacrifices. And besides them, there were other consecrated orders ; as of minstrels, skilful in the touch of several instruments, *Galli* or eunuch priests ; and to conclude, mad and frantick women. The office of high priest was annual, he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other sort of holy persons there were of the several nations, who held the *Syrian Goddess* in veneration, whose business it was to instruct their countrymen, who from time to time resorted hither in pilgrimage, in the rules and customs *d* of this holy city. They were called masters or instructors.

*The story of Combabus.*

It is remarkable of their eunuch priests, that they were emasculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural custom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following story. *Stratonice*, who built this temple, having been admonished by the goddess, to undertake the work to no purpose till she forcibly brought her to obedience by a violent procedure against her, the king her husband consented to let her go and take in hand the building ; but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth named *Combabus*. This *Combabus* no way fond of his commission, but dreading the consequences of being so much alone with the beauteous queen, destroyed his sex, and left the ruins of it, carefully embalmed and sealed up, with the king. He departed with the queen *Stratonice*, was after some time solicited by her, and convinced her of his inability. But nevertheless, it came to pass, either through malice or envy, that *Combabus* was clearly convicted of adultery, infidelity, and impiety to the goddess. As he was leading to execution, he called out for the treasure he had left with the king, which being produced, his intended punishment was converted into the most tender embraces in the arms of his prince. The king now raised him to the highest degree of riches and honour, and he was famed for the wisest and happiest man living. *Combabus* desired leave to finish the temple ; which being granted, he passed the remainder of his life there. And there stood his statue in brass, as we have already said, the work of *Hermolaus* the *Rhodian*. And because it was industriously reported, that some of his dearest companions resolved to undergo his calamity for his sake, or that *Juno* inspired several with a rage of unmanning themselves, that he might not be single in his misfortune ; many mad zealots, either in honour of *Combabus*, or to please *Juno*, performed the hated operation on themselves every year in the temple, as we shall hereafter relate. Furthermore, these *Galli*, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women, because *Combabus* had been fallen in love with by a strange woman, who knew not the violence he had done to his sex ; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman. Such were the *Galli*, their institution, and their *g* patron.

**a** WE come now to speak of the sacrifices, ceremonies, and peculiar customs pertaining to this holy city. They sacrificed twice a day, to *Jupiter* in silence, to *Juno* with great noise of minstrels and singers. Every spring they celebrated an extraordinary sacrifice; for felling some great trees, in the court of the temple, they garnished them with goats, sheep, birds, rich vestments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and silver: they then carried the sacred images round these decorated trees, and set fire to them, and all was consumed. At this sacrifice there was always a great concourse of people from all parts, every one bringing his sacred images with him, made in imitation of those in the temple. There was also a private sacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to this city of *Hierapolis*. The pilgrim killed a sheep, cut it up in joints, and feasted on it, spreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this posture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and besought the goddess to accept his sacrifice, and vowed her a better. To these may be annexed the offerings made upon the following occasion. Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the *priaps* we have mentioned, and there continued seven days. He let down a chain, by which to draw up what should be given to him; for many upon these occasions brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man sitting above, who thereupon began a prayer, striking a kind of a bell all the time. Finally they had, sometimes, a way of sacrificing which was truly shocking and barbarous. They first crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one side of which was an abrupt steep, where falling, they perished. Nay, some were so mad as to tie up their children in sacks, and then shove them down the same steep, reproaching them as not children, but beasts.

SOME of their festivals, if so they may be called, were observed in memory of *Deucalion's* flood. Twice a year they went to the sea-side, and thence brought water into the temple; in which labour, not only the priests were employed, but also all *Syria* and *Arabia*, says our author. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This they did by a pretended command of *Deucalion's*, as our author, like a meer *Greek*, calls him. What ceremonies they practised at the sea-side, we are not told; but it seems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their vessels full of water and sealed up, they carried them first to a sacred person called *Aletryo*, who receiving the said vessels of water, examined the seals, and taking his due from each votary for his pains, untied the string, took off the seal, and returned his burthen to each, who carried it into the temple for the purpose before-mentioned. This *Aletryo*, whoever or whatever he was, received a considerable revenue for holy uses upon those solemn days. They had another kind of festival, which in our language may be called their *descention days*. For upon these days did their gods and their other fine things make a visit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. *Juno* or the *Syrian Goddess* herself went down first, for the preservation of her favourite fish, who if they had seen *Jupiter*, would have died. Upon these occasions a notable farce was acted between the said goddess and god. He was wont to advance to go down first; whereupon she interposed, and, after much ado, prevailed on him to return back again. But of all their holy-days the great burning, as we may call it, was the most considerable. Upon this occasion, there came people from all parts to assist at the great sacrifice we have already described, and the other religious duties of the season. This festival was of some days continuance, as we apprehend our author; and at particular times while it lasted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the priests stood without, some of them mangling their bodies, some thumping violently against each other, while others beat upon tabrets or drums, and sounded with musical instruments, and sang out aloud, and prophesied. And now it was that amidst all this uproar, the frenzy of castrating themselves seized on many in the temple, who crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their swords, performed the operation, and devoted themselves to the goddess.

THE religious customs, and laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing else we have hitherto seen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the *priaps*, as we have said, and there remained seven days. His manner of getting up was thus. He surrounded the *priap* and himself with a chain, and ascended by the help of that and certain pegs or pins, which stuck out of the sides of the *priap* for that purpose, lifting the chain up after him at every



ry step he mounted. Here we cannot but observe, that our author says, That those <sup>a</sup> who had seen them climb up the palm trees in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, might readily understand him; whence we gather these *phalli* or *priaps*, so monstrously high as he says, were so slender, that a man might grasp them. Whether we reckon the height he gives them, at three hundred fathom, which is monstrous, or even at three hundred cubits, which is somewhat more credible, they were about as high as our monument. How so slender a body could be reared to such a height, we leave to those who are better skilled in such matters than ourselves, and proceed. When the person had got up, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up all manner of necessaries for himself, and therewith made him a commodious seat, a kind of a nest. It was given out that during the seven days, he had a more in- <sup>b</sup> intimate intercourse with the great goddess; and also that this was done in memory of *Deucalion's* flood, when the men clomb up the mountains and trees to save themselves from perishing. During these seven days, the person never slept, and if at any time he happened to dole, a sacred scorpion, said they, went up and awakened him. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him from sleeping.

EVERY day many people swam to the altar in the midst of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

THEY sacrificed oxen, sheep, and the like, but swine they held to be unclean.

BUT the sacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only <sup>c</sup> presented at the altar. The rest was done at home.

FISH, and doves or pigeons, were accounted holy, the former to *Derceto*, the latter to *Semiramis*; in memory of their different transformations.

THEY fed many doves in and about their houses, and if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the rest of that day, as holy as they esteemed them.

As soon as any man had commenced *Gallus* or eunuch priest, by dismembering himself, he ran about the city with the part in his hand, till at length, throwing it into some house, he thence received a woman's attire, and from that time forward wholly addicted himself to a feminine way of life. <sup>d</sup>

THE eunuch priests, notwithstanding, entertained a flame for the women, and the women for them, which far from being thought scandalous or portentous, was esteemed pure and holy.

IT was unlawful for any *Gallus* or eunuch priest to enter into the temple.

WHOSOEVER took on him the pilgrimage to *Hierapolis*, this holy city, first shaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a sheep in the manner already mentioned. After which he might bathe in nothing but cold water, or drink of any thing else, or lie upon ought but the cold ground, till he had reached the city.

THE pilgrims being arrived, were entertained at the publick charge, and lodged with people of their respective countries, here called instructors or masters, <sup>e</sup> who were paid by the publick for informing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

THE pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wrists.

THE young men and boys consecrated the first fruits of their beards and heads of hair, which being shaved or clipped in the temple, were deposited in a gold or silver box, or other vessel, with the name of the person it belonged to, inscribed, and kept in the temple.

WHEN any of the *Galli* died, their funeral was not after the ordinary manner. Their companions carried their dead bodies into the suburbs, where setting them down, they hurled stones at them, and left them lying upon the bier; where they lay the space of seven days, and then were conveyed into the temple; but to have done it before had been prophane.

HE that had seen a dead person, might not enter into the temple that day; but on the morrow he was absolved from his uncleanness, if he purified himself.

ALL the family of any one deceased, were to keep from the temple thirty days, and shave their heads.

THUS much we have thought necessary to say concerning the great *Syrian Goddess*, and her worship, all which is very unhappily disguised in a *Greek* dress. We cannot doubt, but that here we have great remains both of their doctrines and practices of the ancient *Syrians*, though blended and confounded with many additional superstitions.

<sup>a</sup> For the present we shall add no more concerning the religions of Syria. The superstitions at Antioch, under the Seleucide, we shall enlarge on in the history of those princes. We are not sure that Plutarch means this Syrian goddess; for hereafter you will see, that she was not the only idol that seems to have born the title; when he says, that she punished those who eat of two certain sorts of fish with ulcers and boils all over their bodies; with sore shins, and with a dissolution of the liver<sup>a</sup>. They are said to have expiated this crime, by putting themselves in a sack, and rolling themselves in the dirt<sup>b</sup>. But, as we have observed, we are not certain that what is here said refers to this goddess, though it is likely it may.

We learn from Plutarch, that the Syrians, of his time at least, were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceased, hiding themselves from the light of the sun, in caves or other obscure places, many days together. This mournful, tender, effeminate temper of mind, may have always been one of the characteristics of the Syrians, as it still is.

We can say nothing particular touching the customs of the ancient Syrians, their civil concerns, or of their arts and learning. They were by some<sup>c</sup> anciently joined with the Phœnicians, as the first inventors of letters; but however true or false this may have been, certain it is that they submitted to no nation that flourished with them, in degree of human knowledge and skill in the fine arts. They were so happily situated, that they may, almost, be said to have been in the center of the old world; and as in the sunshine of their empire they were enriched by the spoils, and tribute, and commerce of the nations far and near, they certainly arose to a great pitch of splendor and magnificence, those great encouragers of ingenuity and industry. The altar at Damascus, which so ravished Abaz king of Judah<sup>d</sup>, may serve as a noble specimen of the skill of their artificers.

Their language is one of those kindred dialects we commonly call the Oriental tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all; concerning which, and for our thoughts thereon, we must refer the readers to what we have already said<sup>e</sup>. It became a distinct tongue so early as the days of Jacob, for what his father-in-law and uncle, Laban of Padan-aram or Mesopotamia, calls Jegar-sabadusba, is by Jacob himself called Galeed<sup>f</sup>. The Syriac was not only the language of Syria, but also of Mesopotamia, Chaldea; for there is no more difference between the Chaldee and Syriac, than between the English and Scotch; Assyria, and, after the Babylonish captivity, of Palestine.

There are three dialects of the Syrian tongue. 1. The Aramean, or Syriac properly so called, which is the most elegant of all, and used in Mesopotamia, and by the inhabitants of Raba or Edessa, and Harran, and the outer Syria. 2. The dialect of Palestine, spoken by the inhabitants of Damascus, mount Libanus, and the inner Syria. 3. The Chaldee or Nabathean dialect, the most rude and unpolished of the three, and current in the mountainous parts of Assyria, and in the villages of Irak or Babylonia<sup>g</sup>.

The Syriac character is very ancient, and supposed by some to have been in use above three hundred years before the birth of Christ<sup>h</sup>. There are two sorts of this character; the Estrangelo (G), which is the more ancient and rude, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the Esbato, the simple or common character, which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project set on foot by Paul of Antioch, for adding the letters that are wanting in the Syriac alphabet, as the Greeks had done; which he recommended to the thoughts of James of Edessa, who declined it, because he feared that the books wrote in the imperfect character or alphabet, might, by such an innovation, come to be lost<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ συνιδρυμάτων, p. 170. <sup>b</sup> MENAND. apud PORPHYR. Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐπολέμας Παρεμίων ἀποχῆς ἀπὸς Ἀπῶλ. p. 113. <sup>c</sup> CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. l. i. p. 307. <sup>d</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 10. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 152. <sup>f</sup> See Genes. xxxi. 47. <sup>g</sup> ADULTARAG. Hist. Dynast. p. 11. <sup>h</sup> See NARD. Tab. Alph. <sup>i</sup> ASSEMAN. Biblioth. Oriens. Tom. I. p. 479.

(G) This name is generally derived from the Greek word στρογγύλος, round, as if it was a round character, whereas it is rather square; wherefore, if it must be derived from that word, we should rather choose to take it in Theophrastus's sense, who uses στρογγύλη ἕβλη (17) for rough uneven timber, by reason of its rude and unpolished form.

## THE SYRIAC ALPHABET.

The common Character.				The Estrangeli.	
Power.	Figure.			Names.	Figure.
	Joined both to the following and preceding.	Joined to the preceding letter only.	Joined to the following letter only.	Single.	
The support of a vowel.		Ⲁ		Ⲁ	Ⲁ
B.	ⲁ	Ⲃ	ⲃ	Ⲅ	ⲅ
G.	Ⲇ	ⲇ	Ⲉ	ⲉ	Ⲋ
D.		ⲋ		Ⲍ	ⲍ
H.		Ⲏ		ⲏ	Ⲑ
W.		ⲑ		Ⲓ	ⲓ
Z.		Ⲕ		ⲕ	Ⲗ
Hb.	ⲗ	Ⲙ	ⲙ	Ⲏ	ⲏ
T.	Ⲑ	ⲑ	Ⲓ	ⲓ	Ⲕ
Y.	ⲓ	Ⲕ	ⲕ	Ⲍ	ⲍ
C or Kb.	Ⲗ	ⲗ	Ⲙ	ⲙ	Ⲏ
L.	ⲏ	Ⲑ	ⲑ	Ⲓ	ⲓ
M.	ⲓ	Ⲕ	ⲕ	Ⲍ	ⲍ
N.	Ⲗ	ⲗ	Ⲙ	ⲙ	Ⲏ
S.	ⲏ	Ⲑ	ⲑ	Ⲓ	ⲓ
The support of a vowel, but a guttural.	Ⲕ	ⲕ	Ⲍ	ⲍ	Ⲏ
F. or P.	Ⲗ	ⲗ	Ⲙ	ⲙ	Ⲏ
S { grossly pron.		ⲑ		Ⲓ	ⲓ
K.	ⲓ	Ⲕ	ⲕ	Ⲍ	ⲍ
R.		Ⲏ		ⲏ	Ⲑ
Sb.	ⲗ	Ⲙ	ⲙ	Ⲏ	ⲏ
T or Tb.		ⲑ		Ⲓ	ⲓ

THE Syriac writing, like that of the other eastern tongues, was destitute of vowels, till towards the latter end of the eighth century, when they were introduced, as is generally supposed, by *Theophilus* of *Edeffa*, chief astrologer to the *Khalif al Mobdi*, who borrowed them from the *Greek* alphabet, and first made use of them to distinguish the *Greek* pronunciation of the names and *Patronymies* in his *Syriac* translation of the works of *Homer*<sup>r</sup>. The marks to express these vowels are still nearly in the form of five of the *Greek* vowels; for they reject the *Epsilon* and the *Omicron*, there being no short vowels in their tongue. But *James* of *Edeffa*, who flourished about a century before *Theophilus*, invented seven new characters for all the *Greek* vowels; which he did, at the desire of *Paul* of *Antioch*, to whom he sent them. They are still extant<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> ABULFARAG. ubi sup. p. 147. ECHLENNIS in not. ad Catal. Ebedjesw. p. 180. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 522. <sup>s</sup> Apud BAS. HEBR. (vel ABULFARAG.) in libr. splendor. Vide ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 479.

<sup>a</sup> THE Syriac is said to have much degenerated till *James of Edessa* restored it to its ancient purity. He was the first that wrote a grammar in Syriac<sup>1</sup>. It is an easy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of *Greek* words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the *Seleucide*. There is a number of books in the Syriac, very little known to the *Europeans*, of which a late writer<sup>2</sup> has given an ample account; but what this tongue is most to be valued for, are the excellent translations therein of the old and new testament; which equal, if they do not surpass, those in any other language.

PERHAPS no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more considerable trade than the ancient Syrians. We cannot doubt, but they had ships on the *Mediterranean*, as soon as any of their neighbours; and by the vicinity of the river *Euphrates*, it is past dispute that they traded with the eastern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The easy and safe navigation of the *Euphrates*, when compared with that of the sea, would tempt one to consider them as older merchants than the *Phœnicians*, or even the *Edomites*; who must have made very early attempts upon the *Arabian gulf*, in comparison of which, the *Mediterranean* was a main ocean. We rather insist on the trade of this ancient people, because we do not know that it has yet been fully handled, or professedly, by any body. *Herodotus*<sup>3</sup> indeed reports, that the *Phœnicians* were much older navigators than either the ancient Syrians or *Egyptians*; saying, that they carried on the commerce of *Assyria* and *Egypt* by their shipping. Here, by the way, is a further proof than we have hitherto given, that *Syria* and *Assyria* were confounded together by the ancients. For how should the *Phœnicians* have sailed to the coasts of the proper *Assyria*, an inland country; a country they could not possibly have reached, but by doubling the cape of *Good-hope*, and entering the *Persian gulf*? A voyage which could have answered no end, seeing they might have supplied that country, and have been supplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours the Syrians, who navigated the *Euphrates*; and who, it cannot well be disputed, were the first that brought the *Persian* and *Indian* commodities into the west of *Asia*. Syria was therefore the most ancient magazine for such commodities, and chiefly supplied all the western parts; nor can we think otherwise, than that the *Midianitish* merchants<sup>4</sup>, who bought *Joseph*, had loaded their camels in Syria with the aromatics and other precious things they were carrying into *Egypt*. Among which it is no unlikely matter that they had commodities of other countries besides those of Syria. Till interpreters can agree upon the genuine explication of the text, we have liberty to think as largely this way as we please.

Now because the Syrians engrossed this lucrative commerce, they may have been in great measure negligent of the *Mediterranean* navigation, chiefly intent upon their eastern trade, which drew merchants from all the western parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions; and particularly the *Phœnicians*, their next and most industrious neighbours. So that *Herodotus*<sup>5</sup> may be much in the right, when he talks of the trade they anciently carried on for *Assyria* [*Syria*] and *Egypt*. We might draw some natural parallels of this case, so as to leave it almost indubitable. The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who have engrossed all the wealth, as it were, of the *West Indies*, make little or no use of shipping, if compared with the two trading nations, *England* and *Holland*, who may be said to drive on the commerce of the whole world in their bottoms. The Syrians then it is likely neglected sea affairs, and therein fell much short of the *Phœnicians*.

THIS was the state of the ancient Syrian trade and navigation, which we may safely suppose encreased from time to time, till their king *Hazaël*, as you will see in his reign, grasped at the whole trade of both east and south, by seizing on the famous emporium, *Elatb*, on the *Red-sea*. The Syrians now had a commodious outlet to the southermost parts of *Arabia*, *Ethiopia*, and the more southern shores of *Afric*, not to mention *Egypt*, who could not be very fond of her new neighbours, and may have been shy of them, and that, upon very just grounds. But this Syrian monopoly was of short duration. They had scarce settled themselves on the shores of the *Arabian gulf*, but their king *Hazaël* died, and they lost *Elatb*: which, however, they recovered again under their last king *Rezin*; but their empire was soon after extinguished, together with his life; and therefore, though the Syrian colony remained afterwards at *Elatb*, we shall pursue their commerce no further, it being

<sup>1</sup> Idem.<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>3</sup> l. 1. c. 1.<sup>4</sup> See before, p. 301.<sup>5</sup> Ubi supr.

foreign to our present purpose; but we shall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we are to treat of the *Phœnician* affairs. In the mean time let any one consider the state of trade in the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*, before the discovery or re-discovery, as some<sup>a</sup> would have of it, of the cape of *Good-hope*, and, possibly, he will be pretty much of our opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* numbers the *Syrians* among the mariners employed by *Semiramis* in her *Indian* expedition; but, as we are not disposed to give much credit to his author, *Ctesias*, we shall make no use of his hint, thinking it of no service to us.

## S E C T. III.

## Of the Chronology of the ancient Syrians.

**B**EFORE we proceed to the little we can say upon this obscure subject, we will exhibit a series of the races of the ancient kings of *Syria* according to different writers.

The Kings of *Zobab* or *Sophene*.

According to Scripture.	According to <i>Josephus</i> .	Contemporary with
<i>Rebob</i> - - -	<i>Arach</i> - - -	<i>Saul</i> .
<i>Hadadezer</i> or <i>Hadarezer</i> (A) -	<i>Abrazar</i> - - -	<i>David</i> .

The Kings of *Damascus*.

According to Scripture.	According to <i>Nic. Damasc.</i>	According to <i>Josephus</i> .	Contemporary with
* * * *	<i>Adad</i> I. - - -	<i>Adad</i> - - -	<i>David</i> .
<i>Rezon</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> II. - - -	Uncertain - - -	<i>Solomon</i> .
<i>Hezion</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> III. * * *	* * *	<i>Reboam</i> .
<i>Tabrimon</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> IV. * * *	* * *	<i>Abijah</i> .
<i>Ben-badad</i> I. -	<i>Adad</i> V. - - -	<i>Adad</i> - - -	<i>Asa</i> .
<i>Ben-badad</i> II. -	<i>Adad</i> VI. * *	* * *	<i>Jebozaphat</i> and <i>Jeboam</i> .
<i>Hazaël</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> VII. * *	* * *	<i>Abaziah</i> and <i>Joash</i> .
<i>Ben-badad</i> III. -	<i>Adad</i> VIII. * *	* * *	<i>Amaziah</i> .
* * * *	<i>Adad</i> IX. * *	* * *	<i>Uzziah</i> .
<i>Rezin</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> X. - - -	<i>Rases</i> or <i>Arafes</i> .	<i>Joabam</i> and <i>Abaz</i> .

The Kings of *Hamath*.

According to Scripture.	According to <i>Josephus</i> .	Contemporary with
<i>Tol</i> * * *	* * *	<i>David</i> .
<i>Joram</i> or <i>Hadoram</i> - - -	<i>Joram</i> * * *	* * *

The Kings of *Geshur*.

According to Scripture.	Contemporary with
<i>Ammibud</i> -	<i>Saul</i> - - -
<i>Salmai</i> -	<i>David</i> - - -

WE have not minded the seniority of these kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or successive order; but have given the second place to *Damascus*, because it rose upon the ruins of *Zobab*, though *Hamath* and *Geshur* were kingdoms before it (B).

<sup>a</sup> V. Huet *Histoire du Com. et de la Navigat. des Anc.* cap. 8.

(A) The difference between the Hebrew  $\text{רָבֹב}$  and the Hebrew  $\text{רָז}$ , is so little, that it is no wonder we find this king's name spelt these two ways.

(B) Not that we imagine it had never been a kingdom before. *Nicolas of Damascus* (1) writes that *Abraham* was king there, which we may

(1) In *Excerpt. VALER.*

- a WE have no positive assurance, that *Zobab* coalesced under one king in the days of *Saul*, or, consequently, that *Rebob* was their first king; we only build upon what we apprehend to have been the case. Their kings had been beaten by *Saul*\*, and they thereupon may have come to the resolution of setting up one supreme, perceiving the *Israelites* to prosper so under their new monarchy. The *Philistines* seem to have done the like†, at the same time, and for the same reason. If this be granted, none is so likely to have been their first king as *Rebob* the father of the great *Hadadezer*, who in the days of *David* was so firmly seated in the newly-erected throne of *Zobab*, that he aspired at the universal monarchy of *Syria*, and, in effect, was become a very great and mighty prince, as you will see in the history of his reign; as also that if he was not the second, he was certainly the last king of *Zobab*, for we hear no more of the kingdom.

THE kingdom of *Damascus* rose upon the ruins of the kingdom of *Zobab*. It was founded by *Rezon* in the latter part of *Solomon's* reign‡. That *Rezon* seized on *Damascus*, while *David* was alive, or during the best days of *Solomon*, cannot be reconciled with scripture, as you will see in the history of those two kings; and that he deferred it till the reign of *Reboboam* is very improbable; it may be doubted whether he lived so long: for, supposing him to have been but thirty years of age, which is the least we well can, when he served under *Hadadezer* of *Zobab* against *David*, he must have been about one hundred years of age when *Reboboam* began to reign. It is most likely, then, that *Rezon* erected the kingdom of *Damascus*, while *Solomon* was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himself and his people.

- JOSEPHUS, as may be observed in the table, makes one *Adad* king of *Damascus* contemporary with *David*, in which he is a strict follower of *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, whom in the next reign he drops. *Josephus*§, instead of allowing *Rezon* to have made himself king at *Damascus*, seems to insinuate that he made *Hadad*, the *Edomite*, king there, or somewhere else in *Syria*. We know there are those who in this matter think along with him. Perhaps the best argument that can be brought in proof that the fugitive king of *Edom* was established on the throne of *Syria*¶, may be, that his successors possessed themselves of part of the *Edomitish* dominions, and particularly *Elatb* upon the *Arabian* gulf: but this argument will have but little weight with those, who consider that ambition and avarice may have had as large a share in that acquisition as any conviction of an inherent right. But we forget that our intention was only to prove, that the kingdom of *Damascus* commenced in the latter part of *Solomon's* reign.

- NICOLAS of *Damascus* seems to agree well enough with the scripture accounts of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly if we suppose his first *Adad* to have been *Hadadezer* of *Zobab*; and that he was so, is pretty plain: nor is it any wonder that he should have made the city of his birth the seat of a kingdom, only one reign longer than he ought to have made it. Besides, he may not be altogether mistaken, in calling his first *Adad* king of *Damascus*; for, as may be observed hereafter, he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not there reside. By calling his first *Adad* the *Hadadezer* of *Zobab*, we bring him to quadrate very well with the scripture.

It is impossible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned, wherefore we have only placed them over-against the princes of *David's* line, or the kings of *Judah*.

WE have on purpose avoided a dry discussion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what concerns the succession of these kings, and the length of their reigns.

- f THE kingdom of *Hamath* rose together with that of *Zobab*, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them. But we must observe, that it is at a venture we have placed *Joram* as successor to his father *Toi* in the kingdom.

THE kingdom of *Geshur* seems to have risen together with *Zobab* and *Hamath*. We are not sure that *Annibud* preceded his son *Talmi* in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

\* 1 Sam. xiv. 47. † See before, p. 355. ‡ See 1 Kings xi. 24. § Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. ¶ See before, p. 3 15.

may consider in the life of that patriarch. And from the same author, we suppose, *Trogus* borrowed the kings of *Damascus* he mentions to have reigned there, both before and after *Abraham*; as *Damascus*, *Azelus*, and *Adores* be-

fore him, and *Israel* after him; as well as all the rest of his mistaken history of the *Jews*, who, according to him, are originally of *Damascus*.



foreign to our present purpose; but we shall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we are to treat of the *Phœnician* affairs. In the mean time let any one consider the state of trade in the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*, before the discovery or re-discovery, as some\* would have of it, of the cape of *Good-hope*, and, possibly, he will be pretty much of our opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* numbers the *Syrians* among the mariners employed by *Semiramis* in her *Indian* expedition; but, as we are not disposed to give much credit to his author, *Ctesias*, we shall make no use of his hint, thinking it of no service to us.

## S E C T. III.

## Of the Chronology of the ancient Syrians.

**B**EFORE we proceed to the little we can say upon this obscure subject, we will exhibit a series of the races of the ancient kings of *Syria* according to different writers.

The Kings of *Zobab* or *Sophene*.

According to Scripture.	According to <i>Josephus</i> .	Contemporary with
<i>Rebob</i> - - -	<i>Arach</i> - - -	<i>Saul</i> .
<i>Hadadezer</i> or <i>Hadarezer</i> (A) -	<i>Adrazar</i> - - -	<i>David</i> .

The Kings of *Damascus*.

According to Scripture.	According to <i>Nic. Damasc.</i>	According to <i>Josephus</i> .	Contemporary with
* * * *	<i>Adad</i> I. - - -	<i>Adad</i> - - -	<i>David</i> .
<i>Rezon</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> II. - - -	Uncertain - - -	<i>Solomon</i> .
<i>Hezion</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> III. * * *	* * * *	<i>Reboboam</i> .
<i>Tabrimon</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> IV. * * *	* * * *	<i>Abijam</i> .
<i>Ben-badad</i> I. -	<i>Adad</i> V. - - -	<i>Adad</i> - - -	<i>Asa</i> .
<i>Ben-badad</i> II. -	<i>Adad</i> VI. * * *	* * * *	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> and
<i>Hazaël</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> VII. * * *	* * * *	<i>Abaziah</i> and <i>Jo</i>
<i>Ben-badad</i> III. -	<i>Adad</i> VIII. * * *	* * * *	<i>Amaziah</i> .
* * * *	<i>Adad</i> IX. * * *	* * * *	<i>Uzziah</i> .
<i>Rezin</i> - - -	<i>Adad</i> X. - - -	<i>Rases</i> or <i>Arafes</i> .	<i>Jordan</i> and <i>A</i>

The Kings of *Hamath*.

According to Scripture.	According to <i>Josephus</i> .	Contemporary
<i>Toi</i> * * *	* * *	<i>David</i> .
<i>Joram</i> or <i>Hadoram</i> - - -	<i>Joram</i> * * *	* * *

The Kings of *Geshur*.

According to Scripture.	Contemporary with
<i>Ammibud</i> -	- - -
<i>Talmai</i> -	- - -

We have not minded the seniority of these kingdoms, in an exact collateral, or successive order; but have given *Damascus*, because it rose upon the ruins of *Zobab*, though *Damascus* kingdoms before it (B).

\* V. *HISTOIR. du Com. et de la Navigat. des A*

(A) The difference between the *Hebrew* and the *Hebrew*  $\gamma$   $\delta$ , is so little, that wonder we find this king's name spelled in two ways.

(B) Not that kingdom before that *At*



...the ... ..

He

## S E C T. IV.

## The Reigns of the Kings of the ancient Syrians.

## The KINGS of ZOBAB.

*Rehob.* **R**EHOB we suppose to have been the first sole king of *Zobab*, and to have a laid the foundations of his son's grandeur.

*Hadadezer.* **H**ADADEZER or *Haderezer* the son of *Rehob*, was a great and ambitious prince, and remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king *David*. He had warred with advantage against the king of *Hamath*; aiming at the universal monarchy of *Syria*, we imagine; but when he opposed *David's* progress towards the reduction of the land, which had been promised to *Abraham* and his seed, quite to the *Euphrates*<sup>a</sup>, his good fortune left him. In the first battle he fought with *David* he lost one thousand chariots, seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. The *Syrians* of *Damascus* then sent their army to reinforce him. In the second battle *Hadadezer* lost two and twenty thousand men. Thus beaten out of the field, the conqueror b possessed himself of a good part of *Syria*, and particularly *Damascene*. *Hadadezer* now lost his golden shields; for such he had in his treasury, we suppose; his two cities *Betab* and *Berothai*, exceedingly rich in brass, were plundered<sup>c</sup>, and his dominion was considerably diminished and impoverished. But it is likely nothing perplexed him more than the defection of *Rezon*, afterwards king of *Damascus*, who leading the forces sent him from that province, or *Hadadezer's* own, uncertain which, deserted him in the midst of his adverse fortune, and gathering a band of men about him, lived an outlaw, and upon the spoil<sup>d</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 1955.  
Year before  
Christ, 1044.

It is not expressed that *Hadadezer* became tributary to king *David*, nor indeed is it likely that he did, by what follows. For he furnished *Haman* king of *Ammon* with twenty thousand men against *David*; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a shameful flight by *Joab*<sup>e</sup>. Though he was paid for these twenty thousand men, and was by no means a principal in this war, yet the next year he seems to have made himself so<sup>f</sup>. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, and every where else, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means he got together a very considerable army, which he committed to the conduct of *Shobach*, his general, to assist *Haman* against *David* a second time; or rather to make a desperate effort to retrieve his own honour and dominion, or to humble *David*, if possible. But this great host also miscarried, being routed with the loss of many thousands, and *Shobach* himself was slain on the spot. The battle was fought at a place called *Helam*; about forty thousand of the *Syrians* were slain, and among the rest *Shobach*, as we have said. The petty princes that served *Hadadezer* in this fatal warfare, made their peace with *David*, and became his tributaries<sup>g</sup>, as *Hadadezer* himself did, as is very likely; concerning whom, or the kingdom of *Zobab*, we find no further account.

## The KINGS of DAMASCUS.

*Rezon.* THE kingdom of *Zobab* being undone, that of *Damascus* rose upon the ruins of it. **R**EZON was the first king, the same who deserted from *Hadadezer* king of *Zobab*. e He seized on *Damascus*, and was the founder of this noble kingdom, to whom he was a very troublesome, inveterate enemy, taking advantage of *Solomon's* neglect<sup>h</sup>.

*Hezion.* **H**EZION succeeded *Rezon*; but whether he was his son, or any otherwise related to him, we know not (A). He lived at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Genes. xv. 18. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 3—9. <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings xi. 23, 24. <sup>d</sup> See before, p. 297.  
<sup>e</sup> See before in the Notes, p. 297. <sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. x. 15—19. <sup>g</sup> 1 Kings xi. 23—25. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xv. 18.

(A) It is the joint opinion of Sir John Marsham (1), Sir Isaac Newton (2), and archbishop Usher (3), that *Rezon* and *Hezion* are different

names for the same king. It is impossible for us to declare ourselves, either for or against it.

(1) Canon Chronic. Secul. 13. (2) Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 221. (3) Anal.

a **TABRIMON** (B) the son of *Hezion*. He, as well as his father, had no misunderstandings with the kings of *Judab* and *Israel* <sup>1</sup>.

**BEN-HADAD**, the son of *Tabrimon*. Ambassadors came to him with large gifts *Ben-badad I.* from *Afa* king of *Judab*, by whom he was tempted to make war upon *Baalha* <sup>Year of the Flood, 2059.</sup> king of *Israel*; from whom his army took *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Abel-beth-maacbab*, all *Cin-neroth*, and all the land of *Naphtali* <sup>Year before Christ, 940.</sup> <sup>*Ben-badad II.*</sup> <sup>Year of the Flood, 2059.</sup> <sup>Year before Christ, 901.</sup> and, in the end, extended his power to the city of *Samaria* itself, as we shall see anon.

**BEN-HADAD**, the son of *Ben-badad*. He vigorously prosecuted the enmity his father had so successively begun against *Israel*, but therein was twice very remarkably baffled by the interposition of heaven. When he first marched against *Israel*,  
b we understand it to have been with mighty parade, he having no less than thirty two kings over his chariots <sup>1</sup>, and a vast army of both horse and foot. He proceeded, and sat down before *Samaria*, and strait summoned *Abab* the king to surrender himself as his vassal; to acknowledge himself to be his creature; and that all belonging to him was at his service and disposal. To this he received as submissive an answer as he could wish for. But his arrogance swelled to that pitch, that a bare verbal submission would not serve his turn. He sent into *Samaria*, therefore, to admonish *Abab*, that he intended the next day to send some officers to search his palace and the city, for all the riches, women, and fine children (C), that they might seize on them, and bring them away. The king of *Israel* boldly refused to submit  
c to so unparalleled an indignity, which *Benbadad* little expecting, was highly exasperated. He sent a third time to *Abab*, to try whether he could not threaten him into so base a compliance, wishing himself in a worse condition than *Abab*, if he did not bring such an army before *Samaria*, that every soldier taking but a handful of it (D), there should be no signs of it left. He received a stubborn reply to this vain menace, *Abab* advising him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them.

THE Syrian army, which had hitherto been in loose array, was now ordered to invest the city of *Samaria* in form, and get all ready for the assault. While this was doing, *Ben-badad*, who seems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, betook himself to his pleasure, fearless of all danger, for he could apprehend  
d none. As he was in the midst of his security and carousals, he was told that a party was drawing near from the city, which at first caused a small alarm in the camp, and disturbed *Ben-badad* himself. But when he understood what the matter was, he commanded, that they should be brought before him alive, whether their designs were for peace or for war, and then returned to his cups. The party which was coming out of the city was, in fact, *Abab* and a choice company with him; who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged to fall upon the great host of the Syrians. The Syrians on the other hand dreaming of nothing less than an assault, thought they should have nothing to do, but to conduct them to their king. But when *Abab* and his followers were come up, and all at once laid about them furiously, the Syrians  
e fled, and a panic fear spread itself all over the camp, so that there was no one that thought of any thing else but saving himself; and particularly *Ben-badad* mounted a horse, and rode away with the rest as fast as he could, instead of rallying and confirming his people. They all fled, and the *Israelites* pursued them with a very great slaughter.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ver. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *ibid.* xx. 1. with *ibid.* xxii. 31.

(B) Sir *Isaac Newton* (4) reckons him to have been subject to the *Egyptians*, who under *Sesac* or *Shishak* conquered *Syria* (5), in this king's reign, according to his hypothesis; and that his son *Ben-badad* shook off the yoke.

(C) This last particular is aggravated by some (6) into a great piece of insolence and brutality; as if he sent to *Abab* for his most beautiful male children, to sin against nature with them.

(D) This proud message is very variously interpreted. The words of the text itself are: *The gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me* (7): Or as it is in the margin, *are at my feet*. This, according to *Josephus* (8), means no

more, than that he had so numberless a multitude with him, that each taking but a handful of soil, could compass *Samaria*, with works that should over-top the wall of the city. Others (9) take it much as we do; that if each man in his army took but a handful of the ruins of *Samaria*, they might carry the whole place away with them. Others (10) again suppose his meaning to have been, that he would return with such an army, that if each soldier took but a handful of his country, nothing of it should be left remaining. Take it which way you will, it was a high vaunt, and passionately spoken to set off the greatness of his kingdom.

(4) *Ubi sup.* (5) See before in the Notes, p. 249. (6) *Vide* *CLEBIC. in 1 Reg. xx. 3.* (7) 1 Kings xx. 10. (8) *Antiq. l. 8. c. 8.* (9) *CLEBIC. in 1 Reg. ubi sup.* (10) *PATRIC upon 1 Kings xx. 10.*

THE Syrians were covered with shame at so inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out some excuse to palliate it. They pretended, that the gods of the *Israelites* being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder that such a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, assured him, that if he could but draw out the *Israelites* upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they presided over the plains (E). They moreover laid some blame upon the two and thirty kings, as not hearty in his cause, or submissive enough to discipline, and desired that trusty skilful officers might be substituted instead of them. They then advised their king to levy just such an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horse for horse, and never doubt of success.

Year of the  
Flood, 2099.  
Year before  
Christ, 900.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his dishonour as uneasily, we b may suppose, as any of his subjects could for him. And when the season of the year came about, he marched towards the king of *Israel* with such an army, as if he meant to make good what he had boasted towards the city of *Samaria*. He pitched in *Apbek*, in a plain we may be sure, to be within the reach of his own gods, and filled the country, as it is expressed. Seven days he lay here incamped, over-against the despicable numbers of the *Israelites* (F). Upon the seventh day it came to a battle between them, and that day the Syrians lost of foot only one hundred thousand. This slaughter so confounded them, that they gave ground, and retreated with precipitation to the city of *Apbek* itself, which was near, where twenty seven thousand of them were crushed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G). c

BEN-HADAD now gave all over for lost, and was not a little surprized, perhaps, that his gods had failed him. In despair therefore he concealed himself in the city of *Apbek*; but his officers reminding him that the kings of *Israel* had been generous enemies, advised him to throw himself upon *Abab's* mercy, and offered themselves to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, with sackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble disguise they accordingly went and accosted *Abab*, intreating him in behalf of their king. *Abab* overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and in a kind of transport called *Ben-badad* his brother, and declared he was glad to hear he was living. The artful Syrians caught at the word *brother*, and made the best use of it they could d for the service of their disconsolate king. *Ben-badad* then was brought to *Abab*, who desired him to step up into his chariot. While he was thus in the chariot with *Abab*, he made many protestations and promises to him. He promised to deliver up all his father had wrested from *Israel*; and not only that, but to allow *Abab* great authority in his capital *Damascus*, even the same his own father had enjoyed in *Samaria* (H). By these fair speeches he so wrought upon the mind of *Abab*, that he was immediately restored to his liberty, and a peace was concluded =.

How strictly *Ben-badad* adhered to his word with *Abab* in other respects, he kept possession of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the subject of a fresh war, wherein he was

■ 1 Kings xx.

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting together with the men who worshipped them. However, they must have known, that the Jewish law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of *Jerusalem* stood on a hill. They could not but know that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the *Israelites* were particularly fond of sacrificing and worshipping in high places. Knowing all this, it is no wonder that the Syrians, considering the theology of the times, should talk after so wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well asked, why the Syrians, seeing the advantage of numbers so greatly on their side, lay idle so long? But it may be answered, that the *Israelites* were incamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, choosing to stay till they should shift their quarters.

(G) This is so extraordinary a casualty, that it may be well asked how it came to pass? It is supposed they ranged themselves round the

walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were beaten down upon them by the *Israelites*, or shook down by an earthquake (11). In a word, that God was immediately concerned in this destruction (12). It need not be supposed they were all destroyed, but partly killed and partly wounded or dispersed.

(H) What privilege or authority *Ben-badad* promises to *Abab* is very doubtful. What privilege or authority *Ben-badad's* father enjoyed in *Samaria*, is a question we should be glad to clear up, were it possible. *Josephus* (13) has it, that *Abab* should have as free liberty in *Damascus* as his father had had in the city of *Samaria*, which was built but a few years before by *Omri* king of *Israel*. It is most likely, according to the LXX and the Vulgate, that he promises *Abab*, the *Israelites* should live free in *Damascus*, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they should have free ingress and egress [ἔξοδος], according to the former, or build them streets to live together, by their own country laws, according to

(11) PATRICK upon 1 Kings xx, 30. *supr.*

(12) CLERIC in 1 Reg. xx, 30.

(13) *Antiq. ubi*

a invaded by *Abab*, who also prevailed on *Jeboſaphat*, king of *Judab*, to be his confederate. The two kings led their forces againſt *Ramoib-gilead*; where they found the *Syrians* prepared to receive them; but *Abab*, having ſufficient reaſon to fear that the enemy would mark him out for deſtruction, diſguiſed himſelf before the battle, while the king of *Judab* put on his royal robes. The apprehenſions of *Abab* were not without foundation; for the king of *Syria* commanded his two and thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only againſt the king of *Israel*. This had like to have proved fatal to *Jeboſaphat*, who had inevitably been ſlain, had not the officers ceaſed their purſuit of him when they diſcovered that he was not the perſon they had in commiſſion to deſtroy. But *Abab's* precaution could not ſave him from the fate he endeavoured to evade; for one of the *Syrians* (I) drew a bow at a venture, and ſmote him between the joints of his harneſs: upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. But whether the *Syrian* chiefs had any knowledge of this accident, and giving over their ſearch, joined in the aſſault, we cannot pretend to ſay; but it appears, that the battle was fierce and obſtinate, and that it laſted till night; under the covert of which each ſide drew off with equal loſs and doubtful victory.

Now the general who commanded the *Syrians* in the laſt battle, was called *Naaman*; and for his behaviour and conduct upon that day, his maſter beheld him as the deliverer of his country, and received him into higheſt favour as ſuch: and indeed he ſeems to have been a very excellent perſon, but, unfortunately, he was a leper, which drew him to *Samaria*, hoping there to be cleaned, as he was. For the *Syrians*, it ſeems, continuing at enmity with *Israel*, made frequent inroads into their country, and at times, carried off great booty, and numbers of captives. It happened that a captive among the reſt, a little maid, as ſhe is called, ſerved in the houſe of *Naaman*; and obſerving her maſter to be a leper, would with him at *Samaria*, where was a prophet who could relieve him. Thus was ſhe wont to expreſs herſelf to her miſtreſs; and at laſt it was reported to *Naaman* himſelf, that ſhe had ſaid ſo and ſo. *Naaman* then told it to *Ben-badad*, who was for embracing any opportunity to procure him relief, and with that intent wrote a letter to the king of *Israel* to recommend *Naaman* to him, and to entreat that he would cure him of his leproſy. With this letter *Naaman* departed, taking with him ten talents of ſilver, fix thouſand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment, that he might reward the perſon who ſhould cleanſe him, in proportion to his own elevated rank, and in proportion to the value of ſo great a bleſſing. He mounted his chariot, and went, attended by a number of horſemen, and delivered his letter to the king of *Israel*. *Jeſoram* miſtook *Ben-badad's* meaning, and thought he wanted him in perſon to cure *Naaman*, an impoſſibility for him to do, and fancied that he only ſought thereby an opportunity to wage open war with him. *Naaman*, in this comfortleſs dilemma, received a meſſage from *Eliſha*, who promiſed to help him. He therefore went to the prophet's houſe, and ſtopped at the door with all his train. Here he waited ſome time, and at laſt a ſervant came out to him from the prophet, with orders that he ſhould waſh himſelf ſeven times in the river *Jordan* (K). This direction, after ſo patient attendance, provoked him to diſdain.

1 Kings xxii. 3, 30—35

to the latter; and the ſame it ſeems, had been enjoyed by the *Syrians* in *Samaria*: this is the apparent ſenſe of our own verſion of this paſſage, and the moſt ſtrictly agreeable with the original. 'Some think by *ſtreets*, he means market-places where commodities were ſold, the toll of which ſhould belong to *Abab*. Others think he means *courts of judgment*, where he ſhould maintain a jurisdiction over *Ben-badad's* ſubjects: others, that we now call a *piazza*, of which *Abab* ſhould receive the rents. But commonly interpreters think he means *fortifications*, whereby he might bridle the chief city of the kingdom of *Syria*; that they might not make irruptions into the land of *Israel*. Citadels, as we now ſpeak, to keep them in awe, and to be a check to them, if they attempted any thing againſt the *Israelites*; yet,

' after all, *Goff. Vallandus* hath ſaid a great deal to prove that the *Hebrew* word ſignifies *palaces*; which he being allowed to build, was a great token of ſubjection (13). We muſt here obſerve, that we read of no cities *Ben-badad's* father took from *Abab's*. What he took was from *Baaba*. However, he may have made other incroachments upon the kingdom of *Israel*, which are omitted.

(I) The *Syrian* who drew this bow, is, by *Jeſephus*, called *Aman*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Ben-badad* was in this battle himſelf; to us it ſeems that he did not command in perſon, but committed the conduct of this war to *Naaman*.

(K) It is obſerved, that by the laws of *Moses* lepers were ſprinkled ſeven times (14). It is ſuppoſed

(13) PATRICK upon 1 Kings xx. 34. (14) Levit. xiv. 7.



He thought he was derided. He expected the prophet to have appeared in person, in a formal manner, to call upon the name of God, and apply his hands to the afflicted parts. If washing could be of any avail, he thought the streams of *Abana* and *Pharpar* at *Damascus* far beyond any waters of *Israel*: In short, thus disappointed, as he thought, he gave vent to the keenest resentment. But his attendants, much grieved to observe him in such disorder, begged him, in the most discreet and affectionate terms, to consider how easy a matter it was to follow the prophet's directions, whether any good came of it or not; and he being a man of sense, hearkened to them, and drove to the river, and dipping himself seven times therein, was perfectly changed (K).

He returned to the prophet with inexpressible joy, renounced all idolatry, and would gladly have forced a prosent upon him; but his endeavours this way were to no purpose. He entreated the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, it being his design to worship or sacrifice to none other but God. He then consulted *Elisba*, whether or no it might be lawful for him to attend on his king in the temple of *Rimmon*, his office requiring him to support his prince at his devotions, so that he could not avoid bowing down when he did. As for the earth, it is not said that the prophet granted him any (L); and as for his scruple of conscience, we have not the prophet's decision thereon; he left it, perhaps, undecided, as a matter of indifference in *Naaman's* case, and dismissed him in peace.

*NAAMAN* thus purified both in body and mind, departed; but being on the road, was circumvented by *Gebazi* the prophet's servant, who accosted him with a forgery in the prophet's name, whereby he got from him one talent of silver, and two changes of raiment; wherefore his leprosy became entailed upon *Gebazi* and his posterity\*; which is said to have given this generous *Syrian* an opportunity of displaying a noble instance of his generosity, the good effects of which are said to subsist at this very day (M).

Soon after *Naaman's* return to *Damascus*, *Ben-hadad* began to execute some private designs against *Jezebel* king of *Israel*; whence it is naturally enough gathered, that *Naaman* either died, or resigned, or was discarded very soon after his return home (N). It was not an open war that *Ben-hadad* meditated against the king of *Israel*, but all was secret, and mysterious, and stratagem (O). But *Ben-hadad* was continually frustrated in all his aims, and began to suspect the fidelity of some about him. To remove so dangerous a suspicion from his breast, he was told, that it must certainly be *Elisba* who disconcerted all his measures, he being indued with such a degree of omniscience, that nothing could be concealed from

\* 2 Kings v.

posed that there was something peculiarly efficacious in a seven-fold repetition, as the Almighty went through the great and beneficent work of creation within seven days (15); that accordingly it was enjoined in honour of God, and being performed, had its proper effects.

(K) This, says bishop *Patrick* (16), was the only cure of a leprosy we read of, till *CHRIST*, the great prophet, came into the world. It was, and still is, in those parts, as loathsome a disease as it is inveterate. It differs much from the leprosy which is seen among us. It defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, deforms the joints, particularly at the wrists and ankles, which swell out with a gouty scrophulous substance, very loathsome to look on; the legs of those afflicted with it look like those of old battered horses: in short, it may pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave (17).

(L) It is not said, in the text, that *Elisba* granted this his request; but our translators, in their argument to the chapter where this whole story is found, imagine that he did. From the words which follow, it appears, that he wanted this earth to raise an altar with it; a pious motive, though mistaken.

(M) This is said by a meer tradition, no doubt,

but we do not know how to pass it over. At *Damascus*, just by the city walls, is an hospital richly endowed for the reception of lepers; said to be the same built by *Naaman* for *Gebazi*, servant to *Elisba* (18).

(N) A late writer (19) tells us, without justification, that *Naaman* lost his great office of General for refusing to worship *Rimmon*; but the argument he builds on, which is the next thing we shall consider, seems to be but weak.

(O) The words of the text (20) itself are; *Then the king of Syria warred against Israel, and took counsel with his servants, saying, in such and such a place shall be my camp; and, by what follows, he enjoined them strict secrecy. From hence the late writer (21) we just now touched on, asserts, that Naaman was displaced; for which reason the king of Syria now commanded his army in person, and being not used to such exercises, he on all occasions consulted his general officers. Did not Ben-hadad command his army twice in person before; once at Samaria, and once in the fatal day of Aphek? why then should he not command it a third time? and why must he be so ignorant in military affairs? If he committed his army for once to the conduct of another, must it be thought he did it always?*

Finally,

(15) *CLERIC. in 2 Reg. v.* (16) *Upon 2 Kings v. 14.* (17) *MAUNDRELL'S Journey from Aleppo to Jeruf. in the Append. Letter II.* (18) *THEVENOT'S Travels into the Levant, part II. book I. cap. iv.* (19) *BEDFORD'S Script. Chronol. p. 627.* (20) *2 Kings vi. 3.* (21) *BEN-GAL'S lib. sup.*

him,

a him, though transacted in the greatest privacy imaginable. *Ben-badad* had heard enough concerning that prophet, from *Naaman*, to incline him to believe as much; and therefore, by a strange absence of thought resolved to lay hands on him in the first place; and to that purpose, detached a strong party to *Dothan*, where he understood him then to be. They came to that city in the night, and the next morning were, by the prophet, smitten with such a deception of sight, that they suffered him to guide them into the very heart of the city of *Samaria*, where their right sense returned to them; that they might behold their situation. Here, instead of being made prisoners of war, they were hospitably entertained, and generously dismissed; and making their report to *Ben-badad* of all that had happened; b the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a stop was put to the war (P).

THIS peaceable disposition subsisted not long, and in the conclusion *Ben-badad* marched against *Samaria* once more. This city he besieged with his whole force, reduced it to the greatest straits, and was on the point of taking it by famine; so that either the siege was long and obstinate, or else the place was poorly stored. He as we have said, was on the point of taking the city, when he was alarmed in the night, by a noise like that of a great army rushing in upon him; and presently it came into his head, that *Yoram* had hired the kings of the *Hittites* (Q) and *Egypt* to come to his relief; the apprehension of which so terrified him, that he raised the siege with unspeakable precipitation. His army would not so much c as take time to mount, but left every thing standing in the camp just as it was, when they took the alarm, and dropped every thing that was in the least cumbersome to them as they went along. They might have tracked them by the cloaths and vessels they threw away from them in their haste.

BEN-NADAD must at this time have been well advanced in years, and whether he had contracted some illness by the fatigue of his flight, and violence of his surprize, or whether his spirits were broken by so repeated a shame, he took to his bed. As he lay sick it was told him, the prophet *Elisha* was coming to *Damascus* (R); whereupon he sent *Hazael* with forty camels load of the choicest productions (S) of *Damascus*, to consult the prophet concerning his indisposition. *Hazael* then d went to the prophet, whom he accosted in the most respectful manner on the behalf of *Ben-badad*. The answer he received was, that *Ben-badad* might recover, but would not. The prophet having expressed himself in this dark manner, fixed his eyes upon *Hazael*, till he put the man out of countenance (T), and suddenly burst into tears. *Hazael*, amazed at this, and humbly desiring to know what might be the cause of it, was told, that he was to succeed *Ben-badad*, and to be a cruel and merciless persecutor of the children of *Israel*; that he would set their strong-holds on fire, slay their young men with the sword, dash their children, and rip up their women with child. *Hazael* professed to understand not what the prophet meant, nor could conceive how so mean a person as himself could ever have e it in his power to commit such outrages (U): whereupon he received a further confirmation, a confirmation from God himself, that he was to be king of *Syria*.

\* 2 Kings vi. 8—29.

† Ibid. vii. 6, 7.

Finally, what wise king was there ever who did not on all occasions consult his general officers? It is certainly wrong in an historian to be positive in matters of palpable darkness, to be fond of an hypothesis, that is to write by the Spirit.

(P) According to *Josephus* (22), upon the report they made to their king, he gave over his private designs, and straight resolved, instead thereof, to wage open war with *Jezebel*.

(Q) Who these kings of the *Hittites* were is very uncertain. *Josephus* (23) calls them the kings of the islands. That any remnant of the *Canaanitish* *Hittites* should at this time be formidable in any of these parts, is past our understanding, though some think that way (24). We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the most abject degree of servitude by *Solomon* (25).

(R) By *Josephus* (26), the prophet was not yet arrived at *Damascus*, and *Hazael* was sent out to

meet him. Some (27) suppose he was just coming into the city.

(S) By the largeness of this present, it is thought *Elisha* was accompanied by many of the sons of the prophets, or that even four camels load had been sufficient (28).

(T) This seems to be the most natural explication of the text. *Hazael* beheld the prophet with an eye of veneration, and as one infinitely his superior, and therefore was abashed when *Elisha* fixed his eyes so steadfastly upon him.

(U) The text runs: *But what is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?* Whereby most have understood that he disclaimed such barbarity as the prophet foretold of him; but the real meaning of this passage is, *but what is thy servant, a dog?* alluding to his mean condition, which would never allow him to commit what only a great prince had power to do (29). This is confirmed

(22) *Antiq. l. 9. c. 2.*

(23) *Ubi sup.*

(24) *PATRICK upon 2 Kings x. 29. CLERIC. in 2 Reg. vii. 6.*

(25) *See before, p. 337.*

(26) *Ubi sup.*

(27) *PATRICK upon 2 Kings viii. 7.*

(28) *CLERIC. in 2 Reg. viii. 9.*

(29) *See PATRICK upon 2 Kings viii. 13.*

*Vid. antiq. CLERIC. in 2 Reg. viii. 13. & JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi sup.*

With

With this he returns to his master, who by this solicitous message to the prophet, a unknowingly shortened the term of his days. *Hazael* flattered him with hopes of recovery, but the next day stifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water<sup>r</sup>. So ended the reign of the great *Ben-badad*, who having adorned *Damascus* with fine structures, as is said, and added to the glory of *Syria*, was advanced to be a god (X)<sup>s</sup>.

*Hazael.*

Year of the  
Flood, 2115  
Year before  
Christ, 884.

*HAZAEI* having thus murdered his sick lord, ascended his throne. He had, by the wise providence of *GOD*, been nominated to the diadem of *Syria* some years before, and the prophet *Elijah* had orders to anoint him<sup>t</sup>. He was a scourge in the hand of *GOD*, to chastise the kingdoms of *Judab* and *Israel*, and under him the *Syrian* monarchy arose to its meridian. However, he seems to have sat very quietly on his throne, till he was provoked by *Joram* king of *Israel*, and *Abaziab* king of *Judab* who leagued against him to wrest *Ramoth-gilead* out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of *Ben-badad*; and so it happened that *Hazael* either could not, or would not prevent them from possessing themselves of that city, as we apprehend, though *Joram* was dangerously wounded in the attempt. But *Hazael* made himself ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of *Judab* and *Israel*, and pursuing them almost to destruction. He began with *Jebu* king of *Israel*, and subdued to his dominion, all in general that belonged to the kingdom of *Israel*, on the other side *Jordan*, the countries of *Gilead* and *Bashan*, the two tribes, *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*<sup>u</sup>. In the prosecution of this conquest he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, all the things the mournful prophet had foretold of him, in the remarkable conversation they had together (Y).

Year of the  
Flood, 2159.  
Year before  
Christ, 840.

WITH the same fury and success he waged war upon *Jeboabaz*, the son of *Jebu*, till he had left him but fifty horse, ten chariots, and ten thousand foot; for the rest had perished in battle against *Hazael*, who, as it is strongly express'd, made them like the dust by threshing; and, to conclude, he oppressed *Israel* all his days<sup>v</sup>.

*HAZAEI* having thus chastised *Israel*, turned his arms against the kingdom of *Judab*, for they had both confederated against him; so that he had a fair pretence for infesting them both. He crossed the *Jordan* therefore; and after several successful attempts upon other places, as we may suppose, made himself master of the strong and royal city of *Gath*<sup>w</sup>, which had been the seat of the *Philistine* kings, but was now possessed by the house of *David*<sup>x</sup>. His next thought was to attempt *Jerusalem* itself; but as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted therefrom by the rich gifts of the weak and apostate *Jeboash*, who then reigned at *Jerusalem*; and who dreading the *Syrian* power, sent *Hazael* all the treasure and rich moveables that had been set apart and dedicated by his father for sacred, and other uses. *Hazael* was pacified with so noble a present, and desisted from his designs against *Jerusalem*<sup>y</sup> for a while.

BUT he was soon stirred up again to war upon *Jerusalem*; he had not yet been the instrument of sufficient judgment upon that distracted city. Wherefore towards the end of the same year, as we apprehend, he detached a party from his army to serve against that city, and to make good his first intentions on it. This party is expressly remarked to have been very small; but yet it prevailed against the great host of *Jeboash* king of *Judab*, sacked *Jerusalem*, slew all the princes of the people there, and sent their spoil to *Hazael* at *Damascus* (Z). And by this expedi-

<sup>r</sup> 2 Kings viii. 7—15. <sup>s</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. <sup>t</sup> 1 Kings xix. 15. <sup>u</sup> 2 Kings x. 31—33. <sup>v</sup> Ibid. xiii. 3, 7, 22. <sup>w</sup> Ibid. xii. 17. <sup>x</sup> See before in the notes, p. 357, 359. <sup>y</sup> 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

firm'd by the prophet's answer, that he was to be king of *Syria*; which comes in very naturally.

(X) We are almost tempted to think that *Hazael* may have been the chief promoter of this deification, to cover his own guilt. He seems to have been afraid it should be known he was the murderer of his master, by his manner of dispatching him. *Josephus* calls this *Ben-badad* by the names of *Adad*, *Adar*, and *Ader*; which difference arises from the near similitude of the Hebrew *R* and *D*, as we have already (30) noted. The former number being printed off and dispersed, we cannot otherwise correct a fault in the list of the *Damascene* kings, according to *Josephus*, where his *Adad*,

which now stands opposite to *Ben-badad* I. according to the scripture account, ought to be brought down to a line with *Benbadad* II. According to Sir Isaac Newton (31), the *Damascus* and *Arath* we formerly mentioned (32), were this *Ben-badad* and his queen, who were worshipped in their sepulchres or temples. But by this supposition it should seem that idolatry was yet in its nonage among the *Syrians*, whereas *Josephus* (33) talks of stately temples erected by *Ben-badad* in his life-time (34).

(Y) *Josephus* (35) assures us he did; that he neither spared man, woman, or child, wherever he came, but put all to fire and sword.

(Z) *Josephus* (36) makes but one expedition of these

(30) See before in the notes, p. 380. (31) Short Chronol. p. 32. (32) See before in the notes, p. 372. (33) Ubi supr. (34) See Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S Chron. of anc. kingd. apud p. 222. (35) Ubi supr. c. 8. (36) Ibid.

a tion did *Hazael* also make himself master of *Elath* on the red-sea, as appears, and as we shall endeavour to confirm hereafter, in the history of *Rezin* the last king of *Syria*. *Hazael* having thus subdued, and tyrannized over the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judab*, died and was deified (A).

He left behind him a son and successor, called *Ben-hadad*, who suffered a total reverse of his father's fortune, ere he had reigned long (B). Thrice was he defeated by *Jeboash*, the son of *Jeboabaz* king of *Israel*, whereby he lost all that his father had wrested from *Israel*. Nothing more is said of this obscure and unfortunate reign. However, nothing is more likely than that this *Ben-hadad* was subdued to a tribute by *Jeroboam*, the son of *Jeboash*, king of *Israel*, who kept *Syria* in the strictest subjection, during all his long reign.

THE Syrians recovered themselves again amidst the disorders which raged in the kingdom of *Israel* upon *Jeroboam's* death; but not so perfectly as to be quite a free people; for we are apt to think they were under considerable acknowledgments to the newly-erected empire of *Assyria* (C). But not to dwell on this uncertainty, *Rezin* was their last king. Towards the latter end of his reign he entered into a league with *Pekab* king of *Israel*, against *Abaz* king of *Judab*. They were stirred up by heaven to punish *Abaz*, and their design was to dethrone him, and make room for a stranger to *David's* line, called *Tabeal*<sup>b</sup>. With this intent they besieged *Abaz* in *Jerusalem*, but without effect. *Rezin*, however, that he might not be wholly a sufferer by this disappointment, marched his army into *Edom*, and, whatever else he did there, made himself master of *Elath* on the red-sea, which he annexed once more to the dominion of *Syria* (D), and there he planted a colony of

<sup>b</sup> Isa. vii. 1—6.

these two. According to him, *Hazael* having taken *Gath*, trait besieged *Jerusalem*; whence he was prevailed on to depart, by the great bribes mentioned in scripture. But it is impossible that what is said of *Hazael's* war with *Judab*, as it is represented in the second book of *Kings* (37), and in the book of *Chronicles* (38), should have been otherwise than we have represented. Nothing is plainer than that those two books speak of two very widely different events.

(A) It is no wonder, considering the blindness of the times, that they deified for fortunate and so great a prince as *Hazael*. He, as well as his predecessor *Ben-hadad*, adorned *Damascus* with temples, and their statues were carried about in procession in the days of *Josephus* (39), the Syrians boasting their antiquity. From hence there is room to imagine these two to have been their primary deities, and that the temples they are famed for building, were no more than noble sepulchres for themselves (40); but we forbear to expatiate hereon, and having given the hint, submit it to better judgments.

(B) It is said (41), *The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and Ben-hadad the son of Hazael, all their days*. Whence it might be imagined that *Ben-hadad* kept *Israel* under as long as he lived. But the word *their* is not in the original, and by what follows (42), it is evident, that the text means no such thing, referring only to the days of *Hazael* himself. To solve this matter, however, it is likely that *Ben-hadad* was taken into the government by his father, as his colleague; and that as long as they reigned together, they kept *Israel* under. St. *Jerome* (43) writes, that all the subsequent kings of *Syria* were called *Ben-hadad*, from this prince, the third of the name according to scripture. This we take notice of as it is apparently a great mistake. This prince borrowed the name of *Ben-hadad* from the first race of the *Damascene* kings, to which his father was an alien. The names *Hadad* and *Ben-hadad* were affected, as

it seems, by all the kings of *Syria*, from *Hadadener* of *Zabab*, downwards. *Ben-hadad* signifies only the son of *Hadad*. The father of the first prince of this name is called *Tabrimon*; but by his son's name, it may to some appear that he was also styled *Hadad* (44). *Josephus* calls him *Adad*, and we must desire the reader once more to excuse an omission in the list of *Damascene* kings, according to that historian, and to write *Adad* under *Hazael*.

(C) This is a conjecture which we apprehend to have some tolerable foundation. The kingdom of *Damascus* had been broken and enervated by servitude under *Israel*; and when *Pul*, king of *Assyria*, was stirred against *Menabem*, the third that bore the title of king in *Israel* after *Jeroboam*, we cannot conceive but he must have marched through *Syria*, and have made himself master there in the first place. It is plain he was bent upon extending his dominion, and how he could think of reducing *Israel* before he had secured *Syria*, which lay between him and his projected conquest farther westward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely that *Syria* invited him, submitted to him, and joined him, and that it now first became a province of *Assyria*.

(D) Our version says, *he recovered Elath to Syria*; so, says the Vulgate, *in tempore illo restituit Rafin rex Syriae, Ailam Syriae*. Whence we gather, it must have been conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, when he sent a part of his army against *Jerusalem* (45). *Ben-hadad* II. his predecessor, had no war that we read of with the king of *Judab*; and after *Hazael's* death, *Syria* was unable to make her own cause good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. *Azariah*, king of *Judab*, restored it to *Judab* (46), and drove out the *Syrims* (47) when they were subdued by *Jeroboam* king of *Israel*. Le Clerc, in his version, will have it that he restored this noble emporium to the *Edomites*, taking on him, by a little too much presumption, to alter the reading of the text from *לודם* *Laaram*, to *לודם* *Leedom*. It had been

(37) *Kings* xli. 17, 18. (38) *Ibid.* xlii. 23, 24. (39) *Ubi supr.* c. 2. (40) See Sir Isaac Newton's *Chron. of anc. kingd.* amended, p. 222. See before, p. 372. (41) 2 *Kings* xlii. 3. (42) *Ibid.* ver. 22. (43) *Amos* i. (44) See before, p. 382. (45) See before, p. 388. (46) 2 *Kings* xlii. 12. (47) See PATRICK upon 2 *Kings* xvii. 6.

Year of the his own (E), which subsisted many years after the subversion of the kingdom itself a  
Flood, 2259. of Syria<sup>c</sup>.

Year before  
Christ, 741.

THE next year *Rezin* and *Pekab* prosecuted the war against *Abaz*, and to distract him the more, divided their power into three bodies, that they might invade him in three different places at once. *Rezin*, for his part, succeeded well by this division; for he loaded his army with spoils, and led away multitudes of captives, wherewith, his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to *Damascus*<sup>d</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 2259.  
Year before  
Christ, 740.

BUT this acquisition proved fatal to *Rezin* and his kingdom: for *Abaz*, grown desperate, and bent upon revenge, sent all he had to *Tiglab-pilezar* king of *Assyria*, therewith to bribe him against *Rezin*. Hence it was (F) that *Rezin* was invaded by *Tiglab-pilezar*, who slew him, and carried *Damascus* (G) away captive to *Kir*,<sup>b</sup> whither they were transplanted<sup>e</sup>. Thus was the empire of the ancient Syrians abolished according to the prophets; *Behold Damascus is taken away from being a city, —and the kingdom shall cease from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria<sup>f</sup>.—I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Ben-badad. I will—cut off—him that holdeth the scepter from the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the LORD<sup>g</sup>.*

### The KINGS of HAMATH.

Year of the  
Flood, 1955.  
Year before  
Christ, 1044.

WE have but a very short and imperfect account of these kings, whether as to their first setting up, or their continuance; and there is some doubt as to the situation of their city (H). They seem to have been raised by the Syrians of the *Canaanitish* blood (I); at the same time the Syrians of *Zobab*, who we think were *Aramites*, erected their kingdom. And this they did perhaps to defend themselves against the ambitious views of that new monarchy, and to keep themselves in one distinct and entire body. But however this was, for we are perfectly in the dark concerning it, thus far is certain, that *Toi* (K), their first king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with *Hadadezar*, the great king of *Zobab*; the ground of which we can apprehend to have been nothing else but his refusal to submit to the power of that ambitious prince. In all probability he was on the verge of subjection, when *Hadadezar* bowed under the superior might of *David*; who having humbled the pride<sup>d</sup> of *Zobab*, *Toi* beheld him in a double light, as his present deliverer, and his future protector. *Toi* therefore, to secure his people in their rights, and himself on the

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 5. <sup>d</sup> See 2 Chron. xviii. 5—7. <sup>e</sup> Kings ubi supr. ver. 9. <sup>f</sup> Isa. xvii. 1, 3. <sup>g</sup> Amos i. 4, 5.

been but common justice in *Rezin* to have restored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into *le Clerc*'s notion that he did it, because the place was too far out of his reach to keep. He was stronger than the king of *Judah*, and might, upon that account, have kept it long enough, had he lived.

(E) Both the LXX and the Vulgate agree, that *Rezin* having subdued this place, the *Edomites* took possession of it. But it is not to be imagined that *Rezin* could so easily part with so fine an acquisition. If any heed may be given to *Josephus* (48), he agrees with our reading and translation, saying, that *Rezin* planted a colony of Syrians in *Elath*.

(F) Not for this reason only; there may have been another. We apprehend, that *Rezin* being a turbulent enterprising prince, gave umbrage to *Tiglab-pilezar*, to whom he was certainly tributary, or under some other obligation. For *Tiglab-pilezar* had warred in these parts before with great success against the *Israelitish* dominions (49). He may have been prompted to destroy *Rezin*, as he looked on him with a jealous eye, as well as to earn *Abaz*'s bribe, who promised to become his tributary into the bargain.

(G) *Josephus* (50) makes but one action of this and the foregoing.

(H) This city was called *Hamath*, and sometimes *Hamath the Great* (51); whence some have conceived there were two *Hamaths*, or cities so distinguished; but for the same reason they ought to

think there were two *Sidons*, which was sometimes called plain *Sidon*, and sometimes *Sidon the Great* (52). *Josephus* (53) places *Hamath* to the north of the land of *Canaan*, and *Abulfeda* (54), who reigned in *Hamath*, and who being so learned a prince as he was, should know at least, as well as any body, places *Hamath* upon the *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Apamea*, that river surrounding it on the east and north. There was a country of *Hamath*, surnamed *Zobab*, which lay to the eastward of the land of *Canaan*, about *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* (55); so that here may have been another city of the name, whence, after all, may have been derived the distinction of *Hamath the Great*.

(I) We have already offered something from the orientals, in proof that some of *Canaan*'s descendants did settle themselves in *Syria* (56); to which we will now add from *Abulfeda* (57), that this whole country was called *Shâm*, because many of the sons of *Canaan*, *Tashâma*, or travelled towards the left hand in migrating thither; for *Syria* lies to the left of the *Caaba* at *Mecca*. This is one way of accounting for the name of *Shâm*; there are others, which may be remarked hereafter.

(K) *Josephus* writes him *Thannus*; which being omitted in the column of the kings of *Hamath* (58), according to *Josephus*, the reader is desired to forgive this third oversight, and to place him over his son *Jeram*.

(48) *Ubi supr.* c. 12. (49) See 2 Kings xv. 29. (50) *Ubi supr.* (51) *Amos vi.* 2. (52) *Josb.* xi. 8. (53) *Antiq.* l. 9. c. 11. (54) *Vide SCHULT. Comment. Geogr. in vit. SALAD. ad voces Fluvius Orontes & Hamath.* (55) See 2 Chron. viii. 3, 4. 1 Kings ix. 18. (56) See before in the notes, p. 371. (57) *Vide SCHULT. ubi supr. ad vocem Syria.* (58) See before, p. 380.



a throne, sent his son *Joram* with a costly present in vessels of gold, and silver, and brass, therewith to conciliate the fortunate conqueror, and to congratulate him on his successes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed him \*. All this, to our apprehension, implies that *Toi* became thereafter the creature of *David*, and tributary to his throne.

WHOEVER succeeded *Toi*, whether his son *Joram* or *Hadoram*, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good intelligence with the kings at *Jerusalem*, till *Rezin*, the founder of the *Damascene* kingdom, arose. At this time it is likely the king of *Hamath* submitted to a new master, or protector. To conclude; this kingdom was most certainly subject to the kings of *Damascus*, as was the rest of *Syria*, till *Jeroboam* king of *Jerusalem* prevailed against it † when he reduced *Damascus*. Upon the dissolution and captivity of *Damascus* it may have lifted up its head a little ‡; but the *Hamathites* were in their turn conquered and transplanted by *Sennacherib*, and *Esar-baddon* kings of *Assyria*. So ended the ancient kingdom of *Hamath*.

### The KINGS of GESHUR.

THE kings of *Geshur*, if compared with those of *Zobab*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, were, it is likely, but petty princes (L). Perhaps they were far more considerable for the alliance *David* made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families which in ancient times divided the whole country of *Syria* between them. The first of them we meet with is called *Ammibud*, who being the father of *Talmi* †, who is expressly said to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the same title.

TALMAI. He had a daughter named *Maacha*, who was wife to *David* †, and the mother of *Abshalom*, whom he sheltered three years ‡, when he fled to him for the murder of his brother *Amnon*. To conclude; we cannot doubt but that *Geshur* bore the *Damascene* yoke, till they finally changed it for the *Assyrians*, and were transplanted; as were all the other *Syrians*.

Year of the Flood, 1969.  
Year before Christ, 1030.

## CHAP. VI.

### The History of the PHOENICIANS.

#### SECT. I.

#### The Description of PHOENICE.

THE tract we commonly call *Phœnicia* is, more accurately, *Phœnice*; which being sufficiently known to the learned, we shall not multiply words about it, but hasten to what is more material.

WHENCE it borrowed this name of *Phœnice* is not determined. Some \* derive it from one *Phœnix*: others †, from the Greek word *Phœnix*, signifying a palm or date; as if that tree remarkably abounded here: some ‡ again suppose that *Phœnice* is originally a translation of the Hebrew word *Edom*, from the *Edomites*, who fled hither § in the days of *David*. By the contraction of *Canaan*; for it was a part of that land; it was also called *Cēna* †. Anciently it was also called *Rhabbotbin* and *Colpitis* † (A). The *Jews* were wont to call it *Canaan* †, though some part of it at

\* 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10. † 2 Kings xix. 28. ‡ Ibid. xviii. 34. and xix. 11, 13. § Compare Ezra iv. 2. with Kings xvii. 24. † 2 Sam. xiii. 37. ‡ Ibid. iii. 3. † Ibid. xiii. 37, 38. xvi. 8. † SYMCELL. p. 152. † Chron. Alex. p. 158. † Sir ISAAC NEWT. Chron. of anc. kingd. amend. † See before, p. 314. † See before in the notes, p. 88. † STRAB. BIZAN. ad vocem Φοινίκη. † Vid. Matt. v. i.

(L) *Josephus* (19) does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

(A) This last name is a translation of the first: רַבּוֹתִין *Rabbotfen* is in Hebrew a great gulph or bay. From *Rabbotfen*, by changing the Hebrew TS into the Greek T, comes *Rabboten*, and with a little variation *Rhabbotbin*. Κόλπος, *Colpos*, is Greek also for a bay or gulph; whence it appears that *Colpitis*, or *Colpites*, is a translation of *Rhabbotbin*. *Bochart* (1) therefore is of opinion, that

these names did not properly belong to the eastern *Phœnice*, or the country properly so called, but to the *Phœnician* colonies in *Africa*, whose principal cities stood upon great and deep gulphs or bays. However, he is not wholly unwilling to allow that these names may have distinguished a part of the proper *Phœnice*, near *Libanus*, as he expresses himself, because it had a deep gulph or bay, according to *Mela*. *Tripoli* stands in the deepest bay, at present, on this coast.

(59) *Antiq. l. 7. c. 8.*

(1) *Geogr. sacr. l. 2. c. 13. col. 746.*



least they knew by the name of *Syrophœnice*<sup>b</sup> (B). These were the names peculiar to the small country before us, though of them *Phœnice* was sometimes extended to all the maritime countries of *Syria* and *Judea*; and *Canaan* to the *Philistines*<sup>c</sup>, and even the *Amalekites* (C). On the contrary, these two names, and the rest, were most generally swallowed up by those of *Palestine*<sup>d</sup> and *Syria* (D).

THE proper *Phœnice*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty second and thirty fifth degrees of north latitude. It took up no great space of longitude; but whether more or less we shall pass it over, being quite in the dark as to that. This, as near as we can gather, was the extent of this kingdom, and its situation. In general we may say, it was bounded by *Syria* on the north and the east; by *Judæa* on the south; and by the mediterranean on the west. b

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime and the mediterranean, or the coast and the country<sup>e</sup>.

AND these two general divisions were subdivided into districts depending upon the more remarkable towns and cities, and so on. We shall see hereafter that this country was partitioned into several kingdoms.

ON the coast are the famous cities of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Tripoli*, *Byblus*, and *Berytus*. *Sidon* we may properly enough call the metropolis of *Phœnice*, since it seems to have been the eldest city of this part, borrowing its name from *Sidon* the eldest son of *Canaan*, by whom they<sup>f</sup> pretend it to have been built, and it is not unlikely. But all are not agreed in the derivation of that name from *Sidon* (E). c

THIS city was seated on the sea-side, and is said to have had a summer and a winter harbour<sup>g</sup> (F), or one much more land-locked or enclosed than the other, which we take to be a mistake (G) in the relater, which how it came to pass may be tolerably accounted for (H). It is now called *Seyde*.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Mark vii. 27. <sup>c</sup> Zephan. xi. 5. <sup>d</sup> See before, p. 338, 360. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 361.  
<sup>f</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. <sup>g</sup> ACHIL. TAT. apud RELLAND. Palest. Illustr.

(B) Bochart (2) clears up this matter thus. He supposes that the borderers, both upon the *Phœnician* and *Syrian* side, were called by the common name of *Syrophœnicians*, as partaking equally of both nations. Some (3) would have it that the *Phœnicians* of *Asia* in general were called *Syrophœnicians* diacritically to distinguish them from the *African Phœnicians*. Others (4) take the *Syrophœnicians* and *Cœlesyrians* for the same people.

(C) Accordingly Philo (5) includes the *Amalekites* under the denomination of *Phœnicians*.

(D) Or rather *Phœnice*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, were promiscuously used for each other, and particularly the two former. *Phœnice* and *Palestine*, says *Stephanus Byzantinus* (6), were the same. As for *Syria*, we have already observed, that in its largest extent (7), it sometimes comprehended *Phœnice* and *Cœlesyria*. *Herodotus* plainly confounds these three names, we mean, uses one for the other indifferently. First, he says, the *Phœnicians* coming into *Syria* from the red-sea, settled in the maritime parts of *Syria*; and that the *Phœnicians* dwelt in *Syria* (8). In the next place, he says, that *Phœnice* was a part of *Palestine*, which, according to him, stretched along the sea-shore quite to *Pelusium* in *Egypt* (9). Thirdly, he places *Affod*, or *Asotus*, in *Syria* (10), and *Ascalon* in the *Palestine Syria*; but yet its inhabitants he calls *Phœnicians* (11). In a word, we could wish that the geography since *Herodotus*'s time, had been less indistinct than his in many cases.

(E) *Trogus* (12) derives the name from a *Phœnician* word, as he calls it, *Sidon*, signifying a fish. And this *Bochart* (13) gives into: for *Seid*, the

name of this city at present, is, as we may render it, a fishing-place. The same *Bochart* (14) seems to doubt whether or no *Canaan*'s eldest son was called *Sidon*, as we read in the writings of *Moses* (15), which he interprets to be meant of the city itself, which is used instead of the name of the father of the *Sidonians*, or the founder of that city, whatsoever his name was: but why the name of the eldest son should be passed over, and the rest specified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others (16) again derive the name of this city from *Sida*, the daughter, as they pretend, of *Belus*.

(F) This we imagine, because we find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the most accurate travellers and geographers; whereas, as we shall observe hereafter, there are still visible marks of this at *Tyre*. This city had a mole, till *Faccardine* the *Emir* of the *Drusi* demolished it, to free himself from the visits of the *Turkish* galleys; so that now the shipping have no other shelter than a small ledge of rocks, about a mile distant from the shore on the north side of the city (17).

(G) It is observed, that *Sidonian* and *Tyrian* were synonymously used (18). Whether or no the seeming mistake here noted, may not have arisen from some such usage, we leave the reader to judge.

(H) It is, at this day, pretty well stocked with inhabitants, but much shrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its splendor, as appears from the vestiges of the ancient city that are left (19).

(2) *Gegen. sac.* p. 349. (3) *Apud BOCHART ubi sup.* p. 350. (4) *Ibid. eund. ibid.*  
(5) *Ibid.* l. i. p. 636. (6) *Ad vocem Iona.* (7) *See before,* p. 360. (8) *POLYHISTORIA,* c. 89.  
(9) *Ibid.* c. EUSEBIUS, a. 104. (10) *Ibid.* c. 157. (11) *CLEO.* c. 105. (12) *JUST.* l. 8. c. 3.  
(13) *Gegen. sac.* p. 302. (14) *Ibid.* (15) *See before,* p. 322. (16) *Vide SANCTI TRAV.* p. 163. (17) *MAUNDER. Journ. from Alex. to Jerus.* p. 45. (18) *Ibid. REX. Pal. Illustr.* p. 956. (19) *MAUNDER. ubi sup.*

- a TYRE, anciently *Sor* (I), is commonly called the daughter of *Sidon*, and stood Tyre. also upon the sea, two hundred stades or furlongs to the southward of *Sidon*. Tyre must be distinguished into three different cities in order of time<sup>a</sup>: as Tyre on the continent or *Pala Tyrus* [old Tyre], Tyre on the island, and Tyre on the peninsula, after the island was joined to the main land (K). It had two havens (L), the one looking towards *Sidon*, the other towards *Egypt*<sup>c</sup>. This city, including *Pala Tyrus*, was 19,000 paces in circumference (M); but the city itself was only twenty two furlongs about, or not quite three of our miles<sup>d</sup>, which is allowing it considerably too much if our modern accounts may be relied on (N). However, it appears that this famous emporium was never of very great bigness. It could spread out its walls no farther than the margin of the island. For this reason it must have been that they built their houses very lofty, and with more stories, as we are told, than the houses had at *Rome*<sup>e</sup>. The buildings of this city in general were spacious and magnificent, and above the rest appeared the temples built by *Hiram* to *Jupiter*, *Hercules* and *Astarte*<sup>f</sup>. Its walls were one hundred and fifty foot high, and proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of stone, bound together with white plaster<sup>g</sup>. It is now called *Sûr* (O).

ARADUS (P) was not strictly speaking a city of *Phœnice*. It was an island city Aradus. like Tyre, and stood opposite to the southern limits of the sea coast of *Syria*<sup>h</sup>. That

<sup>a</sup> Vid. RELAND. Palest. Illustr. vol. 2. ad vocem TYRUS. <sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. 16. p. 757. <sup>c</sup> PLIN. Histor. Natur. l. 5. c. 17. <sup>d</sup> STRABO ubi supr. <sup>e</sup> MENAND. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. & apud eund. contr. AP. l. 2. <sup>f</sup> ARRIAN de Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 2. <sup>g</sup> BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305.

(I) From hence this city came to be called *Sara* by the *Latini*, and not from *Sar* a fish, as *Servius* upon *Virgil* intimates (20). From hence also, say they, is derived (21) Tyre, it being the *Syrian* way to convert the *T* or *S* into *T*. So that the *Syrians* pronounced it *Tor*, *Tur*, *Tyr*; and hence the *Greeks* adding their termination, formed *Τύρος*, in *Latin Tyrus*. Some pretend, that this city gave name to the whole country of *Syria*; and that *Syria*, *Tyria*, and *Affyria*, were indifferently usurped for each other (22); to which we cannot assent. This name signifies a rock (23); for it stood upon little better.

(K) There were four different places in *Phœnice*, which bore the celebrated name of Tyre (24).

(L) From hence it seems plain, that Tyre on the island, and old Tyre on the main, were considered as but one city, after the isthmus was thrown up between them; and possibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If *Pliny's* numbers are right, the old city must have been by much the most extensive part of the whole, and especially as the place appears at this day. According to *Pliny* (25) the island was but seven hundred paces from the continent; according to *Strabo* (26), it was thirty stades, or somewhat better than three of our miles from *Pala-Tyrus*; and according to the same geographer (27), Tyre was wholly an island, after the same manner as *Aradus*, excepting the artificial isthmus, which formed it into a peninsula. Not to lose time upon so obscure a subject, as whether Tyre and the old town were joined by buildings a-crofs the isthmus; we shall only repeat what we advanced at first, and which we shall endeavour to make out in the next note, that old Tyre was much larger, that is, stood upon more ground than the new, if *Pliny's* circumference be allowed of.

(M) These were formed by the isthmus, which joined the island to the main. These harbours were called, the one *Open*, and the other *Close*.

The former looked towards *Egypt*; it was the southermost of the two; and was accordingly called the *Egyptian* port (28). The *Sherif Edryff* says, that one of these ports had an arch over the entrance of it, through which the shipping passed, and that it was fortified with a chain which ran a-crofs it (29). These bays, or ports, are still pretty large, and in part defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, resembling a mole, stretching directly out on both sides, from the head of the island; but whether these ridges are walls, or rocks, is uncertain (30); it is most likely, however, that they are walls.

(N) By them, it appears, that Tyre itself was but a small city in extent, though it covered the whole island to the very wash of the sea; and the scantiness of their ground was doubtless, what induced them to raise their buildings so high as they did; a method they would otherwise have avoided for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with destruction (31). At present the island appears to have been, in its natural state, of a circular form, hardly containing forty acres of ground; and the foundations of the wall which surrounded it, are still to be seen at the utmost margin of the land (32). If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new Tyre was nineteen thousand paces, or nineteen *Roman* miles (33); and that they were distant from each other but thirty stades, or three of the same miles and three quarters (34); it must be evident, that the old city stood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the island was made ground (35), as we call it.

(O) It is now a meer *Babel* of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being no such thing as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themselves in vaults, and subsist chiefly by fishing (36).

(P) *Bochart* (37) takes this, and that part of the continent opposite to it, to be the seat of the *Caananitish*

(20) Vid. BOCHART. ubi supr. p. 735. (21) Vid. CELL. Geogr. Antiq. tom. 2. l. 3. c. 12. p. 277. (22) See Sir ISA. NEWT. Chronol. of anc. kingd. amend. (23) Vid. BOCHART ubi supr. (24) Vid. SCYL. Peripl. in minor. Hudson, vol. 2. (25) Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 17. (26) Lib. 16. p. 758. (27) Ib. p. 756. (28) STRAB. ubi supr. p. 757. (29) Vid. ALBERT. SCHULT. Ind. Geogr. in vit. Saladin. ad vocem Tyrus. (30) MAUND. ubi supr. (31) STRABO ubi supr. (32) MAUND. ubi supr. p. 50. (33) PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 19. (34) STRAB. ubi supr. p. 758. (35) MENAND. & DIUS, apud JOSEPH. l. 8. c. 2. (36) MAUND. ubi supr. p. 48, 49. De BRUYN. Voy. au Lev. tom. 2. in 4to, p. 341. (37) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305.

the *Phœnicians*, however, reckoned this city as a part of themselves, is plain by a several good authors \*. There are some remains of it extant (Q).

Tripoli.

TRIPOLI, on the sea-coast of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities, above-mentioned, *Sidon*, *Tyre* and *Aradus*. Accordingly it was at first three distinct cities at a furlong distant from each other, inhabited by three different draughts or colonies, but all within one common inclosure or wall†. It is still a considerable place (R) and bears its old name.

Byblus.

BYBLUS is reported to have been the first city built in this country ‡; but whether we are here to understand the *Byblus* which stood on the sea, or the old *Byblus* [*Pale Byblus*] which was farther up within land, may be a needless enquiry (S).

Berytus.

BERYTUS must not have been much inferior to *Byblus* in antiquity, since it is b said to have been standing in the days of *Crenus*\*. It is now called *Barût* or *Be-root* (T). These were the chief cities of the maritime *Phœnice* †.

Phœnicia Mediterranea.

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the *midland Phœnice*. *Ptolemy* reckons in it the following towns: *Arca*, *Palebyblus* [old *Byblus*] *Gebala* and *Cæsarea Pania*. This province was considerably extended in the times of Christianity, when being considered as a province of *Syria*, it included not only *Damascus*, but *Palmyra* also ‡.

Soil and Climate.

THE soil of this country is good, and productive of many excellent necessaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholesome. The climate is of the best. It is plentifully watered by small rivers, which running down from mount *Libanus*, c are subject to swell to an immoderate degree, either encreased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon these occasions they overflow the country, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among these rivers is that of *Adonis*, which we shall have occasion to mention, upon another occasion, presently.

Natural Curiosities.

THE sea on this coast formerly abounded with such fish, as in an extraordinary manner redounded to the honour and profit of *Tyre* in particular. Therewith they dyed the choicest purple. And on the shore there was a sand, wherewith the first and best glass was made (U), a staple manufacture of this ancient country. To these we shall add a remarkable property of the river *Adonis*. At certain seasons, d and upon certain occasions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at least, that extraordinary superstition in memory of *Thammuz* or *Adonis* yearly wounded. The cause of this red face of the river was anciently known and declared by those who were not so superstitious as the rest of their contemporaries and countrymen, and who attributed it only to a kind of *minium* or red earth, which this river brought away when it swelled to unusual heights †. It is still subject to the same appearance in the time of floods (W).

\* PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 17. POMP. MEL. l. 2. c. 7. STRAB. l. 16. p. 753. STEPH. BYZANT. ad vocem 'Αραδ' &c. † DIOD. SIC. l. 16. c. 41. PLIN. ubi supra, &c. ‡ See before, p. 135. § See before, p. 138. ¶ See before, p. 392. † Vide RELAND. Palæst. Illust. p. 217. ‡ Vide LUC. de De. Syr.

*naanitish* tribe, called *Arwadites* (38); and we are very much inclined to subscribe to his judgment upon this head. The island of *Aradus* is about twenty stades, or two *Roman* miles and a half from the shore, and above seven eighths of a *Roman* mile in circumference. The buildings were, like those of *Tyre*, of many stories high (39). By the same pen we are told, as a very remarkable thing, that the *Aradians*, when besieged, could, by the help of long tubes, draw up fresh water from the bottom of the sea (40).

(Q) It seems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length; and is wholly filled up with tall buildings, like castles. The *Turks* call it *Ku-ad* (41).

(R) And there are some remains of the ancient city or cities, which you will, still to be seen, in the fields near the shore; many heaps of ruins, and pillars of granite (42).

(S) *Byblus* was the city and seat of the famous

superstition, in memory of *Adonis*. It is pleasantly situated, but, at present, it is but small; though, small as it is, its handful of inhabitants have room to spare (43).

(T) † At present it retains nothing of its ancient felicity, except the situation; and, in that particular, it is indeed very happy. It is seated on the sea-side, in a soil fertile and delightful, raised only so high above the salt water, as to be secure from its overflowings, and all other noxious and unwholsom effects of that element. It has the benefit of good fresh springs flowing down to it from the adjacent hills (44).

(U) There anciently went a story, that this sand could be melted no where but at *Sidon* (45).

(W) — † We saw. — the water [of the river *Adonis*] — stained to a surprizing redness; and — observed — it had discoloured the sea a great way into a reddish hue (46).

(38) See before, p. 322. and in the notes, p. 330.

(39) STRAB. l. 16. p. 753, 754, &c.

(40) Idem ibid. Vid. etiam PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 103. l. 5. c. 31.

(41) MAUND. ubi

supr. p. 19.

(42) Idem ibid. p. 31.

(43) Idem ibid. p. 38.

(44) Idem ibid.

(45) STRA-

MO ubi supr. p. 758. (46) MAUND. ubi supr. p. 34.

a THERE are still some few remains of the ancient splendor of this now desolate land. *Thevenot*<sup>a</sup> tells us, there are fine antiquities to be beheld at *Tyre*, but does not specify them. *Sandys*<sup>b</sup> could discover nothing there but a heap of ruins. The more modern travellers<sup>c</sup> are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church there, near which is an extraordinary kind of a column, of unusual dimensions, which one<sup>d</sup> represents as a triple; another<sup>e</sup>, as a double column only, or two joined together. This last<sup>f</sup> informs us that it is of granate, of one block only, and fourscore foot long. Besides this, there are many columns entire, and many broken<sup>g</sup>. But nothing in and about this ruined city demands our attention more deservedly than a place the *Turks* call *Roselayne*; where are seen, what b are vulgarly called *Solomon's* cisterns or wells. The current tradition is, that they are filled from a subterraneous river, which that wise king, by his great sagacity, knew to run under ground here; and which made him undertake so admirable a work. The country people say, that nobody ever could reach the bottom of these wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of line; and one of our travellers pretends to give a reason for the fruitlessness of these attempts, by supposing the current or spring to be so very strong, at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from taking the ground<sup>h</sup>. All this is rejected and confuted by another traveller<sup>i</sup>; who supposes these wells cannot have been built before the days of *Alexander*; because the aqueduct which conveys the water from them to *Tyre* is carried c over the isthmus, formed by that conqueror, when he made himself master of *Tyre*: and, as these cisterns cannot be supposed to be ancients than the aqueduct, so we may be sure, says he, that the aqueduct is not older than the ground it stands upon. Of these cisterns there are three entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half distant from the sea, the other two a little further up. The first is an octagon in form, twenty yards in diameter. On the south side it is elevated nine yards above the ground, and on the north but six: and, as unfathomable as it is reported to be, ten yards of line confuted the opinion. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but so firmly consolidated with a strong cement, that it seems to be an entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, eight foot in breadth: d from whence, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you land on another walk, twenty one foot broad. All this structure, though so very broad at top, is hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks; nor could the extremity of the cavity be reached with a long rod. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water, and is so plentifully supplied, that though there issues from it a brook which drives four miles, it is always brim-full. On the east side of this cistern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. This aqueduct (now dry) is carried eastward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other cisterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the e one twelve, the other twenty yards square. These have each of them a channel, which communicates with the aqueduct; and the water of these three noble springs being thus joined, ran together to *Tyre*. The aqueduct is now gone to decay, but may easily be traced out. It goes about an hour northward, and then turning to the west, proceeds over the isthmus into the city.

SOME footsteps of what *Sidon* once was, are to be seen among the gardens without the walls of the present city<sup>g</sup>; such as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind. Here they pretend to shew a monument of high antiquity, no less than the tomb of *Zebulun*. It stands within a small chapel in a garden<sup>h</sup>, and is deeply revered by the *Jews*<sup>i</sup>. This tomb is made of two stones only; the f one supposed to be at the head, and the other at the feet of the deceased. Their distance is better than ten of our feet, which they give out to have been the stature of this patriarch<sup>j</sup>.

AT *Byblus* also are many heaps of ruins and fine pillars scattered up and down in the gardens near the present town<sup>k</sup>. Finally, on the continent, a little southward of the isle of *Aradus*, whereon the city of that name anciently stood, are several antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The first is a dyke thirty yards

<sup>a</sup> Travels into the Lev. part I. book ii. c. 60. <sup>b</sup> Lib. 3. p. 168. <sup>c</sup> De BRUYN Voy. au Lev. tom. II. 4to, p. 338, 339, &c. <sup>d</sup> De la ROQUE Voy. de Syr. et M. Lib. tom. I. p. 17, 18, &c. <sup>e</sup> MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Aleppo to Jerus. p. 48, 49, &c. <sup>f</sup> De BRUYN ubi supr. <sup>g</sup> De la ROQUE ubi supr. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. <sup>i</sup> De BRUYN ubi supr. <sup>j</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> MAUNDRELL ubi supr. <sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. p. 44. SANDYS Trav. I. 3. p. 164. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>n</sup> THEVEN. Voy. au Lev. part II. l. i. c. 3. <sup>o</sup> SANDYS ubi supr. <sup>p</sup> THEVEN. ubi supr. <sup>q</sup> MAUNDRELL ubi supr. p. 33.

over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its sides go sloping down, with stairs cut out <sup>a</sup> of the living rock, and descending gradually from top to bottom. This dyke stretches in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong, bearing continually the same figure of stairs running in right lines all along its sides. It breaks off at last at a flat marshy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the sea. Our observer thinks it hard to imagine that the water ever flowed up thus high; and harder, without supposing that, to devise why all this pains was taken in cutting the rock after such a fashion. *Secondly*, A little to the southward of this dyke, there is a court of fifty-five yards square, cut also in the natural rock; the sides of the rock standing round it are about three yards high, and supply the place of walls. On three sides it is thus encompassed, but to the northward it lies open. <sup>b</sup> In the center of this area, a square part of the rock is left standing, being three yards high, and five yards and a half square. This serves for a pedestal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is composed of four large stones, two at the sides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal or canopy. This whole structure is about twenty foot high, and faces towards the open side of the court. The stone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters square, and adorned with a handsome cornice. At the two innermost angles of the court, and likewise at the open side, are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

ABOUT half a mile to the southward of this court, and this throne, there are in <sup>c</sup> each two towers. They are sepulchral monuments, and stand over an ancient burying-place. They are about ten yards distant from each other. The one is, in form, a cylinder crowned by a multilateral pyramid, and is in all thirty-three foot high, including the pedestal, which is ten foot high, and fifteen square. The other is a long cone discontinued at about the third part of its height; and, instead of ending in a point, is wrought into a hemispherical form. This is its general construction. It stands upon a pedestal six foot high, and sixteen foot six inches square, adorned at each angle with the figure of a lion in a sitting posture, pretty much defaced; though at best the sculpture of them appears to have been but bad. This is all that is visible of these sepulchres, as well as of a third and others near, <sup>d</sup> above ground. But under ground there are square chambers of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out therefrom, variously disposed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies were deposited. These subterraneous chambers and cells are all cut out of the hard rock: but because a bare description of them would communicate but an imperfect idea of them to the mind, by reason of the variety and irregularity of their disposition, we shall insist no farther on them; but refer you to the draught of them.

## S E C T. II.

### *Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Phœnicians.*

*Antiquity.*

**I**T is universally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by descent; no- <sup>e</sup> thing is plainer, or less contested; and therefore it were time lost to go about to prove it. We shall only add, that their blood must have been mixed with that of foreigners in process of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many strange families must have settled among them, who could consequently lay no claim to this remote origin in this part, how much soever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the same descent with the ancient proprietors.

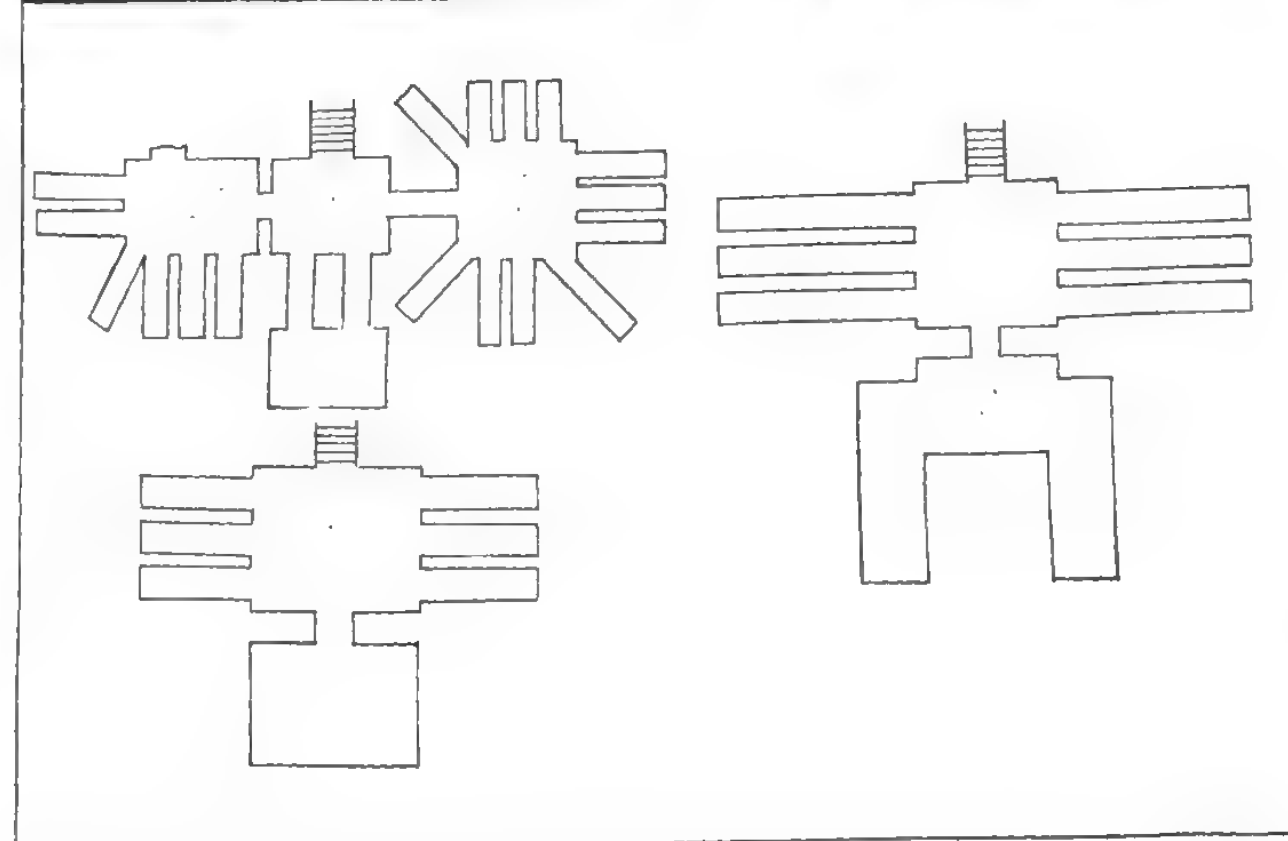
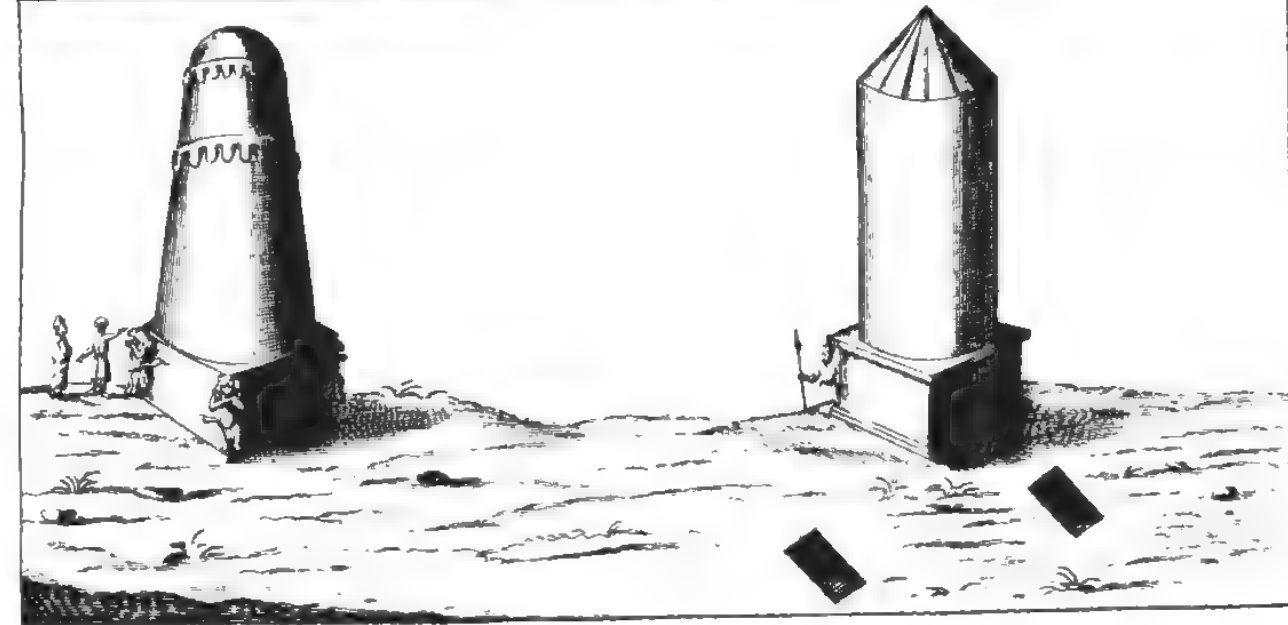
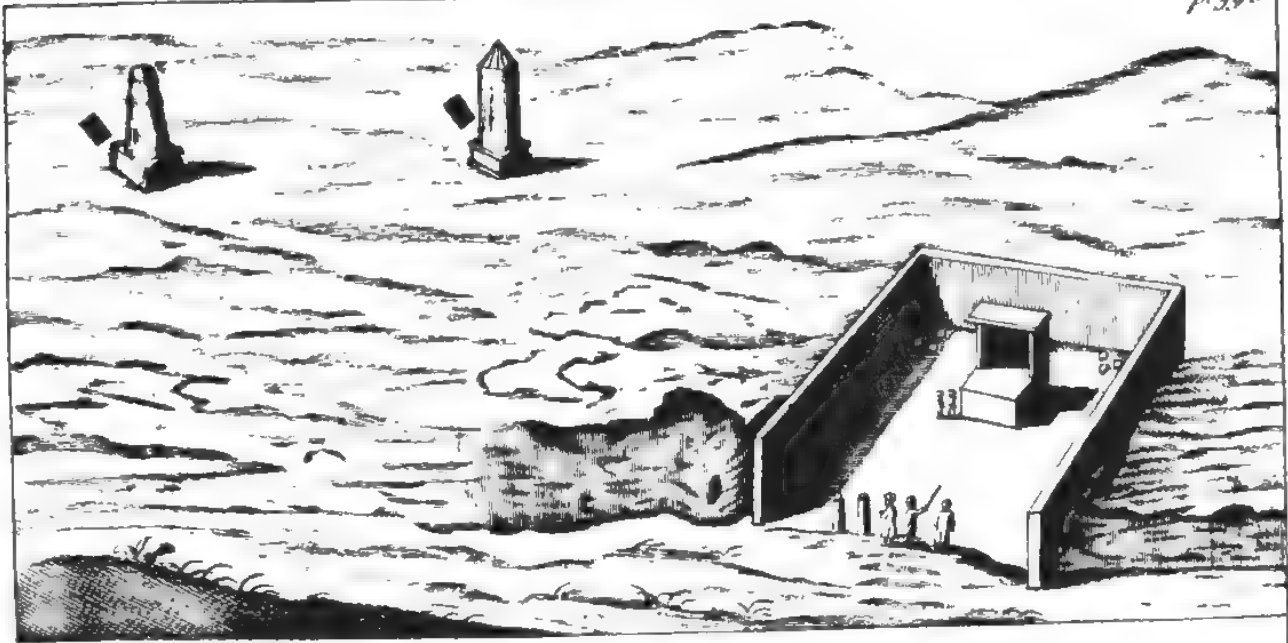
\* MAUNDÉ. Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

(A) Bochart (1) insinuates, that the *Canaanites* were ashamed of their name, on account of the curse denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars so vigorously and successfully waged on them by the *Israelites*, purely because they were *Canaanites*; and that therefore to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured their old name, and changed it for *Phœ-*

*nicians*, *Syrians*, *Syrophenicians*, and *Affrians*. Heidegger (2) conjectures also, that they were ashamed of their ancestor *Canaan*. We can think no such thing. It seems unnatural. It may be combated by many solid objections; but because they would draw us into too great a length, we forbear to make them.

(1) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 34. vol. 301.

(2) *Hist. Patriarch. Exer.* 23. § 2. p. 491.







<sup>a</sup> THE Phœnicians were governed by kings, and their territory, as small a slip as *Their Government* it was, included several kingdoms, as those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. In this they imitated and adhered to the primitive government of their forefathers, who, like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the sovereign dignity, reserving to themselves the natural rights and liberties of mankind <sup>b</sup>. It may appear plain by their history; that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from uncontrollable by the subject.

We have no particular system of their civil laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

<sup>b</sup> THE Phœnicians being originally *Canaanites*, must once, as well as the rest of *Their Religion* their kindred, have had a knowledge of the true God; whom they, as is most likely, called, *Baal* or lord <sup>c</sup>. But by degrees degenerating to the deification, translation, and worship of such as, by their own confession, were once mortals like themselves, they became perverse and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities in order, as we find them in their own records, are these. *Beelsamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is *Lord of heaven*, thereby meaning the sun <sup>d</sup>: *Cronus* or *Baal* <sup>e</sup>, who is likely to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* anciently worshipped at *Berytus* <sup>f</sup>: *Astarte* <sup>g</sup>, *Cronus* or *Baal* the second, *Zeus Belus* or *Baal* (B), *Apollo*, *Melcarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Hercules* <sup>h</sup>. These are the gods of this people we shall chiefly take notice of here, the rest we have treated of amply enough in the antiquities and <sup>c</sup> mythology of this people. We will only add one observation, which is; That it is almost certain the *Phœnician* idolatry and superstition is not all their own; and that their subjection to the *Affyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Persians*, and *Greeks*, made great alterations in the whole system of what was taught and practised among them in a religious way. We need only look back to what happened in *Syria* <sup>i</sup>, upon its being subdued, to be fully convinced of this.

How far they retained, or how far they lost a due sense and notion of the true God in this their multifarious idolatry; and whether or no they might not, through these low disguises and their frantic adoration, point intentionally at God himself, is hard to say. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that amidst all their endless polytheism, they still acknowledged one supreme God <sup>j</sup>; and since, as we shall see, the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in substance hardly different from that of the *Egyptians* (C), as has been formerly observed <sup>k</sup>; it is very probable that their theory and doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

How they pictured *Beelsamen* we no where find; but we apprehend that they did not represent him at all: for, meaning by him, in a more especial manner, the sun, whom they had so daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely they made their addresses immediately to him, according to the ancient rite <sup>l</sup>. There were many *Baals* <sup>m</sup>. The *Baal* of *Sidon* was called *Tbalassus*, or the *Sea-Baal* <sup>n</sup>. There was *Baal-berith* (D), and others, each represented under proper attributes, we may

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 326. <sup>b</sup> Vide SÆLD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 7. <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 86.  
<sup>d</sup> See before in the notes, p. 134. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 36. <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 137.  
<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 86 — 89, 133 — 139. <sup>i</sup> See before, p. 372. <sup>j</sup> See before, p. 204.  
<sup>k</sup> See before in the notes, p. 88. <sup>l</sup> See before, p. 86. <sup>m</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 5. <sup>n</sup> HESYCH.

(B) Here we have no less than three *Baals*, who are said to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are mistaken in supposing the *Phœnician* god *Baal*, of every sort and denomination, was erected in honour of, and to represent the sun (3).

(C) Bishop Cumberland (4) draws the following parallel between them, to shew how nearly they were related. 1. *Plutarch* (5) makes *Ofris* the son of *Rhea*, a wife of *Cronus*: so our author [*Sachniatbo*] owns *Rhea* married to *Cronus*. 2. *Plutarch* makes *Isis* to find, at *Byblus*, a king called *Melcander*; and that name is plainly derived from the Hebrew *Melec* or *Moloch*: which title, the Bishop thinks, was appropriated eminently to *Cronus* or *Ham*, in old times. 3. The queen whom *Isis* found at *Byblus*, *Plutarch* tells us is by some called *Astarte* [or *A-*

*starte*, as it is in the *Greek*] which is the name of one of *Cronus's* wives in *Sachniatbo*. 4. *Plutarch* makes *Typhon* a contemporary with *Cronus* and his children; so doth *Sachniatbo*. When the whole is weighed on each side, it must be allowed that the ancient mythology of both was derived from the same source; but that the gods of the *Phœnicians* were so ancient as they made them, and as we commonly take them to be, is what we shall occasionally dispute hereafter.

(D) This is a further proof with us, that all the *Baals* of the *Phœnicians* were not intended for the sun; we here see one denominated from the sea. A lord of the sea, as well as a lord of heaven; which seems to distinguish them into two very widely different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of all their *Baals*. This appears from

(3) Vide SÆLD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 5. BOCHART. Geogr. sacr. (4) OR SARCH. p. 107.  
(5) See before, p. 241.

suppose; but we know nothing particular (E) of their idols. *Baal* is called sometimes a god, and sometimes a goddess; and reverly, *Astarte* is sometimes termed a goddess, and sometimes a god (F): but by the *Phœnician* mythology, she was wholly a goddess; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children\*. She is particularly called the goddess of the *Sidonians*, and in *Hebrew* *Astarteth* (G). Some<sup>†</sup> will have it, she was so called because she was represented in the form of sheep. But this is rejected as a meer notion. She was certainly represented as *Isis* was<sup>‡</sup>, with cows horns on her head<sup>§</sup> (H), and for the same reason; that is,

\* See before, p. 136.

† R. CIMEN. apud SELD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2.

‡ See before,

p. 205. § See before, p. 138.

from what we have observed in the note above the last. We see they were procreated successively from father to son; and it is hard to suppose, that they had the same stories of, and the same dependance on them all: however, we will not answer for all the inconsistencies that may have crept into the minds of the idolatrous *Phœnicians*, nor examine into the pretences that the partisans of each idol may have broached in favour of its antiquity or pre-eminence. After all, they may have each laid claim to the first honour, and, consequently, they may have each translated their *Baal* into the sun, or bright God of heaven; so that all their superstition may, indeed, have centered in him. We are very much inclined to think the Sun and Moon were the two great objects of their worship; and these we take most generally to have been stiled *Baal* and *Astarte*; and that they sometimes addressed themselves immediately to those great luminaries and rulers of the night and day, and sometimes obliquely, by repairing to the images of their own fancy. For, though they had translated them into those lights, yet they remembered, perhaps, that they were once mortals and benefactors, and therefore may have adored them under their human form, as well as in their celestial dignity, being taught, perhaps, or taking it into their heads, that their worship would be imperfect if they did not thus divide it.

(E) Fuller (6) ventures to picture *Baal* in general as a royal hero, with armour and a mantle on his body, a diadem on his head, and a sword in his hand, in act to strike.

(F) The *Hebrews* knew no distinction of sex in the gods; whence this arose. There are many instances to prove this; but we shall only produce one, where, in one verse only, with reference to *Baal*, he is both masculine and feminine. Καὶ καλέσθη ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ χιλάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα αὐτῆς ἐκκαμύσαν γόνυ τῷ Βαάλ, καὶ πᾶν εἶμα ὃ ἔπεριεζύοντο αὐτῷ (7). In other copies, however, it is τῷ Βαάλ; but the same do in other places make him feminine, as well as here masculine. Bochart (8) will have *Baal-berith* to have been a goddess, because *berith* in *Hebrew* is feminine; but, as it is most likely, that thereby is meant no more than the *Baal* of *Berytus* (9), we do not see how this conjecture will stand. *Astarte* was called a god by the *Hebrews*, they having no name in their tongue for a goddess (10).

(G) *Astarteth*, which signifies flocks of sheep or goats. It is conjectured that men in ancient times being chiefly addicted to a pastoral life, and delighting chiefly therein, drew their most favourite families of beauty from thence. This is supposed to have been the reason why *Astarteth* or *Astarte* was so called (11). It was first started by bishop Cumberland (12), that her first name was *Naamah*. His lordship tells us, that he could not think of

*Plutarch's* *Nemans*, *Cronus's* wife, but *Naamah* came into his mind. A late author has taken up this, and pushed it as far as it can possibly go. He finds that *Naamah* signifies the fair one. He finds also, that she was the wife of *Ham*. That he, carrying her about with him, 'changed her name to one that in another language had the same signification, and called her *Astarte*, as it is in the Greek, or *Astarteth* in the Hebrew; which word signifies in Hebrew flocks of cattle, sheep or goats.' According to these interpretations we do not perceive the exact similitude of these two names *Naamah* and *Astarte*. There is an allusive one, if you will. A fair woman was a beauty, so was a flock of cattle in ancient days; ergo *Naamah* and *Astarte* are translations of each other. However, our author brings us back again to his fair one; for *Lucian* in his most inaccurate and unsatisfactory account of the *Syrian* goddess, happening to say a priest assured him, that *Astarte* was *Europa*, the sister of *Cadmus*; it is sufficient for our author to believe they really were but one; and so he comes round to *Naamah* his fair faced one again: for Bochart searching after the etymology of *Europe*, finds that Εὐρώπη *Ur-appa* in the *Phœnician* tongue is in Greek λευκοπρόσωπον, which may be aptly enough rendered fair of face; wherefore our author calls Bochart in to his aid, and discovers self-evidently that *Europa* is *Astarte*, and *Astarte*, *Naamah*. Q. E. D. The inconsequence and presumption in all this, are too glaring for us to animadvert upon them. Nor should we have taken any notice at all of this passage, had it not been delivered as from the *Tripos*. Nor should we have taken notice of this one, had it been the only piece of the kind in the work. As some of the *Jews* absurdly derive her name from being represented under the form of sheep (14): others (15) derive it from the numbers of victims offered up to her; as if they sacrificed to her by whole flocks at a time.

(H) *Astarte*, we are told (16), put on a bull's head, as the mark of her sovereignty; but *Mercury* claps on a bull's or ox's head upon *Isis* to supply the place of her diadem, which the enraged *Orus* had torn off (17). We may see by both these stories, that the ox's head was esteemed an ensign of supreme dignity; and that *Astarte* and *Isis* were names for one person. Bochart (18) observes, that the word *Astarteth* may be extended to herds in general, and is not confined to the smaller cattle only; and insinuates, that she may be the *Grecian* *Is*, turned into a cow. It is also held, that she was the great *Juno*, as we shall see anon. Whence, by the way, we may seemingly account for the epithet *Homer* so often bestowed upon *Juno*, Βοῆπις *Hēn*, the ox-eyed *Juno*. Dr. Clerk, in his notes upon *Homer* (19), thinks that nothing particular is alluded to thereby; that this epithet is used

(6) *Pisgah*-fight. (7) *Reg.* xix. 18. (8) *Canaan* l. 2. c. 17. col. 775. (9) *Vide* CUMBERLAND on *SANCHON.* p. 151. (10) *Vide* BOCHART *ubi* *supr.* (11) *Vide* BEDFORD'S *Script. Chron.* p. 234. (12) *Ubi* *supr.* (13) *BEDFORD'S* *Script. Chron.* *ubi* *supr.* (14) *Vide* SELD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2. (15) *SCALIG.* *apud* *eund.* (16) *See* before, p. 138. (17) *See* before, p. 245. (18) *Canaan* l. 2. c. 2. col. 709. (19) *Il.* ix. *ver.* 451.

a is, to represent the moon's increase and decrease; for she was undoubtedly consecrated into that planet, and adored under the stile of *Queen of heaven* (I). She was also the *Phœnician Aphrodite* or *Venus* (K).

As there were many *Baals*, so also there were many *Astartes* (L). She went under different names, and was doubtless very variously represented (M). She is said to have consecrated *Tyre*, by depositing a fallen star there (N). We have little or nothing to say of their *Apollo* (O). He is taken for the *Phut* of *Moses*, and *Put*, whence the *Pythius* of the *Greeks*; but as we have occasionally contested

\* See before, 138. \* *Suid.* ad vocem 'Αστάρη. \* See before in the notes, p. 137. \* *Vide* BOCHART. *Geogr. Sacr.* l. 1. c. 3. col. 11.

used only to express the majesty of her countenance, and cites *Libanius*, who says as much, "Ὅμηρος ἐνδείξασθαι ἐκλάμενός, ὡς ἔκαστος ὀφθαλμοῦ τῇ Ἡρᾷ καλὸν τε μέγαν τε, ὡς ὁὖτος αὐτὴν ἐκλάσθαι" which is, that *Homér* only understood she had a large fine eye.

(I) There is all the reason in the world to believe this. It appears sufficiently from her horned front. *Lucian* (20) took her for the moon. *Herodianus* (21), mistaken in her name, calling her *Astroarche*, says, that the *Phœnicians* would have her to be the moon. *Selden* (22) thinks it indubitable, that she was the *Balifama*, corrupted from *Buleth-Samain*, the *queen of heaven*, as also *Baal-is*. Some (23) say on the contrary, that she was worshipped in the star called *Lucifer*; but the same consider her under the name of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, which also she bore; so that her attribute may have been altered or varied in this case, as well as her name. We shall have occasion to resume this again a little farther.

(K) *Cicero* (24) is very explicit upon this, enumerating the several *Venus's*, the fourth, says he, was a *Syrian* of *Tyre* called *Astarte*; who, as the tradition goes, married *Adonis*. That she was a *Venus* we understand from several other writers; but for the present shall content ourselves with this one very plain testimony; upon which we beg leave to animadvert a little. *Cicero* places her the fourth in order; which we apprehend he does, as supposing the three that precede her in his account to be older than she. Again, she marries *Adonis*, who is universally allowed to be an *Affyrian* by descent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it seems apparent enough, that the superstition in honour of *Adonis* was introduced by the *Affyrians* when they conquered *Phœnice*, and that *Astarte* was his contemporary. This seems to take off considerable from her great antiquity. *Sir Isaac Newton* (25) reckons that the *Baalim* and *Astartoth* came originally from the banks of the *Tygris*, whence they migrated into *Phœnice*. Hence he derives all the superstition and idolatry of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*: the *Tyrian*, *Syrian*, and *Affyrian Belus*, says he\*, were all one. If we might be allowed to declare our sentiment on this head, we would add, that the greatest part of what we know of the *Phœnician* religion is of *Affyrian* origin, and that it was imposed on them together with the *Affyrian* yoke. This will bring down the antiquity of their fabulous deities very low. We know how the *Syrians* boasted the antiquity of their great *Adad* or *Adad*, the king of gods, as *Sanctioniatho* (26) in his *Phœnician Antiquities* styles him: we know also how vainly they did it, and how falsely (27). If then there be such a flaw

to be found in the pretended age of *Adad*, the same must affect *Cronus* and *Astarte*, his contemporaries and confederates (28). They are certainly of late date, in comparison of what the learned have generally thought them.

(L) This we have sufficiently insinuated already. We have already seen her *Venus*, *Juno*, and the *Moon*. The *LXX* more than once mention her in the plural number. A father of the church (29) observes, that *Juno* was undoubtedly the *Astarte* of the *Pæni*, and consequently of the *Phœnicians*; and that she was mentioned in the plural with regard had to the many statues of her; and that as each statue was called a *Juno*, thence came many *Juno's* or *Astartes*. To this we will add, that *Astarte* was positively the *Grecian Io*.

(M) We cannot doubt but she was pictured as variously as the characters she bore, and the attributes bestowed on her required. As much a *Venus* as she was, it seems she was pictured with arms, as the goddess of war (31). She was far otherwise represented in her temple on mount *Libanus*, where she was mourning her lost *Adonis*: her head was muffled up in a veil; her left hand, which was under her mantle, supported her head; and floods of tears streamed down her cheeks (32). It must have been, we think, an *Astarte* that *Lucian* saw crowned with a tower, and with a sistrum in her hand, and supported by lions; but we cannot pick out of him in what temple, or where he saw this idol. It cannot be the *Syrian* goddess, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different description (33). This last idol resembles, in some particulars, certain images of *Isis* (34); but to trace her out through all her forms, is a task we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(N) Hence it was, we suppose, that she was worshipped as a star (35); and hence the notion of the star or globe of light, which at certain times darted down from the top of mount *Libanus* near her temple at *Aphac*, and plunged itself into the river of *Adonis* below, and was thought to be *Venus* (36). *Bochart* (37) knows not what to make of this fallen star, which *Astarte* is said to have carried to *Tyre*. Instead of ἐν τῷ ἀπορριπῆ ἄστρῳ, he would read ἐν τῷ ἀπορριπῆ vel ἀπορριπῆ ἀστράῳ, *Ælian* acquainting us from *Aristotle*, that there was a kind of eagle called *Asteris*; and therefore he would have it a bird instead of star. But by what precedes, it is most likely it was really a star they meant. The practice squares very nicely with the doctrine, as does also the story of the star that was wont to fall from the top of *Libanus* into the river below.

(O) We only know that he was in great repute among them; and that the *Tyrians*, when besieged by

(20) *De Dea Syr.* (21) *Apud SELD.* *de Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. c. 2. (22) *Ibid.* (23) *THEOPH.* *apud GYRALD.* *Hist. Deor. Syntag.* 13. (24) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3. (25) *Chronol. of anc. kingd. amend.* p. 161. \* *Ibid.* p. 279. (26) See before, p. 137. (27) See before in the notes, p. 372. (28) See before, p. 137. (29) *AUG.* *ad Jud.* 2. quest. 67. (30) *EURIPI.* *apud SELD.* *ubi supr.* (31) *Vide* BOCHART. *Canaan.* l. 1. c. 42. col. 664. (32) *MACROB.* *Satur.* l. 1. c. 27. (33) See before, p. 373. (34) See before, 205. (35) See before in this page, note (I). (36) *Vide* BOCHART. *ubi supr.* col. 749. (37) *Ubi supr.* col. 709.

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MANY priests or prophets attended also on the rites of *Astarte*. Jezabel had no fewer than four hundred of them to her share <sup>f</sup>. Our version calls them *prophets of the groves*: but Mr. Selden has proved, by comparing many passages of scripture together <sup>m</sup>, that *Astarte* is meant by them; and some <sup>n</sup> who know not how to contest this interpretation, believe she was worshipped in a grove, which is very likely, such places being for the most part accounted sacred to religious rites, in the first times \*. We must not doubt but she was served with much form, pomp, and mystery; and women, particularly, are said to have been employed to weave hangings or tabernacles for her <sup>p</sup>. When she was adored as the *Queen of heaven*, or the moon itself, they offered up to her cakes, which were prepared for that service with great ceremony: *The children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven* <sup>q</sup>. They also burned incense to her, and poured out drink-offerings to her <sup>r</sup>. This *Astarte*, queen of heaven, was, as we have said, the moon itself <sup>s</sup>; for as they paid their homage immediately to the sun, the same we may safely suppose, they did to the moon. It was an ancient custom. Those great lights were always considered together. The inimitable *Job* <sup>t</sup> says, *If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed; or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judges.* Some <sup>u</sup> fancy, upon what authority does not at present occur to us, that her cakes were stamped with a crescent. At *Byblus* she was worshipped in a particular manner; for there she had a temple as the *Venus of Adonis* <sup>v</sup>. And there, such women as would not conform to the custom of shaving their heads at the annual time of lamenting *Adonis*, were bound to prostitute their bodies for one entire day, to all strangers that would have them, for

\* See before in the notes, p. 134.    <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 397.    <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 86.    <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 19.    <sup>e</sup> 2 Kings x. 24.    <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings ubi supr.    <sup>g</sup> Vide PATRICK in loc.    <sup>h</sup> PORPHY *apud alexand.* l. 2. § 56, &c.    <sup>i</sup> See before, p. 138.    <sup>j</sup> See before, p. 259.    <sup>k</sup> 1 Kings ubi supr. ver. 19.    <sup>l</sup> PATRICK in loc.    <sup>m</sup> CLERIC in loc.    <sup>n</sup> See before in the notes, p. 294.    <sup>o</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 7.    <sup>p</sup> Jerem. vii. 18.    <sup>q</sup> Idem xlv. 17, 18.    <sup>r</sup> See before, p. 399.    <sup>s</sup> Ibid. xxxii. 26, 27, 28.    <sup>t</sup> See FULLER's *Pisgah-fight*.    <sup>u</sup> LUCIAN de *Dea Syr.*

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the exorbitant antiquity of his kindred gods, we cannot allow his. *Hercules* or *a Melcartus* (P) was the great and ancient god of Tyre. They anciently represented him in no form. His temple had no images in it \* (Q), a seeming undeniable instance of his high antiquity (R). However, that they deviated from this laudable custom may, perhaps, appear when we come to the siege of Tyre by Alexander †. Among their gods we may also place *Adonis*, *Thammuz* or *Osiris*, which you will (S); nor must we forget the *Patæci* (T) they carried about in the prows of their ships ‡.

\* See before in the notes, ubi sup.

† See ibid.

‡ HERODOT. l. 3. c. 37.

by Alexander, were so much afraid that he should leave them, as they superstitiously dreaded, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains (38) to the altar of *Hercules* (39).

(P) So called from מלך קרת מלך מלך *Malac-cartha*, the king of the city, which Bochart (40) supposes to be Tyre. Sir Isaac Newton (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governor, or prince of the city of *Carteia* in Spain. *Hesychius* (42) says, that the *Amathusians* called *Hercules* by the name of *Malic*. *Pliny* (43) calls him, corruptly, *Midacritus*. He was a great navigator, and was the first that brought lead from the *Cassiterides* or islands of Britain. According to others (44) he invented the shell-purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth stained therewith.

(Q) This is in part contradicted by *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius* of Tyana, who particularly dwells on the temple of *Gadira* or *Gades*, which is (45) said to have had no images in it, and to have continued in that simple state to the time of *Silius Italicus* (46). In *Philostratus* we find indeed that there were no statues erected either to the *Egyptian* or *Theban Hercules*; for both were worshipped in this same temple, as he informs us: there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the *Egyptian Hercules*. But though the gods were unrepresented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* (as they are commonly called) finely wrought; the *Hydra*, and *Diomed's* horse. In this temple were kept the golden belt of *Tenar*, and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *Smaragdine* fruit, of wondrous workmanship (47). By this may be learned, that, at least, the *Theban Hercules* was the *Tyrian Melcartus*; for we need not say that *Pygmalion* was king of Tyre.

(R) We have already given his genealogy in the *Phœnician Antiquities* (48). The *Egyptians* reckoned their *Hercules* to be seventeen thousand years older than their king *Amasis* (49). The *Tyrians* were more modest, and only reckoned their *Hercules* to be as old as their city, which was two thousand three hundred years \*. The *Tyrians* paid as great a veneration to their hero as the *Egyptians* could do to theirs (50); but whether both their *Hercules's* were in reality one and the same, is what we pretend not to decide. *Cicero* (51) reckons the *Tyrian Hercules* the fourth of those he enumerates, and calls him the son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the sister of *Latona*, and the father of *Carthage*. *Lucian* (52) says, that the *Tyrian Hercules* was not the *Hercules* celebrated by the *Greeks*, but another far more ancient, who was a *Tyrian* hero.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the same object. Whence the people of *Amathus*, an ancient city of *Cyprus*, conflated their *Admefris* (53), which is a compound of both the names, *Adonis* and *Osiris*; for the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* laid equal claim to him (54) under different appellations, though he was certainly an *Egyptian* (55). So then the beautiful *Adonis*, begotten by *Cyniras* an *Affyrian* (56), is in reality the *Egyptian Osiris*. It is a very labyrinth we are in, to consider these things as they are told us; but take the following parallel (57) between the solemnities and ceremonies sacred to them both: they had both of them their *aparisude*, disappearance, or death; they both had their *lustris*, or their search after them with mourning; and they both had their *iupais*, or invention, with joy and gladness. In reality they were but one. Both the nations in this case meant no other than the sun; concerning whose approach and departure they framed such fables as might best take with the people. The month of *June* was the season when all this superstition was transacted both by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* (58).

(T) They were small statues. *Herodotus* (59) likens them to pigmies. *Hesychius* (60) and *Suidas* will have them to have been placed in the prows of the ships. The fashion was, for certain, changed in the great length of time between them and *Herodotus*. They were carried about for protection from disasters of the sea. They were the tutelary gods of sea-faring men (61). Thus the *Spaniards* at this day carry to sea with them little images of the saints, that they may stand their friends in distress. They will perform you a nine days devotion to St. *Francis Xavier* for a fair wind and favourable weather when at sea; and if the miracle is not wrought as expected, vow never more to trouble the saints again. The next minute the captain will hang him up an image of our lady of *Bethlem*, and declare that he will not take her down till she gives him a fair wind. If she will not do as he would have her, she must give place to our lady of mount *Carmel*; who, upon non-performance, is changed into our lady of the *Rosary*; and if she prove deaf also, up goes our lady of *Solitude* instead of her; and she not bearing any more than the rest, our lady of *Affliction* takes her turn (62), and so on *ad infinitum*. These are Christian *Patæci*. Why should we wonder at the blind *Phœnicians*? This we thought worth the notice. It is a good parallel, and comes from a good *Roman Catholic*, who was an eye-witness of this practice.

(38) DIOD. SIC. l. 17. p. 584. (39) PLUTARCH in vit. Alex. (40) Canaan ubi supra, col. 709. (41) Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 111, 112. (42) Apud BOCHART, ubi supra. (43) Lib. 7. c. 56. (44) Incertus apud SUID. (45) Ibid. (46) See before in the notes, p. 137. (47) PHILOST. in vit. APOL. TYAN. l. 5. c. 1. p. 211. (48) See before, p. 137. (49) HERODOT. l. 3. c. 43. (\*) Idem ibid. (50) Vide MACROB. Saturn. l. 1. (51) De Nat. Deor. (52) De Di. Syr. (53) Vide STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. & popul. ad vocem 'Aμᾶθῦς. (54) Vid. eund. ibid. (55) Vid. eund. ibid. (56) Vid. APOLLOD. Bibliot. l. 3. c. 13. & CYRIL in Is. l. 2. tom. III. p. 274. (57) Vide MARTH. Can. Chron. secul. 1. p. 31. (58) Vide eund. ibid. (59) Lib. 3. c. 37. (60) Ad vocem Πάταξ. (61) Vide SELD. de Di. Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 16. BOCHART Canaan, l. 2. c. 3. col. 712, 713. (62) See FRAZIER'S Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 143. of the Eng. Transf. in 4to.

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hire; and the money so got was presented to the goddess<sup>a</sup>. Her temple at *Aphac* <sup>a</sup> on mount *Libanus* was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most beastly lust. The men there sunk into the most degenerate effeminacy to comfort the mournful goddess<sup>b</sup>. The most shameful commerce between the sexes was allowed within those prophane walls. And this was permitted and practised, as some<sup>c</sup> conjecture, because in this place *Venus* first rushed herself into the arms of *Adonis*. Or, as others<sup>d</sup> say, because this was either the first or the last place where they enjoyed each other. Other temples she doubtless had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to distinguish or enumerate. What else may be said of her, or her worship, we may have occasion to resume hereafter. Though she is called the goddess of the *Sidonians*, her principal temple seems to have been <sup>b</sup> that at *Tyre*, built by *Hiram*<sup>e</sup>.

AFTER what manner they worshipped their *Apollo* is uncertain; but to their *Hercules* they are said to have paid great honour. His worship was performed with great solemnity: the assistants were all clad alike, in *Egyptian* linen. They offered the incense to him with a loose flowing garment; the priestly vest was adorned with broad streaks or stripes of purple; their feet were bare; their heads were shaven; they were pure from any pollution, as it was thought, contracted from the other sex, and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and swine were carefully kept from approaching it<sup>c</sup>: such were the ceremonies used, and customs observed, in the worship of the *Tyrian Hercules*. <sup>c</sup> They paid him tythes. More might be said concerning this *Hercules's* temples, and the honours done him, which we shall refer till we come to treat of *Hercules* in general.

WE shall now close up this account of their religious practices, customs, and ceremonies, with what they were wont to do in commemoration of *Adonis*, or *Osiris*, or *Adonofris*, or *Thammuz*; for, as we have already observed<sup>d</sup>, all these names centered in one object. His father, they pretend, was one *Cinyras* an *Assyrian*, who founded the city of *Paphos* in the island of *Cyprus*<sup>e</sup>. Some say his name was *Gingris* or *Gingras*<sup>f</sup> among the *Phœnicians*. But whatever his name was, it is agreed, he was a most beautiful youth. On the one hand<sup>g</sup> it is reported, that *Venus* was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to <sup>d</sup> *Proserpine*; that when *Venus* came to demand him of her, she refused to deliver him to her; and that hence a dispute arose between them, which was decided by *Jupiter*, who decreed that the youth should be one third of the year with *Proserpine*, another third with *Venus*, and that during the last third, he should dispose of himself as he best liked. That in consequence of this, *Adonis*, smitten with the charms of *Venus*, spent two thirds of his time with that fond goddess; whereat *Diana* taking offence, sent a wild boar to put a miserable end to his life. On the other hand<sup>h</sup>, it is reported that *Adonis* was the offspring of an incestuous embrace. That he was begot by his father *Cinyras* on his own daughter *Myrrah*. That to hide the guilt of so unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world, he was ex- <sup>e</sup> posed on the mountains, where he was nursed by the nymphs, and became a great sportsman. That *Venus* seeing him at his manly sport, fell in love with him, and received him into an intimacy with her: and that *Mars* conceiving a violent jealousy thereat, turned himself into the shape of a wild boar, and slew the beauteous youth. That *Venus* being unspeakably grieved at the sad news, followed him to the shades to demand him; but that *Proserpine* at first refusing to deliver him, was at length brought to this agreement, that he should be half the year with her, and half the year with *Venus*, who returned with joy to the earth again, and acquainted her followers with the success of her descent, and ordained a festival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this with what is related of *Isis* <sup>f</sup> and *Osiris*<sup>g</sup>, will find it to be the very same story in a different dress. In consequence of this mysterious tradition, there was great grief among the women, at *Byblus* especially, for the death of *Adonis*, which was succeeded by as great joy for his recovery.

BUT the *Jewish* writers have among them another story concerning the origin of the rites of *Thammuz* or *Adonis*. *Maimonides*<sup>h</sup> relates that the ancient *Zabii* held *Thammuz* to have been an idolatrous prophet, who preaching up to a certain king

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>b</sup> See before in the notes, p. 399. <sup>c</sup> BOCHART. Cansan. l. 2. c. 14. col. 749.  
<sup>d</sup> Etymol. magn. apud eund. ibid. <sup>e</sup> MENAND. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. <sup>f</sup> SY-  
LIUS ITAL. l. 3. <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 400. <sup>h</sup> APOLLON. Biblioth. ubi supr. <sup>i</sup> JUL. POL. l. 2.  
c. 4. l. 4. c. 14. <sup>j</sup> APOLLON. Biblioth. ubi supr. <sup>k</sup> CYRIL. in Is. ubi supr. <sup>l</sup> See before,  
p. 243. <sup>m</sup> In More Nebuchim.

a the doctrine of worshipping the seven planets and the twelve signs, the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death. That on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermost parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden statue or the sun, at *Babylon*; and that he acquainted them with the tragical end of *Tammuz*. That hereupon the images wept and lamented all night for *Tammuz*, and that as soon as morn appeared, they all flew back to their places. Hence, says he, was derived the custom of mourning over *Tammuz*. Finally, it is said he was the son of a heathen king, whose images the *Jewish* women adored with tears, nor refrained from offering sacrifices to it.

b WHOEVER he was, and whatever they meant by him, the superstition of mourning over him was a universal custom of the women in those parts. They began their lamentations at a stated time. They set up their outcries as soon as they perceived the river *Adonis* to run with a bloody face<sup>a</sup>, as at certain times it did<sup>a</sup>. The lamentations of a mother for the loss of her only son could not be more piercing or extraordinary<sup>b</sup>. They then proceeded to their sacrifices of the dead, having first disciplined themselves with whipping; and on the morrow, pretending him to be revived, and ascended through the air to the upper regions, they shaved their heads, as the *Egyptians* did for the loss of *Apis*, and, at *Byblus* at least, those who would not comply, were bound to prostitute themselves in the manner, and for the purposes above specified<sup>c</sup>. Some<sup>d</sup> relate, that on a certain night, while this solemnity lasted, they laid an image in a bed, and having gone through a bead-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the priest anointing the mouths of the assistants, whispered to them that salvation was come—that deliverance was brought to pass. Upon which their sorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as it were out of its sepulchre. Or as others say<sup>e</sup>, the priests of *Osiris* in *Egypt* wrote to the women of *Byblus*, signifying to them, that they had found that god. They sent this letter in an earthen pot, as some say, or in a small ark or head as it is called<sup>f</sup>, made of the papyrus, which came by sea of its own accord to *Byblus*. This voyage it performed in seven days<sup>g</sup>, and it no sooner appeared in the port, but the women danced, feasted and rejoiced as extravagantly d as they had before wept, mourned and lamented<sup>h</sup>. This custom has made so lasting an impression on the women of those parts, that it is visibly kept up by them of *Aleppo* to this day<sup>i</sup>.

THERE are different ways of explaining away all this mystery. *Adonis* was the sun. The upper hemisphere of the earth, or that which we think so, was anciently called *Venus*; the under, *Proserpine*. Therefore when the sun was in the six inferior signs, they said he was with *Proserpine*, when he was in the six superior, with *Venus*. By the boar that slew *Adonis*, they understood winter; for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid season<sup>a</sup>. Or, by *Adonis* they meant the fruits of the earth, which are for one while buried, but at length appear flourishing to the sight. When therefore the seed was thrown into the ground, they said *Adonis* was gone to *Proserpine*; but when it sprouted up, they said, he had revisited the light and *Venus*. And hence probably it was that they sowed corn, and made gardens for *Adonis*; for such a custom they also had<sup>b</sup>. We may safely suppose there was no small variation among those who received this piece of superstition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practised. Finally, *Plutarch*<sup>c</sup> takes *Adonis* to be *Bacchus*. *Osiris* also the sun<sup>d</sup>, as we have seen, was *Adonis*<sup>e</sup>. To be brief, it was contended that *Osiris* was buried at *Byblus*<sup>f</sup>. *Adonis* is lord<sup>g</sup>, so is *Baal*.

f PLUTARCH<sup>a</sup> also informs us that *Isis* had a temple at *Byblus*, where they worshipped the heath which had concealed *Osiris*'s coffin. This *Byblian Isis* must certainly have been *Astarte*; so that we end with the *Baalim* and *Astarte* as we have began.

HERODOTUS<sup>b</sup> mentions the *Phœnicians* to have been circumcised: but *Josephus*<sup>c</sup> asserts, that none of the nations included under the vague names of *Palestine* and *Syria* used that rite, the *Jews* excepted; so that if the *Phœnicians* had anciently that custom, they came in time to neglect it, and at length wholly laid it aside. They abstained from the flesh of swine<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PHILAST. apud SELD. de Diu Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 11.    <sup>b</sup> LUCIAN de De. Syr.    <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 394.    <sup>d</sup> AMM. MARCELL. l. 19.    <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 401.    <sup>f</sup> JUL. FIRM. apud PURCH. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 17. p. 90.    <sup>g</sup> PROCOF. & CYRIL. in lla. xviii.    <sup>h</sup> LUCIAN ubi supr.    <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>a</sup> PROCOF. & CYRIL. ubi supr.    <sup>b</sup> See SELLER's Hist. of Palmyra in the Preface.    <sup>c</sup> MACROB. Saturn. l. 1. c. 21.    <sup>d</sup> Vide VOS. de Idololat. l. 2. c. 5. p. 167.    <sup>e</sup> Sympos. l. 4. p. 671.    <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 204.    <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 400.    <sup>h</sup> LUC. de Dea Syr.    <sup>i</sup> See before,    <sup>a</sup> De l'Id. & Osirid.    <sup>b</sup> Lib. 2. c. 104.    <sup>c</sup> CONT. AP. l. 1.    <sup>d</sup> HERODIAN. l. 5.

*Their Arts  
and Learning.*

MUCH is said of the *Phœnicians*, their arts, sciences, and manufactures. But as <sup>a</sup> what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we have it not in our power to expatiate on particulars. The *Sidonians*, under which we comprehend all the *Phœnicians* in general, as was anciently a very usual thing <sup>b</sup>, were of a most happy genius and frame of mind, capable of any thing <sup>c</sup>. Arithmetic and astronomy either took rise among them <sup>d</sup>, or were brought by them to their perfection, and applied to mercantile, nautical, architectonical, and fabrical uses. From them those excellent sciences flowed into *Greece* <sup>e</sup>, together with their letters <sup>f</sup>. They were from the beginning, as it were, addicted to philosophical exercises of the mind; inasmuch that a *Sidonian*, by name *Mosebus*, taught the doctrine of atoms before the *Trojan* war <sup>g</sup>, and *Abdomenus* of *Tyre* <sup>h</sup> undertook to grapple even <sup>i</sup> with *Solomon*, by the subtle propositions he offered to that wisest of earthly kings. *Phœnice* continued to be one of the seats of learning, and both *Tyre* and *Sidon* <sup>j</sup> produced their philosophers of latter ages; *Boëthus* and *Diodatus* of *Sidon*, *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and *Apollonius* of the same place, who wrote of the writings and disciples of *Zeno* <sup>k</sup>. Their doctrine concerning the origin of the world, and the formation of things, we have already mentioned <sup>l</sup>.

*Their Language.*

THEIR language was at least a dialect of the *Hebrew*. It was that of the ancient *Canaanites*. Their letters or characters we take to have been the same with the *Samaritan*. But for our particular thoughts of both the one and the other, and for the construction of both, we must crave the reader's patience till we come <sup>c</sup> to treat of the *Hebrew* tongue.

*Their Manufactures.*

How great soever they were for the sciences, and for their discoveries and improvements in the learned way; it is far from being improbable that they excelled much more in the labours of the hand than in those of the head <sup>e</sup>. The glass of *Sidon*, the purple of *Tyre*, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were of their own growth, and their staple manufactures. These are said to have been their own inventions <sup>f</sup>. And for their extraordinary skill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and stone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was solid, and great, and ornamental in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large share they had in erecting and decorating of the temple at *Jerusalem* <sup>d</sup> under their *Hiram*; than which nothing is more known, nothing more certain, nor is there any thing that can more redound to their honour, or insinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings must have been. Their fame was such for their just taste, fine design, and luxuriant invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing, whether in apparel, or vessels, or toys, was called, by way of excellence, *Sidonian* workmanship or contrivance <sup>g</sup>.

*Their Trade  
and Navigation.*

THUS far we have considered them as learned men and artificers, improving themselves, and cultivating their minds sedately at home. It remains that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endless colonies in foreign parts. As they were merchants, they may be said to have engrossed all the commerce of the western world at least. As navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and greatest discoverers of the ancient times; they had for many ages no rivals. And as they were planters of colonies, they did so much that way, that when it is remembered that their country was probably little more than the slip of ground between mount *Libanus* and the sea, it is surprizing how they could furnish such supplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native seat. They were the most busy, most enterprising people that can well be conceived.

WE have started a conjecture, that the *Phœnicians* were not a little induced to become foreign dealers by their neighbourhood with the *Syrians*, whom we have considered as the most ancient of those who negotiated any thing considerably and regularly with the more eastern regions <sup>a</sup>. And we see no reason we have to depart from this position. For their own territory was but small, and but little able to afford any considerable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any thing, to speak of, till they began to turn all the channels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In *Syria*, which was a large country, they found store of superabundant productions of the natural growth of that country, and many choice, and precious, and useful commodities brought from the east.

<sup>a</sup> Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 37. col. 301. <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. col. 303. <sup>c</sup> STRABO, l. 16. p. 757. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> HERODOT. <sup>f</sup> POSIDONIUS apud STRABO ubi supr. <sup>g</sup> MS. HAND. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. l. 8. c. 2. & cont. AP. l. 1. <sup>h</sup> STRABO ubi supr. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>j</sup> See before, p. 17. <sup>k</sup> Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 35. col. 303. <sup>l</sup> Vide eund. ibid. <sup>m</sup> See before, p. 379.



- a Hereupon having a safe coast and convenient harbours on the one side of them, and excellent materials for ship-building upon the mountains on the other, and perceiving by degrees how acceptable many commodities, that *Syria* furnished them with, would be in foreign parts; and being at the same time, perhaps, shewn the way by the *Syrians* themselves, who may have navigated the *Mediterranean*; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, and, by an uncommon application thereto, soon eclipsed the *Syrians* themselves on the *Mediterranean* sea. Nature herself pointed to them their advantages, and daily experience before their eyes, and a laudable ambition, may have prompted them to that which brought them to be considered as the first of the earth for riches and splendor, if not for power.
- b It were in vain to talk of the *Edomites*, who fled hither in *David's* time \*; or to enquire whence *Herodotus* derives the *Phœnicians* from the *Red-sea* †. Their origin we have already seen ‡. That some of the *Edomites* fled into this country in the days of *David* we have already shewn. And that the *Edomites* were a trading people we have elsewhere noted §. What improvements they brought with them into *Phœnice* is hard to say. And, by the way, it is as hard to speak of their numbers, or to say how it could be possible for a parcel of refugees to communicate their own name to the ancient proprietors, as is pretended ¶. It seems to be plain, that they brought with them a knowledge of the *Red-sea*, and of the south parts of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*; and that, by their instructions and lights, they made the *Phœnicians* acquainted with those coasts, which before they knew nothing of, and enabled them to undertake the voyages they did in those parts for *Solomon*, and for *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*. But we will dwell no longer on these particulars so hard to be ascertained. We have only started them to exercise those of our inquisitive readers, who have leisure and inclination to bend their thoughts this way; and shall only add, in a summary way, that it is our opinion, the *Phœnicians* were both younger merchants and navigators than the *Syrians*, and that they reaped considerable advantages by the access of the fugitive *Edomites* that sought for shelter among them in *David's* time.

THEIR whole thoughts were how to advance their trade. They affected no empire but that of the sea. They sought to enlarge no other dominion. They seem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce. They traded to all the known parts they could reach, or knew the way to. The *British* isles, commonly understood by the *Cassiterides*, *Spain*, other places in the ocean both to the north and south of the *Straits* mouth, in general all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, the *Black-sea* and the lake *Meotis* †; in all these parts they had settlements and correspondence, from all which they drew what was useful to themselves, or might be so to others reciprocally: and thus they exercised the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided into importation, exportation, and transportation, in full latitude. Such was the extent of their sea trade: as for their correspondence by land in *Syria*, and by the way thereof, in *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and even the *Indies*, not to carry the thing any farther; this may furnish us with some adequate idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how unhyperbolically their merchants are mentioned in scripture as equal to princes ‡. Their country was at that time the great warehouse, where every thing, that might either administer to the necessities or luxury of mankind, was to be found; which they distributed as they judged would be best for their own interest, which they must have had the art of cherishing, as much as we have in our days. It would be in vain for us to undertake a detail of what they brought by sea, or of what was sent them over land from each particular place, or of what they sent to the several countries they dealt with. We shall have occasion to specify the particulars when we come to mention the ancient trade of each country. Their own principal commodities were the purple of *Tyre*, the glass of *Sidon*, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country §; these, and other fine pieces of art, in metals and wood, seem to have been the chief, and almost only commodities of *Phœnice* itself. Their country was so small, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of the fruits thereof. It is more likely that they rather wanted, than abounded with the fruits of the earth.

HAVING thus spoken in general terms of their trade, we shall now just touch upon their shipping, and some things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger

\* See before, p. 314.

† See before in the notes, p. 315.

‡ See before, p. 396.

§ See before, p. 310.

¶ See before, p. 383.

† Vide HÛT Hist. de la Comm. et de la Navig. des Anc.

‡ Isai. xxiii. 8.

§ See before, p. 404.



embarkations were of two sorts. They divided them into round ships or *Gauli* <sup>a</sup> and long ships, gallies, or *Triremes* <sup>b</sup>. When they drew up in line of battle, the *Gauli* were at a small distance off each other in the wings, or in the van and the rear, and about; their *Triremes* were contracted together in the center <sup>c</sup>. If at any time their ships bound on a voyage, observed that a stranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were sure to get rid of him, if they could, or deceive him, if possible; in which they would go so far as to venture the loss of their ships, and even their lives, so that they could but destroy or disappoint him <sup>d</sup>; so jealous were they of foreigners, and so tenaciously bent on keeping all to themselves. And to add to the dangers of the seas, and to discourage other nations from trilling themselves thereon, they affected piracy <sup>e</sup>; or to be at war <sup>f</sup> with such as they met when they thought themselves strongest. This was but a natural stroke of policy in a people who grasped at the whole commerce of the then known world. Talking of their navigation we must not forget the famous fishery of *Tyre*, which so remarkably enriched the city of *Tyre* in particular. The fish they sought after were those wherewith they dyed purple, the richest dye in the world. They were always careful to take them alive. An ancient author <sup>g</sup> attributes the dissoluteness of *Tyre* to the number of the dyers there; from whence we may gather they were a rich and a numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fish is some how or other lost (X), or those on that coast at present know not how to catch it.

We might here speak of the *Phœnician* voyages in the service of *Solomon*, had we not a more proper place in our eye of expatiating thereon. The long voyage some of them undertook in the service, and to satisfy the curiosity of *Necho* king of *Egypt*, round *Afric*, going out of the *Red-sea*, and returning by the way of the *Straits* mouth, deserves not to be passed over. They were three years about it (Y). The reader, we hope, will not be displeased that we have dwelt so long on this extraordinary people. He will perceive we might have said ten times more; and that it was impossible for us to say less of them than we have said, either to refresh his memory, or give him information. Their colonies and settlements will be particularly remarked in the order they may occur. <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Vide BOCHART. *Canaan*, l. 2. c. 11. col. 739. <sup>b</sup> POLYÆN. l. 6. <sup>c</sup> Vide STRAB. l. 3. p. 175. <sup>d</sup> HUET ubi supr. c. 16. p. 70. <sup>e</sup> Idem l. 16.

(X) We are assured by an eye-witness, who is too modest to allow us the use of his name, that they have a kind of fish on the rocks on the coast a little to the westward of *Panama*, with which the *Indians* dye a red purple. That they carry their yarn down to the sea-side: that they bring it back dyed: and that their hands are always discoloured, like those of our dyers.

(Y) We see then the *Portuguese* were only the re-discoverers of the *Cape of Good-hope*. Here we will beg leave to animadvert a little upon a celebrated author (65), who will have it, the *Phœnicians* made it a common practice to trade with *India*, by the way of the *Cape of Good-hope*, from the times of *Solomon*. This is incredible on many accounts. 1. The *Phœnicians* had no such temptation to undertake so long and dangerous a voyage as we have: the voyage to them must have been much longer than it is at present to us. 2. They are not above half so far from *India* as we are. 3. It is incredible that the structure and rigging of their ships were rightly adapted for so unfavourable a navigation; nor is it likely that they could at once furnish themselves with stores and provisions sufficient for their use and necessities, and at the same time have any great cargo of goods on board. 4. These disadvantages considered, it must appear that they might have been sup-

plied with all the eastern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the *Egyptians* and *Edomites* on the *Arabian* gulf, and from *Syria* on the *Euphrates*; and this certainly was a part of the trade they drove with *Syria* and *Egypt* (66). 5. It is not to be imagined, if the contrary practice had been usual, that all memory of it would have been lost; that the *Romans* in *Ovid's* time would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that *Herodotus* would have reckoned it as so noble a transaction of *Necus's* reign, that he sent the most expert *Phœnicians* he could procure to explore the shores of *Afric* (67); or that the same, in other respects, most knowing historian, would have disputed the credibility of what the sailors reported on their return, that they had the sun on the right hand of them (68); it being the ancient custom, as we have somewhere read in *Plutarch*, to set the face to the westward; in which posture the sun must be on the right hand of him who is to the southward of its course, which they must have been over and over again, who doubled the *Cape of Good-hope*. In short, the *Indian* commerce by that rout could have answered no manner of end to the *Phœnicians*, nor could they have been tempted to frequent it, situated as they were between *Egypt* and *Syria*, the two great magazines of whatever the east afforded.

(65) HUET *Histoire du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc.* chap. 8.  
(67) See before, p. 267. (68) MELPOMEN. c. 42.

(66) See before, p. 379.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the PHOENICIANS.

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this subject. In general we may say, that the history of the *Phœnicians* is no other than a continuation of that of *Canaan*; as is on all hands allowed (A). Their particular epochs it is impossible to discover. Their records, once so faithfully kept<sup>a</sup>, are now no more. We will not therefore enter professedly upon so dark a matter, but shall content ourselves with touching thereon occasionally hereafter. It is observed<sup>b</sup>, that they boasted an excessive antiquity, no less than thirty thousand years; in which, however, they were far more reasonable than some others, who certainly could claim very little, or nothing beyond them in that particular. To adhere to the method we have laid down, we shall subjoin a series of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, so far as we can collect them.

K I N G S of S I D O N.

\*\*\*\*\*  
*Agenor,*  
*Phœnix,*  
*Pbalis,*  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
 An anonymous king,  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
*Tetramnestus,*  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
*Tennes,*  
*Strato,*  
*Balkonymus, Abdolomi-*  
*nas, Abdolominus, or*  
*Alonymus.*

K I N G S and J U D G E S of T Y R E.	Reigned	
	Accord. to MENAND. EPHES.	Accord. to THEOPHIL. ANTIOC.
*****		
<i>Abibal, or Abcimal, Hi-</i> <i>ram, Hierom, Hiero-</i> <i>men, Irom, Chiram,</i> <i>or Suron,</i>		
<i>Balestartus, or Bazor,</i>	7 Years - - - - -	- - - - 17 Years
<i>Abdastartus,</i>	9 - - - - -	- - - - 12
The eldest of the mur- derers of <i>Abdastartus,</i> }	12 - - - - -	- - - - -
<i>Astartus,</i>	12 - - - - -	- - - - -
<i>Astarimus, or Atbary- mus,</i> }	9 - - - - -	- - - - -
<i>Phelles, or Helles,</i>	8 - - Months - -	- - - - -
<i>Ethbal, Ithobal, or Ju- thobal,</i> }	32 Years - - - - -	- - - - 12
<i>Badezor, or Bazor,</i>	6 - - - - -	- - - - 7
<i>Badezor's son,</i>		
<i>Mettinus,</i>	9 - - - - -	- - - - 29

<sup>a</sup> Vid. JOSEPH. contr. Ap. I. 1.    <sup>b</sup> AFRICAN. apud STYCELL. p. 17.

(A) We have already given several proofs to evince this. We shall add, that the compiler of the *Alexandrine Chronicle* (1), speaking of the *Cananites* driven out by *Jehsa*, calls them, in part, *Phœnicians*.

(1) P. 183. 1;

KINGS and JUDGES of TYRE.		Reigned Accord. to MENAND. EPHES.	Accord. to THEO- PHIL. ANTIOG.
Pygmalion, *****		40 Years - - - - -	- - - - -
Elulens, *****		36 - - - - -	- - - - -
Iibobal, Baal,		10 - - - - -	- - - - -
Judges {	Ecnibal, - - - - -	2 Months - - - - -	- - - - -
	Gbelbis, - - - - -	10 Years - - - - -	- - - - -
	Abbar, the High-priest,	3 - - - - -	- - - - -
	Mytomas and Geraſtus, -	6 - - - - -	- - - - -
	Balator, - - - - -	1 - - - - -	- - - - -
	Merbal, - - - - -	4 - - - - -	- - - - -
	Irom, - - - - -	20 - - - - -	- - - - -
	Massen, Straso, *****		
	Azelmic, *****		
	Marion.		

#### The KINGS of ARAD, or ARADUS.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Arbal,  
Narbal,  
\*\*\*\*\*  
Geroſtratus.

WE need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable difference between *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, in their reigns of the *Tyrian* princes, to judge of the impoſſibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of even the beſt and cleareſt times of the *Phœnicians* in general.

### S E C T. IV.

#### The Phœnician Kings, from the ancient fabulous History of the Greeks.

*Agenor.* **B**EFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the *Phœnician* kings, we are, in ſome a manner, obliged to inſert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of *Agenor*, the firſt king of *Phœnice* mentioned by the *Greeks*.

*AGENOR* and *Belus* were, according to *Apollodorus*<sup>a</sup>, the ſons of *Neptune* by *Lybia*, daughter of *Epaphus*, who was king of a part of *Egypt*. *Belus* reigned in *Egypt*, and married *Anchine* daughter of *Nilus*, by whom he had *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Agenor* paſſed from *Egypt* into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married *Telephaſta* (*Stephanus* calls her *Telephe*) by whom he had *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Celix*<sup>b</sup>, and, according to *Pauſanias*, *Eleſtra*<sup>c</sup> and *Tbaſus*<sup>d</sup>. *Phericides*, as quoted by the ſcholiſt of *Apollonius*, gives him two wives, the one named *Damno*, by whom he had *Phœnix*, *Iſea*, and *Melia*; the other called *Argiope*, who<sup>e</sup> was mother to *Cadmus* and *Europa*. *Plutarch* mentions a fourth wife, called *Diorippe*, who brought forth *Sippylus*<sup>f</sup>. *Antonius Liberalis* a fifth, named *Caſſiopea*, who bore him a daughter, by name *Carina*. And *Cedrenus* a ſixth, whom he calls *Tyrus*, pretending that the city of *Tyre* borrowed its name from her. *Europa* (whom ſome writers will have to be the daughter of *Phœnix*, and not of *Agenor*) was ſtolen by *Jupiter*, transformed into a bull, that is, in a ſhip named the bull; or bearing

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 2.  
de Fluvio.

<sup>b</sup> Idem l. 3.

<sup>c</sup> PAUSAN. in BOEOT.

<sup>d</sup> Idem in ELIAC.

<sup>e</sup> PLUTARCH

a the figure of a bull in her stern, and carried into *Crete*. *Agenor*, being extremely grieved for the loss of his daughter, sent his son *Cadmus* with a great sum of money in quest of her: but he not finding her, nor daring to return home without her; resolved to go and settle elsewhere. With this design, having fitted out a small fleet, he put to sea, and landed in *Thrace*, where he had the good luck to discover a gold mine in the mount *Pangæus*. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to pursue his design, he was advised by the oracle of *Delphos* to leave *Thrace*, and pass into *Boeotia*, which he did accordingly; and having driven out the *Hyantes*; who opposed him, and allowed the *Aones*, who voluntarily submitted to him, to live in the country mixed with his *Phœnicians*, he founded a new kingdom, and built a  
b city; which, in derivation from his own name, he called *Cadmea*. That city was afterwards embellished, and enlarged by *Amphyon* and *Zeibus*, the two sons of *Antiope* (for they invaded the throne during the minority of *Laius*, the son of *Labdacus*; *Cadmus*'s grand-son) and by them called *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt, by the mother's side (A), as we shall shew in the sequel.

*ISAEA* and *Melia*, *Agenor*'s two daughters, married *Egyptus* and *Danaus*, their cousin Germans. *Cilix* is said by *Appollodorus*\*, to have settled in *Cilicia*, and given

\* PAUSAN. in Boeot.

\* APOLLOD. l. 3.

(A) We find such a disagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of *Agenor*, and his descendants, that it is impossible to come at the truth of the matter; and therefore not worth our while to attempt the unravelling of so perplexed and intricate a subject. What most authors seem to agree upon, is, 1. That *Agenor* was by birth an *Egyptian*; that from *Egypt* he passed (on what occasion we know not) into *Phœnice*, where he settled, and became the father of a numerous race. 2. All the *Greek* writers agree, that he was the first king of *Phœnice*, and the founder of the cities of *Sidon* and *Tyre*. But in the succession of the kings, some of the *Latins* place *Belus* the elder before him; and most of the moderns, upon the authority of *Josephus* (1), make *Sidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*, founder of the city of *Sidon*, which was so called from him. And as to the city of *Tyre*, the same *Josephus* tells us, that it was founded two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple: from whence it is plain, if we follow *Josephus* (whose authority, as to this particular, is far preferable to that of the *Greeks*) that these two cities were not built by one and the same person. *Tyre* was, without doubt, a colony of the *Sidonians*, it being called in scripture the daughter of *Sidon* (2). And *Justin* tells us, in express terms, that the city of *Tyre* was built before the taking of *Troy*, by the *Sidonians*, who being driven out of their own country by the king of the *Ascalonians*, were forced to seek new seats (3). 3. It is agreed upon by most of the ancients, that *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*, were the children of *Agenor*; and that with them a great many *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* went into *Asia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Libya*; and there introduced letters, music, poetry, and other arts, sciences, and customs of the *Phœnicians*. It is pretended, that *Europa* being carried away by *Taurus* king of *Crete*, *Agenor* sent her brother in quest of her; who, on that occasion, as they were enjoined not to return without her, founded several *Phœnician* colonies in *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, and *Libya*, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter. But *Sir Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that these *Phœnicians* went not to seek *Europa*, but new seats, being driven out of *Sidon* by the *Edomites*, whom *David* had conquered and dispersed. For, according to his computation, the conquest of the land of *Edom* by

*David*, the coming of *Cadmus* into *Greece*, and the founding of *Thebes* in *Boeotia*, and other *Phœnician* colonies in other parts, happened much about the same time. The *Edomites*, says he, not being able to withstand *David*, abandoned *Edom*, and fled, some into *Egypt* with their young king *Hadad*, others to the *Persian Gulf*, with their commander *Oannes*; and some from the *Red-Sea* to the coast of the *Mediterranean*, where they fortified *Azoth* against *David*; and driving out the *Sidonians*, made themselves masters of their city, it being very convenient for the merchants, who fled from the *Red-Sea*. The *Sidonians* being thus expelled, went in great numbers under *Cadmus*, and his brothers, into *Cilicia*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*; while others fled under other leaders to seek new seats in *Libya*, where they built, as we are told by *Nonnus* (4), many walled towns. Their leader was also there called *Cadmus* (which imports a man come from the east) and his wife *Sitbonis*, a *Sidonian*. *Sir Isaac* adds, that some of the *Sidonians*, who were driven out by the *Edomites* flying from *David*, laid the first foundations of the cities of *Tyre* and *Arad*, and made *Abibalus*, their leader, king of *Tyre*. So that, according to his computation, *Tyre* was built in the time of *David*, and about the 16th year of his reign (5). But this is plainly contradicted by *Josephus*, who tells us, that *Tyre* was built two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple (6); which work *Solomon* undertook in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram*, son and successor of *Abibal* king of *Tyre*. It is therefore plain, both from *Josephus*, and the *Tyrian* annals, which he quotes, that *Abibal* was not the founder of *Tyre*, and that that city was built long before *David*'s time.

Neither was *Abibal* the first king of *Tyre*, though he is the first we find mentioned in history, as appears from the same *Josephus*; who, in speaking of *Menander*'s history, tells us, That *Menander*, after having given an account of the reigns of the other kings of *Phœnice*, comes at last to *Hiram*, who was raised to the throne upon the death of his father *Abibal* (8). From which passage it is manifest (if we give credit to *Josephus* and *Menander*) that *Abibal* was preceded by several other kings, whose reigns and actions *Menander* had described.

(1) JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. 2. c. 6. (2) *Isa.* xxv. 12. (3) JUSTIN. l. 18. c. 3. (4) *Dionysiac.* l. 13. (5) *Sir ISAAC NEWTON*'s *Chronol. of anc. kingd. amend.* (6) JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 2. (7) *Idem* *ibid.* (8) JOSEPH. *contr. ARION.* l. 1.

his name to that country. He adds, that *Thasus* built the city of *Thasos* in *Thrace*,<sup>a</sup> which is confirmed by *Pausanias*<sup>b</sup>. All we know of *Elestra* is, that one of the gates of *Thebes* borrowed its name from her<sup>c</sup>. Of *Sipylus* we read in *Plutarch*<sup>d</sup>, that mount *Sipylus* was so called from him. We shall have occasion to relate more at length, what we read of *Cadmus* in the ancient *Greek* writers, when we come to write the history of the *Theban* kings.

Phœnix.

**PHOENIX** is supposed by the *Greeks* to have succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, or rather of *Sidon*; which city, as likewise that of *Tyre*, they pretend to have been built by *Agenor*, wherein they are followed, among the *Latins*, by *Q. Curtius*<sup>e</sup>. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from *Phœnix*, was called *Phœnice*, and the inhabitants *Phœnicians*. *Eusebius* adds<sup>f</sup>, that he<sup>g</sup> was the first who found out the scarlet colour, which was therefore called at first *Phœnicus*, and afterwards, with a small alteration, *Puniceus color*.

Phalis.

**THE** next king of *Sidon* we meet with in history is **PHALIS**, who flourished in the time of the *Trojan* war. He proved a faithful ally to the *Greeks*, and used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to draw *Sarpedon*, king of *Lycia*, over to their side<sup>h</sup>. He is mentioned by *Homer*<sup>i</sup>, and honoured with the title of *most illustrious*.

**THESE** are the kings of *Sidon* we find mentioned in the ancient *Greek* writers; but as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven and darkened with a thousand fables, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, lest we should seem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly historical.<sup>c</sup>

## S E C T. V.

## The Reigns of the Kings of PHOENICE.

**PHOENICE**, as we have said, was divided into several small kingdoms; for besides the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, mentioned in scripture, we read in history of *Elbasus* king of *Berytus*, to whom *Sanchoiatho*, according to *Eusebius*<sup>a</sup>, dedicated his history of *Erylus* king of *Byblus*<sup>b</sup>, and of other *Phœnician* kings<sup>c</sup>, whose dominions were confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory. Of<sup>d</sup> all the kings of *Phœnice*, those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Arad* seem to have been the most powerful and wealthy, and make the best figure in history. But their successions, and the years of their respective reigns, are over-cast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chaims, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating to them, and seems chiefly to be depended upon. We will begin with *Sidon*, the most ancient city of *Phœnice*.

## The KINGS of SIDON.

Sidon.

**SIDON**, the eldest son of *Canaan*, was, according to *Josephus*<sup>a</sup>, the founder, and,<sup>e</sup> very likely, the first king of this city, or, at least, the father of the people. But as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who succeeded him; for though the *Sidonians* are mentioned in the histories of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and the *Judges*, yet we find not, in holy writ, express mention made of their kings, till the time of the prophet *Jeremiah*, who speaks of ambassadors sent (on what occasion we know not) by several kings, and, in particular, by that of *Sidon*, to *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*<sup>f</sup>.

Tetramnestus.

**THE** next king we find mentioned in history, is **TETRAMNESTUS**, who assisted *Xerxes*, in his expedition against *Greece*, with three hundred galleys, and is counted by *Herodotus*<sup>g</sup> among the chief commanders of the *Persian* navy.

Tennes.

**TENNES** appears next: it is uncertain whom he succeeded. In his reign the *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, not being able to bear the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings of those whom *Darius Ochus*, king of *Persia*, had set over them, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*<sup>h</sup>, and rose up in arms, with design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. As the *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, which they could not well approach but by marching through *Phœnice*, this revolt happened very opportunely for *Nectanebus*. Therefore, to encourage the *Phœnicians* to

<sup>a</sup> PAUSAN. in Elia.    <sup>b</sup> Idem in Boet.    <sup>c</sup> PLUTARCH de Fluviiis.    <sup>d</sup> Q. CURTIUS l. 4.  
<sup>e</sup> PREPAR. Evang.    <sup>f</sup> DICTYUS l. 1.    <sup>g</sup> Odyss. 8.    <sup>h</sup> EUSEB. preparat. Evangelii. d. 1. c. 6.  
<sup>i</sup> ARRIAN. l. 2.    <sup>j</sup> STRABO l. 16.    <sup>k</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.    <sup>l</sup> Jerem. xvii. ver. 3.  
<sup>m</sup> HERODOT. l. 7.    <sup>n</sup> See before, p. 276. b.

a stand out in it, he sent a body of four thousand Greek mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to their assistance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnice* a kind of barrier to *Egypt*, and carry on the war at a distance. On the other side, *Tennes* king of *Sidon* (which city then exceeded all the others of *Phœnice* in wealth) having fitted out with great expedition a powerful fleet, and raised a considerable army in his own dominions, took the field; and being strengthened by the Greek auxiliaries, engaged and routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, whom *Ocbus* had sent to reduce him, and drove the *Persians* quite out of *Phœnice*. The *Sidonians*, on their first taking up of arms, had laid waste a delicious garden belonging to the kings of *Persia*, cutting down all the trees wherein they took great delight; seized  
b and burnt all the forage which the *Persian* governour had laid up for the subsistence of his cavalry; and, what is still worse, punished with the utmost severity, such of their *Persian* oppressors as fell into their hands. *Ocbus* was provoked to such a degree at these proceedings of the *Sidonians*, especially after news was brought him of his lieutenant's being defeated, and the *Persians* driven out of *Phœnice*; that he now breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total destruction not only to the *Sidonians*, but to all the inhabitants of *Phœnice*. Being thus bent upon revenge, he drew together all the forces he could, and having mustered them at *Babylon*, marched from thence into *Phœnice*, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon*, being terrified  
c at the approach of so powerful an army, sent privately a trusty servant of his own, called *Thessalon*, to the king of *Persia*, offering not only to put him in possession of *Sidon*, but likewise to assist him in the reducing of *Egypt*; where, as he was well acquainted with the country, he was capable of doing him good service. *Ocbus*, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage *Mentor* in his service; who, having received such assurances from the king of *Persia* as he desired, found means to draw *Tennes* king of *Sidon* into the same treason. In the mean time the *Sidonians* not mistrusting *Mentor*, and much less their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The city was furnished with arms and provisions of all sorts to hold out a long siege, and the citizens had drawn a treble trench, and a high wall  
d round them. Besides the mercenaries, the place was garrisoned with a brave body of tall, handsome, and stout *Sidonians*, all well exercised, and trained up in martial discipline; and the sea-coast was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large galleys. But all was to no purpose; for *Tennes* no sooner heard that the *Persian* army was drawing near, but feigning to go to the general assembly of the *Phœnicians*, he marched out with a body of five hundred men, and taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be created senators, as he pretended, went strait to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to *Ocbus*, who received him as a friend, but caused all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This severity of *Ocbus*, joined with the treachery of *Tennes*, struck  
e such terror into the *Sidonians*, that five hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, went out to throw themselves at their enemy's feet, and implore his mercy with all the respect and submission imaginable. *Ocbus*, on seeing them, asked *Tennes*, whether it was in his power to put him in possession of the city, for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the *Sidonians*, in hopes that such an instance of severity would make the other *Phœnicians* voluntarily submit. *Tennes* assured him, he could deliver the city into his hands whenever he pleased: whereupon *Ocbus* caused the five hundred citizens, though they were come out with olive-branches in their hands, as badges of submission, to be shot with darts upon the spot. After this *Ocbus* and *Tennes* marched at the head of the  
f *Persian* army towards the city, and were admitted, without the least opposition, by *Mentor* and the Greek mercenaries, to whom *Tennes*, in leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that end. The *Sidonians*, on the approach of *Ocbus's* army, had designedly burnt all their ships, to prevent any one's withdrawing himself from the defence of his country. And therefore finding themselves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means left them to make their escape either by sea or land, they shut themselves up with their wives and children in their houses, and setting fire to them, consumed themselves, to the number of forty thousand, and the most valuable things they had, in the flames. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects; for *Ocbus*, seeing he could do him no further service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he himself had brought upon his country. As *Sidon* was at that time in a very flourishing condition, and the most  
wealthy

Year of the  
Flood, 2648.  
Year before  
Christ, 351.



wealthy city of *Phœnice*; a vast quantity of gold and silver was melted down by the flames, and found in the ashes, which *Ocbus* sold for great sums of money. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ocbus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the design he had upon *Egypt*. And thus all *Phœnice* was again brought under the *Persian* yoke<sup>b</sup>, and the prophecies of *Isaiah*<sup>1</sup>, *Jeremiah*<sup>2</sup>, *Ezekiel*<sup>3</sup> and *Zechariah*<sup>4</sup>, touching the destruction of *Sidon*, fulfilled.

Strato.

Year of the  
Jlood, 2667.  
Year before  
Christ, 332.

AFTER *Tennes* reigned *STRATO*; for such of the *Sidonians*, as by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped the massacre, returning home after *Ocbus* was gone back into *Persia*, rebuilt the city; but ever afterwards bore an immortal aversion to the *Persian* name. No wonder then if, a few years after, they so readily submitted to *Alexander the Great*, and so greedily embraced that opportunity of shaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the *Sidonians* are counted among the first in those parts, who sent ambassadors to *Alexander*, as he marched through *Phœnice*, to make their submission to him. *Strato*, as it seems, did not approve of this resolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obstinately bent against the *Persians*. For we are told that *Alexander* deprived him of the crown, because he submitted at the instigation of the citizens, and not of his own accord<sup>a</sup>. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*<sup>5</sup>, gives him the character of a most lewd and voluptuous prince, and tells us in particular, that in order to assemble the women, and have thereby an opportunity of chusing the most beautiful for his own use, he instituted publick sports for them, consisting chiefly in dancing and singing, wherein such as excelled the others were amply rewarded. *Ælian*<sup>6</sup> says he died an unnatural death. Of one *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, *St. Jerome*<sup>7</sup> relates, that having adhered to the king of *Egypt* against the *Persians*, and finding himself in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy from whom he had no reason to expect any favour, he resolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himself; but fainting in the execution of his design, his wife, who was present, snatching, with a manly resolution, the sword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting first him, and then herself to death, without shewing the least concern. But the circumstances of this king's death, if true, plainly shew that he was not the same person whom *Alexander the Great* stript of his dominions on account of his attachment to the *Persian* interest. This *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, is also mentioned by *Maximus Tyrius*<sup>8</sup>.

Ballonymus.

*STRATO* was succeeded by *BALLONYMUS*, of whose assumption to the throne we have the following account from *Diodorus*<sup>9</sup>. *Alexander* having deposed *Strato*, gave *Hephestio* power to bestow the crown of *Sidon* upon which of his friends he pleased. Whereupon *Hephestio* named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whose house he then lodged, and was splendidly entertained; desiring him to accept of it as a pledge of his friendship, and an acknowledgment of the many favours he had received in his house. The citizen, not at all dazzled at the sight of a crown, returned his generous guest a thousand thanks, but at the same time earnestly begged he would excuse him from assuming a dignity to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. *Hephestio* was not a little surpris'd at this answer; but finding the *Sidonian* to be in earnest, desired he would name some one of the royal race to be invested with the dignity himself had refused. Upon this he named *Ballonymus*, a man of an unblemished character, but so poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obscure condition, and to maintain himself with his daily labour. However, his poverty and mean condition were no objection to *Hephestio*, who immediately dispatched a messenger to him with the royal robes, and tidings of his elevation to the throne. The messenger found him all in rags, and working in a garden as a common labourer. He was actually employed in drawing water out of a well, when the messenger acquainted him with his promotion to the throne, and clothed him with the royal robes. He accepted without more ado the new dignity, and proceeding with the messenger towards the city, was there received by *Hephestio* with all the marks of distinction due to his character, and by him introduced into the *Forum*, where, among the joyful shouts of the people who

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 16.    <sup>1</sup> Isa. xxiii.    <sup>2</sup> Jerem. xlvii.    <sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxviii. and xxxii.    <sup>4</sup> Zech. ix.  
<sup>5</sup> Curt. l. 4. & Diod. Sicul. l. 17.    <sup>6</sup> Lib. 12. c. 13.    <sup>7</sup> Lib. 7. c. 2.    <sup>8</sup> Contra Jo-  
vian. l. 1.    <sup>9</sup> Serm. 4.    <sup>10</sup> Ubi supr.

a were extremely pleased with this election, he was proclaimed king of *Sidon*<sup>c</sup>. The same occurrence is related, with some small variation of circumstances, by *Plutarch*<sup>d</sup>, *Curtius*<sup>e</sup>, and *Justin*<sup>f</sup>. *Plutarch* names this king *Alonymus*; *Curtius* calls him *Abdolominus*, and *Justin*, *Abdolomius*. *Plutarch* makes him king of *Papbus*; and *Diodorus*, both him and his predecessor, kings of *Tyre*. But in this particular we have abandoned them to follow the current of writers, who place both *Strato* and *Ballonymus* (as *Diodorus* calls him) among the kings of *Sidon*. All we know of his reign is, that to the last he proved faithful to the *Macedonians*, to whom he was indebted for his crown. And now that we have brought the kings of *Sidon* down b to the conquest of *Phœnicie* by the *Macedonians*, let us turn back to the kings of *Tyre*.

### KINGS of TYRE.

WE are left quite in the dark as to the series of the kings who reigned at *Tyre* before *Abibal*, with whom *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiocenus* begin the succession they have furnished us with from *Menander the Ephesian*, and *Dius*, both authors, as *Josephus* calls them<sup>g</sup>, of unquestionable credit. *Dius*, who was by birth a *Phœnician*, wrote the history of *Tyre*, which he extracted from the public records, which were carefully preserved in that city. And *Menander* compiled the lives and actions of princes both *Greek* and *Barbarian*, as the same *Josephus* tells us<sup>h</sup>, from the public archives of the places he treats of.

c THE first king of *Tyre* mentioned by these historians, as quoted by *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, is *ABIRAL*, as *Josephus* calls him<sup>i</sup>; or *Abeimal*, as he is named by *Theophilus*<sup>j</sup>. As to his actions and years of his reign we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with *David*, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations against him, since *David* counts the inhabitants of *Tyre* among his enemies<sup>k</sup>. The *Tyrian* officers, who served the *Philistines* against *Samuel*, as we are told by the son of *Sirac*<sup>l</sup>, might have been sent by him. But these are, we own, bare conjectures, since neither *Josephus*, nor *Theophilus*, make any mention of his friendship or enmity towards the *Jews*. Abibal.

ABIRAL was succeeded by his son *HIRAM*, whom *Theophilus* calls sometimes *Hiram*. *Hieromus*, and sometimes *Hieromenus*; *Josephus*, *Hiram* and *Irom*; *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiramus*. This prince maintained a strict friendship with king *David*, to whom he sent ambassadors, probably to congratulate him upon his victory over the *Jebusites*, whom he had just then driven from the strong hold of *Zion*, and to conclude an alliance with him. He presented him with cedar-trees, and sent skilful workmen to build him a palace in *Jerusalem*<sup>m</sup>. And hence he is said in scripture to have been ever a lover of *David*<sup>n</sup>; which shews, that he was not only a faithful ally, but a sincere friend of *David*'s. Upon the death of *David*, and the succession of *Solomon* to the throne, the affection *Hiram* had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to send a gratulatory embassy to the son, upon the news of his accession to the government, expressing great joy to see it continued in the family. Upon the return of these ambassadors, *Solomon* embraced the occasion, and wrote a letter to *Hiram* in these terms, as we find it in *Josephus*†. Year of the Flood, 1987.  
Year before Christ, 1012.

#### King SOLOMON to King HIRAM, greeting.

Be it known to thee, O king, that my father *David* had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in time of peace, both to begin, and to finish it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction, of Almighty God. Blessed be his great f name for the present tranquillity of my dominions! and by his gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to his honour and worship. Wherefore I make it my request, that you will let some of your people go along with some servants of mine to mount *LIBANUS*, to assist them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the *SIDONIANS* understand it much better than we do. As for the workmens reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable, shall be punctually paid them.

*HIRAM* was much pleased with *Solomon*'s letter, and returned him the following answer.

<sup>c</sup> DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*    <sup>d</sup> PLUTARCH *de fortuna Alexandri*.    <sup>e</sup> CURTIUS, l. 4.    <sup>f</sup> JUSTIN l. 11.    <sup>g</sup> JOSEPH. *contra APION*. l. 1.    <sup>h</sup> Idem *ibid.*    <sup>i</sup> THEOPHIL. ANTIOCEN. l. 3.    <sup>j</sup> Psal. lxxxiii. 7.    <sup>k</sup> Eccles. xlv. 18.    <sup>l</sup> 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chron. xiv. 1.    <sup>m</sup> 1 Kings v. 1.    <sup>n</sup> Antiq. l. viii. c. 2.

## King HIRAM to King SOLOMON.

2

NOTHING could have been more welcome to me, than to understand that the government of your blessed father is devolved by God's providence into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor; his holy Name be praised for it! That which you write for, shall be done with all care and good will: for I will give order to go down and export such quantities of the fairest cedars, and cypress trees, as you shall have occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea-side for you, and from thence ship them away to what part you please, where they may lie ready for your own men to transport them to Jerusalem. It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange, as may stand with your convenience, for that is the commodity we islanders b want most<sup>e</sup>.

JOSEPHUS assures us, that the originals of these letters were extant in his time, both in the Jewish and Tyrian records (B)<sup>a</sup>. And they are entirely agreeable with what is delivered in scripture upon the same subject<sup>1</sup>. Solomon was highly pleased with Hiram's answer, and in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil<sup>2</sup>. Besides the cedar-wood, and other materials for building of the temple, Hiram sent to Solomon a man, who was very famous in Tyre for working in gold, silver, and other metals, to assist and direct him in that great undertaking<sup>3</sup>. Neither did Hiram's friendship and kindness towards Solomon stop here; for he not only furnished him with the choicest wood from mount Libanus, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him 120 talents of gold for the finishing of the fabric<sup>4</sup>. Neither was Solomon behind hand with him in his acknowledgments and presents; for besides the yearly supply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he bestowed upon him twenty cities in the land of Galilee<sup>5</sup>, not far from Tyre; which Hiram upon a view of them (they not being much to his liking) fairly declined, with a respectful excuse to Solomon. From this refusal, that part of the country was called Cabul, that is, according to Josephus, *displeasing*<sup>6</sup>.

HIRAM proved no less serviceable to Solomon in the building of his fleet, than d in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no sooner heard that Solomon designed to build a fleet at Eloth and Ezion-geber, two sea-port towns on the red-sea, in order to carry on a trade from thence to Ophir, but he generously furnished him with as many builders and shipwrights as he had occasion for: and after having thus assisted him in building, fitting, and rigging out of his navy, he sent him expert pilots, and skilful mariners, to conduct his fleets to the land of Ophir; the Tyrians being in those days, and for many ages after, the most experienced of all men in sea affairs.

DIVUS, as quoted by Josephus<sup>7</sup>, tells us, that the love of wisdom was the chief inducement to that tenderness of friendship betwixt Solomon and Hiram. He adds, e that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the solution, should incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram finding the question too hard for him, paid the penalty. But that one Abdemonus, a Tyrian, resolved the said question, and proposed new ones to Solomon, upon the penalty of paying so much to Hiram, if he did not uncypher them.

THE kingdom of Tyre was in a very flourishing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eastern parts of his dominions; enlarged Tyre, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, which stood in an island. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter. He built two temples, one to Hercules, another to Asarte, and beautified them with f rich donatives. To Hercules he also erected a statue, and is said to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with offerings to a very great value<sup>8</sup>. Hiram it seems, was rather a religious, than a warlike prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is that which he undertook against

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPH. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings v. 2. & seq. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings v. 11. <sup>e</sup> 1 Chron. ii. 13. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings ix. 14. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. ver. 11. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. <sup>h</sup> 1 Kings ix. 13. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> 1 Kings ix. 27. and 2 Chron. viii. 18. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. <sup>j</sup> JOSEPH. ubi sup. & l. 1. contra APION. <sup>k</sup> MENAND. EPHES. & DIVUS apud JOSEPH. ubi sup.

(B) But it is pretty odd, that Eusebius (1), who calls this king Suron, should give us this letter with so much variation from Josephus as he does. He therein specifies, that he had sent to Solomon eighty

thousand Phœnicians and Tyrians. — That the architect he sent him was a Tyrian by birth; but that by the mother's side he was descended of the tribe of David, and the like.

a the *Eyceans*, who refused to pay him a certain tribute that was due to him; and were reduced by him shortly after.

It is related by *Tatian*, from *Theodotus*, *Hyscrates*, and *Mochus*, three *Phœnician* historians, that king *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*: he adds, that by her *Solomon* was induced to worship *Astartoth*, the goddess of the *Sidonians* \*. *Hiram* lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty four †.

He was succeeded by his son *Baleazar*, *Baleastartus*, or *Bazor*, as *Baleazar*. *Theophilus* calls him, who reigned seven years, according to *Josephus*, and seventeen according to *Theophilus*, and died in the forty third year of his age ‡.

Abdastartus, the son of *Baleazar*, succeeded his father, and died, accord- Abdastartus.  
ing to *Josephus*, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. *Theophilus* says, he died at the age of fifty-four, after having reigned twelve years. This prince was murdered by his nurse's four sons, and the eldest of them usurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years.

*Astartus*, the brother of *Abdastartus*, recovered the throne to his family, lived *Astartus*. sixty six years, and reigned twelve.

After him, came his brother *Astarimus*, who lived, if we believe *Josephus*, *Astarimus*, fifty four years, and reigned twelve. *Theophilus* calls him *Albarymus*, and says, that he lived fifty eight years. He was murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age.

c *Phelles*, or, as *Theophilus* calls him, *Helles*, did not long enjoy the throne *Phelles*. he had wrested to himself by so base and wicked an act, being murdered in the eighth month of his reign by

*Ithobal*, whom *Theophilus* names *Jubobal*, son to *Astarimus*, and chief priest of *Ithobal*. the goddess *Astarte*; which dignity was next to that of the king. *Ithobal* lived to the age of sixty eight years, and ruled thirty two, says *Josephus*: but if we credit *Theophilus*, he lived but forty years, and reigned but twelve. He is called in scripture *Eib-baal*, and stiled king of the *Sidonians* \*. *Josephus* gives him the title of king of *Tyre* and *Sidon* †. Whence it is plain, that in *Eib-baal*'s time, *Sidon* was subject to *Tyre*. When that subjection began is uncertain, for even in king *Hiram*'s time, the d *Tyrians* were, in all probability, masters of *Sidon*; since *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, applied himself to *Hiram* for workmen of *Sidon*, who were famous for their skill in hewing of timber ‡. *Ithobal* built *Botrys* in *Phœnice*, and *Auzzates* in *Afric* \*. *Jezebel*, king *Abab*'s wife (whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter) was daughter to this prince. *Menander*, as quoted by *Josephus*, tells us, that in the time of *ETH-BAAL* king of *Tyre*, there was an extreme drought for want of rain, which lasted from the month *Hyperberetæus*, till the same month next year. There were prayers indeed, says he, put up for the averting of the judgment, which were followed with mighty claps of thunder †. This was undoubtedly the drought under *Abab*, for it was in his reign that *Eib-baal* was king of *Tyre*.

e After him, his son *Badezor* (who is called by *Theophilus*, *Bazor*) reigned, ac- Badezor.  
cording to *Josephus*, six years, and lived forty-five. *Theophilus* says he reigned seven.

His son *Mettinus* succeeded him, and reigned nine years, says *Josephus*, twenty- Mettinus.  
nine, says *Theophilus*. He died in the thirty second year of his age, leaving behind him two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and as many daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

*Pygmalion* ascended the throne on the death of his father *Mettinus*, being at *Pygmalion*. that time, as we are told by *Justin* ‡, very young; that is, sixteen, according to the computation of *Josephus*, who supposes him to have lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty †. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister *Elisa*, called also *Dido*, flying from *Tyre*, built *Carthage* in *Afric*. The occasion of her flight is commonly related thus. *Pygmalion* coveting the immense riches of his uncle *Sichæus*, who was a priest of *Hercules*, and had married his sister *Elisa*, determined by some means or other to make them his own. But as that could not be effected so long as *Sichæus* was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him, and while those who attended him were engaged in the pursuit of a wild boar, ran him through with his spear; and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occasion of his death. *Justin* and *Virgil* say, that *Pygmalion* barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar \*. But however that be, he reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt, being disappointed, when he least expected it, by the prudent and

\* *TATIAN*. *orat. contra Græcos*. † *THEOPH. ANTIOCH.* l. 3. ‡ *JOSEPH.* lib. 1. *contra APION.* *JOSEPH. & THEOPH.* ubi *supr.* § *1 Kings* xvi. 31. ¶ *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 7. & l. 9. c. 6. † *1 Kings* v. 6. \* *MENAND.* *EPHES.* apud *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 7. ‡ *Idem* ubi *supr.* § *JUSTIN* l. 18. ¶ *JOSEPH.* *contra AP.* l. 1. † *JUSTIN* l. 11. *Virg.* 1. *Æneid.* artful

artful conduct of his sister *Elisa*; who, as she was a woman of great sagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her husband; but at the same time concealing her thoughts with an artful dissimulation, shewed the same kindness and esteem for him, as though she had not entertained the least suspicion of him. In the mean while, having formed a design of leaving *Tyre*, and saving both herself and the treasures of her deceased husband, from the cruel avarice of *Pygmalion*; under pretence of retiring to *Charta* or *Chartaca*, a small city between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, as if to live there with her brother *Barca*, she desired the king to furnish her with men and ships to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of seizing at last what he had for so long a time so earnestly desired, though always in vain: because *Sichæus*, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaricious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under ground. With this view *Pygmalion* willingly granted *Elisa* her demands; which he soon repented; for as she was assisted by her brother *Barca*, and several senators, who were privy to her true design, and engaged to follow her at all adventures; her treasures were put on ship-board, and the fleet out of sight, before *Pygmalion* was apprised of her resolution. We are told, that seeing himself thus deluded by a woman, and the vast riches which he deemed already secured in his own coffers, snatched, by such a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all possible expedition, in order to pursue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The first place our adventurers put into was the isle of *Cyprus*, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a commodity they wanted most of all, since their design was to plant a new colony. From *Cyprus* they steered their course for the coasts of *Afric*, where they put an end to their voyage; and being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, laid the foundations of *Carthage*; a city, which, in after-ages, became so powerful both by sea and land, as to contend with *Rome* for the empire of the world. From *Barca* sprang the illustrious family of the *Barcæ* in *Afric*, which produced many celebrated heroes, and among others, the great *Hannibal*. But of the *Carthaginian* affairs hereafter: Let us now return to *Phœnice*. *Pygmalion* is said by *Stephanus* to have built the city of *Carpesia* in the island of *Cyprus*. He sent to the temple of *Hercules*, standing in the island of *Gades*, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of massive gold, and of most exquisite and curious workmanship; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful resemblance with the natural fruit of that tree.

Elulæus

THE next king of *Tyre* we find mentioned in history, is *ELULÆUS*, who reigned in the time of *Sbalmaneser* king of *Affyria*. This prince, seeing the *Philistines* brought low by the war which *Hezekiab* had made upon them, laid hold of that opportunity to reduce *Gath*, which had some time before revolted from the *Tyrians*. Whereupon the *Gittites* applying themselves to *Sbalmaneser*, engaged him in their cause, so that he marched at the head of a powerful army into *Phœnice*; but upon the conclusion of a peace between him and *Elulæus*, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after, *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Pala-Tyras*, and several other maritime towns of *Phœnice*, revolting from the *Tyrians*, proclaimed *Sbalmaneser* their king. Upon this, a new war being kindled between the *Tyrians* and *Affyrians*, *Sbalmaneser*, who could not brook to see that the *Tyrians* should be the only people in *Phœnice* that disputed his power and authority, resolved to use his utmost endeavours towards the reducing of their city: and therefore, besides his land forces, he ordered a fleet of sixty sail to be fitted out against them. But the fleet was encountered and dispersed by the *Tyrians* with only twelve vessels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken prisoners. This victory gained the *Tyrians* such a reputation for naval affairs, that *Sbalmaneser*, dreading to engage them a second time at sea, turned the war into a siege, and leaving the army to block up the city, returned into *Affyria*. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great straits, by stopping the aqueducts, placing guards by the springs, and cutting off all the conveyances of water. However, by digging of wells within the city, they found some relief in their distress, which enabled them to hold out for the space of five years; at the end of which, *Sbalmaneser* dying, the siege was raised. *Elulæus* reigned thirty years.

Year of the  
Flood, 2282.  
Year before  
Christ, 717.

Ithobal II.

*ITHOBAL II.* reigned in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who laid siege to the city of *Tyre*, which kept that mighty monarch, that king of kings, as

<sup>c</sup> JUSTIN I. 18. EUSTATH. in DIONYS. VELLEIUS, vol. 2. OROSIUS I. 4. c. 2. APPIANUS de Bell. Pun. Liv. decad. 4. l. 4. SERVIUS in 4. Æneid. VIRO. Æneid. JOSEPH. ubi supra, &c. & PHILOSTRAT. in vita APOLLON. l. 5. c. 1. <sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 9. c. 14.



- a the prophet *Ezekiel* styles him <sup>1</sup>, employed for thirteen years together <sup>2</sup>: such was the power of the *Tyrians* at that time. We have the description of the siege in *Ezekiel* <sup>3</sup>, who mentions a fort raised against the place, a mount cast up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At last *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a siege of thirteen years continuance, made himself master of the city; but as most part of the citizens had retired with all their effects elsewhere before he entered the city, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the scripture, where it is said, *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre—yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyre*. Therefore finding himself thus disappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left, rasing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the sword. To this deplorable condition was *Tyre* reduced by the *Babylonians*, and the severe prophecies, foretelling the overthrow of that city, plainly fulfilled <sup>4</sup>. *Ithobal*, in whose reign happened the destruction of *Tyre*, was, according to the character the prophet gives him <sup>5</sup>, a most proud, arrogant, and assuming prince; pretended to know all secrets, to be wise as *Daniel*, and even went so far as to rank himself among the gods; which brought that heavy judgment upon him, *because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; behold therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee—they shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas* <sup>6</sup>. From whence we may conclude, that in this war he was slain by the *Assyrians*.
- c As it is plain from scripture that *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly destroyed the city of *Tyre*, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the *Phœnician* historians, that *Ithobal* was succeeded in the kingdom of *Tyre* by *Baal*, and *Baal* by several temporary magistrates, it is very probable that the inhabitants of *Tyre* retreated with their effects, before *Nebuchadnezzar* got possession of the city, to an island about half a mile distant from the shore, where they built themselves a new city; which, after the destruction of the old town, submitted to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who thereupon appointed *Baal* to be king under himself; but upon *Baal's* death, *Baal* in order to make the government more dependent on the *Assyrians*, changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magistrates, called *Suffetes* (C), or *Judges*, a name well known amongst the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Tyrians*, and whose chief magistrates were called *Suffetes* <sup>7</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 2414.  
Year before  
Christ, 385.

Year of the  
Flood, 2427.  
Year before  
Christ, 372.

- Baal* reigned ten years, and upon his death the following judges had the govern-<sup>Tyre govern-</sup>ment of the city, viz. *Ecnibal*, the son of *Basbech*, two months; *Chelbes*, the son of *Abdeus*, ten months; the high-priest *Abbar*, three months; *Mytgonus*, or *Myttonus*, and *Gerastus*, the sons of *Abdelimus*, six years. After *Tyre* had been thus governed for some years by judges, the royal dignity was restored, and *Balator* created king; but both he and his successors were entirely dependant on, and tributaries to the *Assyrians*, for the space of seventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of *Isaiab* <sup>8</sup>, their ancient liberty and former privileges, of which in its proper place. *Balator* reigned but one year.
- e UPON his death the *Tyrians* invited *Merbai* from *Babylon*, who reigned four years. *Merbai* was succeeded by his brother *Irom*, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of *Irom's* reign, *Cyrus*, according to the *Phœnician* annals, made himself master of the *Persian* empire <sup>9</sup>.

AFTER *Merbai* reigned *Mapen* the son of *Siren*. He served in *Xerxes's* navy against the *Greeks*, and, with the other commanders, advised him to engage the *Grecian* fleet at *Salamis* <sup>10</sup>. The *Tyrians*, as well as the other *Phœnicians*, were, at this time, as may be gathered from *Herodotus* <sup>11</sup>, tributaries to the *Persians*, though under a king of their own; being greatly favoured by the *Persian* monarchs, in consideration of the services they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

ABOUT this time reigned *Strato*, whose accession to the throne is related by *Strato*. *Justin* thus. The slaves, who were then very numerous at *Tyre*, having formed a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night (except *Strato*, whom his slave secretly saved) and, taking possession of the city, married their mistresses, and

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxvi. 7. <sup>2</sup> PHILOSTRATUS apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. <sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxvi. 8. & seq. <sup>4</sup> Jerem. xxv. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos ii. 9, 10. Joel iii. 4. <sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4. <sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. ver. 6, 7, 8. <sup>7</sup> Liv. l. 18, 30. & 34. <sup>8</sup> Isai. xxiii. 15, 17. <sup>9</sup> JOSEPH. l. 1. contra APION. <sup>10</sup> HEROD. l. 8. <sup>11</sup> Idem l. 3.

<sup>12</sup> (C) *Suffetes*—had its derivation from the Hebrew word *Shophetim*, i. e. Judges; which was the very name whereby the chief governors of *Israel* were called for several generations, before they had kings (1).



put all the others to the sword who were not of their own race. Having thus, not <sup>a</sup> only recovered their liberty, but made themselves absolute lords of the state, they resolve to create a king out of their own body, and unanimously agree, that he should be raised to that dignity, as being the most acceptable to the gods, who the next morning should first see the rising sun. In pursuance of this resolution and agreement, they appointed to meet about mid-night in an open field, lying on the eastside of the city, and there, with one accord, bestow the crown upon the person to whom the sun should shew himself first. In the mean time, *Strato's* slave having imparted the whole matter to his master, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by him instructed to turn himself, not to the east, as the others would probably do; but to the west, and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the <sup>b</sup> highest tower of the city. The slave obeyed his master's directions, and was therefore looked upon by the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man; it seeming to them very strange, that a man should look for the rising sun in the west. But they were soon made sensible of their error; for while the others stood gazing towards the east, in expectation of seeing the sun appear, *Strato's* slave shewed them the high edifices of the city already illuminated with his rays: whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions, and eagerly pressed to name the person to whom he was indebted for such a wise thought; which they could not ascribe to him, or any other slave. He refused at first to gratify their curiosity; but at last, upon promise of impunity for himself and the person he should name, he owned <sup>c</sup> that out of compassion and gratitude towards his master, who had always treated him with great humanity and kindness, he had saved both him and his son in the common massacre, and acted in the affair they were so inquisitive about, according to his directions. The multitude hearing this, not only pardoned the slave, but looking upon the master as one preserved by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king <sup>d</sup>. This is all we know of *Strato*.

Azelmic.

UPON his death, his son was placed on the throne; and the kingdom of *Tyre* was enjoyed by his descendants\*, among whom, the only one we find mentioned in history is AZELMIC, in whose reign happened the memorable siege and reduction of that city by *Alexander* the Great<sup>†</sup>. We may judge of its flourishing condition at that <sup>d</sup> time, from the stand it made against that victorious prince, since it stopped the course of his whole army full seven months. As the conqueror approached the territories of *Tyre*, the *Tyrians* sent out ambassadors to meet him (amongst whom was the king's own son) with presents for himself, and provisions for his army: but when he desired to enter the city under pretence of offering sacrifice to *Hercules*, they refused him admittance; which provoked *Alexander*, now flushed with so many victories, to such a degree, that he resolved to storm the city, and enter it by force. On the other hand, the *Tyrians*, not at all terrified by *Alexander's* threats, determined to stand it out to the last. What encouraged them to this resolution was the strength of the place, and the confidence they had in the *Carthaginians*, their allies. <sup>e</sup> The city then stood on an island half a mile distant from the shore; was surrounded with a strong wall 150 foot high, and was stored with great plenty of provisions, and all sorts of warlike machines: besides, the *Carthaginians* who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had promised to send them succours during the war. What animated the *Tyrians* to stand a siege, gave *Alexander* no small uneasiness in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no otherwise make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or causeway from the continent to the island on which the city stood. This grand work he undertook, and as he was resolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accomplished it at last, maugre the innumerable, and almost insurmountable difficulties he met with in so bold an attempt. He was <sup>f</sup> assisted in raising the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occasion; and supplied him with stones from the ruins of old *Tyre*, and with timber from mount *Libanus*. The *Tyrians* at first looked upon this undertaking as a rash and desperate attempt, which could never be attended with any success: and therefore, from their ships, laughing at the king, asked him whether he believed himself to be greater than *Nephtune*? But seeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, beginning to appear above water, they resolved, for fear of the worst, to send their wives and children, and such as were not fit for service, to *Carthage*; but were prevented by the arrival of *Alexander's* fleet from *Cyprus*. Neither could the *Carthaginians* assist them with <sup>g</sup>

Year of the  
Flood, 2667.  
Year before  
Christ, 332.

\* JUSTIN. l. 18. c. 3.

\* Idem ibid.

† ALEXANDER.

a the promised succours, being detained at home by domestick troubles. However; the *Tyrians* fainted not in the resolution of standing to their defence; first from their ships, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city, from the walls, with showers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. wherewith they made a most dreadful havock of the *Macedonians*, who were employed in the work, and exposed without any defence. But what most of all disheartened the *Macedonians*, was a violent storm, which arising all on a sudden, carried away, in great part, the causeway, after it had been, with unwearied labour and great loss of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed *Alexander* to such a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the siege, and would have sent ambassadors to the *Tyrians* with terms of  
b peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown head-long into the sea, the ambassadors, who before the siege had, in his name, summoned them to surrender; he was afraid those he should send now, might meet with such like, or more severe treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehension, from all thoughts of making up matters, by way of treaty, and fully apprised that his reputation, and the future progress of his arms, entirely depended on the success of the present undertaking, he re-assumed the work with seeming cheerfulness, repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the sea had made in the mole, and having brought it again almost home to the city, began to batter it with all sorts of warlike engines: while the archers and slingers harassed, without interruption, those who defended it, in order to drive them from their posts. But the *Tyrians*  
c stood their ground, and by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many spokes, which being whirled about with an engine, either shattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themselves against the aggressors, and killed great numbers of them, without suffering any considerable loss on their own side. But in the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rains that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the besieged, setting all hands to work, raised, in a very short time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits distant from the former; and by filling up the empty space between the two walls with earth and stones, kept the *Macedonians* a long while employed, ere they could make, with all their engines, the least impression on this new  
d piece of fortification. However, *Alexander*, having joined many of his ships together, and mounted upon them a vast number of battering engines, besides those he had already placed on the mole, succeeded at last in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the assault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the *Macedonians*, though encouraged with the presence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loss to their ships. *Alexander* designed to renew the attack next morning; but the breach having been repaired by the *Tyrians*, during the night, he perceived himself no further advanced than when he first began to batter the walls. Hereupon the *Macedonian* resolved to change his measures, and having first of all brought the mole home to the wall,  
e caused several towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. These towers he filled with the most brave and resolute men of his army; who, pursuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, resting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, sword in hand, to gain the wall, but could not prevail, being opposed by the *Tyrians* with unparalleled bravery, and the invention of some kinds of weapons, unknown to the *Macedonians*. One was a three-forked hook, fastened with a cord (one end whereof they held themselves) which being thrown at a little distance, stuck in the enemy's targets, and gave the *Tyrians* an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and by that means exposing them, without defence, to showers  
f of darts and arrows: or, if they were unwilling to part with their shields, of pulling them headlong down from the towers. Some, by throwing a kind of fishing nets upon the *Macedonians* that were engaged on the bridges, did so entangle their hands, that they could neither defend themselves, nor offend the enemy. Others, with long poles armed with iron hooks, drew them off of the bridges, and dashed their brains out against the wall, or on the causeway. In the mean time, a great many engines placed on the walls, played incessantly upon the aggressors, with massy pieces of red-hot iron, which swept away entire ranks at once. But what most of all disheartened the *Macedonians* in the attack, and forced them at last to give it over, was the scorching sand which the *Tyrians*, by a new contrivance, showered upon them. For this sand (which was thrown in red-hot shields of iron, of  
g brass) getting within their breast-plates, and coats of mail, tormented them to such

such a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themselves headlong into a the sea; and others dying in the anguish of inexpressible torments, struck, with their desperate cries, a terror into all those who heard them. This occasioned unspeakable confusion among the besiegers; which gave new courage to the *Tyrians*, who now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with such resolution, that *Alexander*, seeing his men give ground, thought fit to sound a retreat, and by that means save, in some degree, the reputation of his *Macedonians*. Such desperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggressors, and always sustained with the same unbroken and undaunted courage by the besieged. And now *Alexander* began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning the enterprize, and continuing his march into *Egypt*: but again, considering the dangerous consequences that must unavoidably attend such a resolution, he determined to go on with the siege at all adventures; though, of all his captains, none was found but *Amyntas* who approved of that determination. Having therefore exhorted the disheartened *Macedonians* to stand by him, and infused into them all the courage he could, he surrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all sides. In the mean time, a fancy taking the *Tyrians*, upon a dream some of them had, that *Apollo* designed to forsake them, and go over to *Alexander*, they fastened his statue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules* (D). This statue, or colossus (for it was of an extraordinary size) belonged formerly to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, and had been sent from thence by the *Cartaginians*, when they took *Gela*, to *Tyre* their mother city<sup>a</sup>. In this *Apollo* the *Tyrians* greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them, had recourse even to chains, in order to prevent his departure. But their utter ruin being already decreed by the true God, and foretold by his prophets<sup>a</sup>, the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were destined to destruction; and destruction was their fate: for *Alexander* having at last battered down the walls, and taken the town by storm, after seven months siege, fully executed the sentence which the *Tyrians* had, by their pride and other vices, drawn down upon themselves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting those whom the *Sidonians* secretly conveyed away in their ships) were either destroyed or enslaved by d the conqueror; who, upon his first entering the city, put eight thousand to the sword, caused two thousand of the nobler sort of prisoners to be crucified, and sold the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, says *Arrian*, for slaves. His cruelty towards the two thousand that were crucified, was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror. *Alexander* treated them thus for no other reason, than because they had fought with such bravery and resolution in defence of their country. But to palliate the true cause of so base an action, he gave out, that he did it to revenge, upon the present *Tyrians*, the crime which their fore-fathers committed, when they murdered their masters, as we have related above; and that being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment due to them. To make this look the more plausible, he e saved all the descendants of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt; and among them king *Azelmic*, who, in the beginning of the siege, was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with *Autophradates*, the *Persian* admiral; but had hastened home, as soon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was taken, he took sanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*; and was not only spared by the conqueror, but restored to the throne after *Alexander* had re-peopled the place. For having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and thenceforth stiled himself the founder of *Tyre*, a city which he had most ungenerously destroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained *Apollo*, returning him thanks for his intention f of coming over to the *Macedonians*; offered sacrifice to *Hercules*, and, after performing many other superstitious follies, continued his march into *Egypt*<sup>b</sup>.

How *MARION* came to be made king of *Tyre*, and defeated by *Herod the Great*, will be more regularly told hereafter.

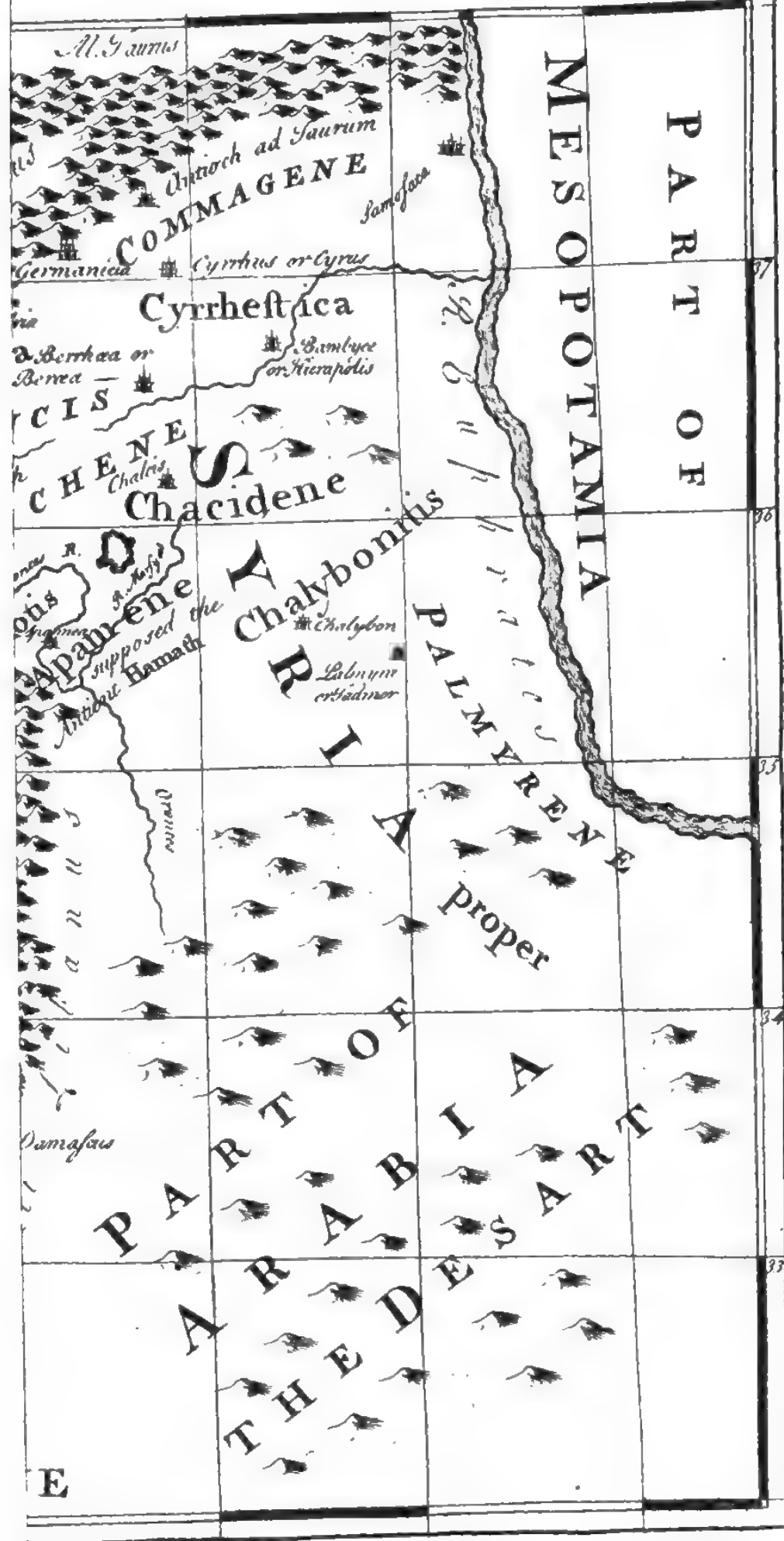
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# NICE, according to this History.



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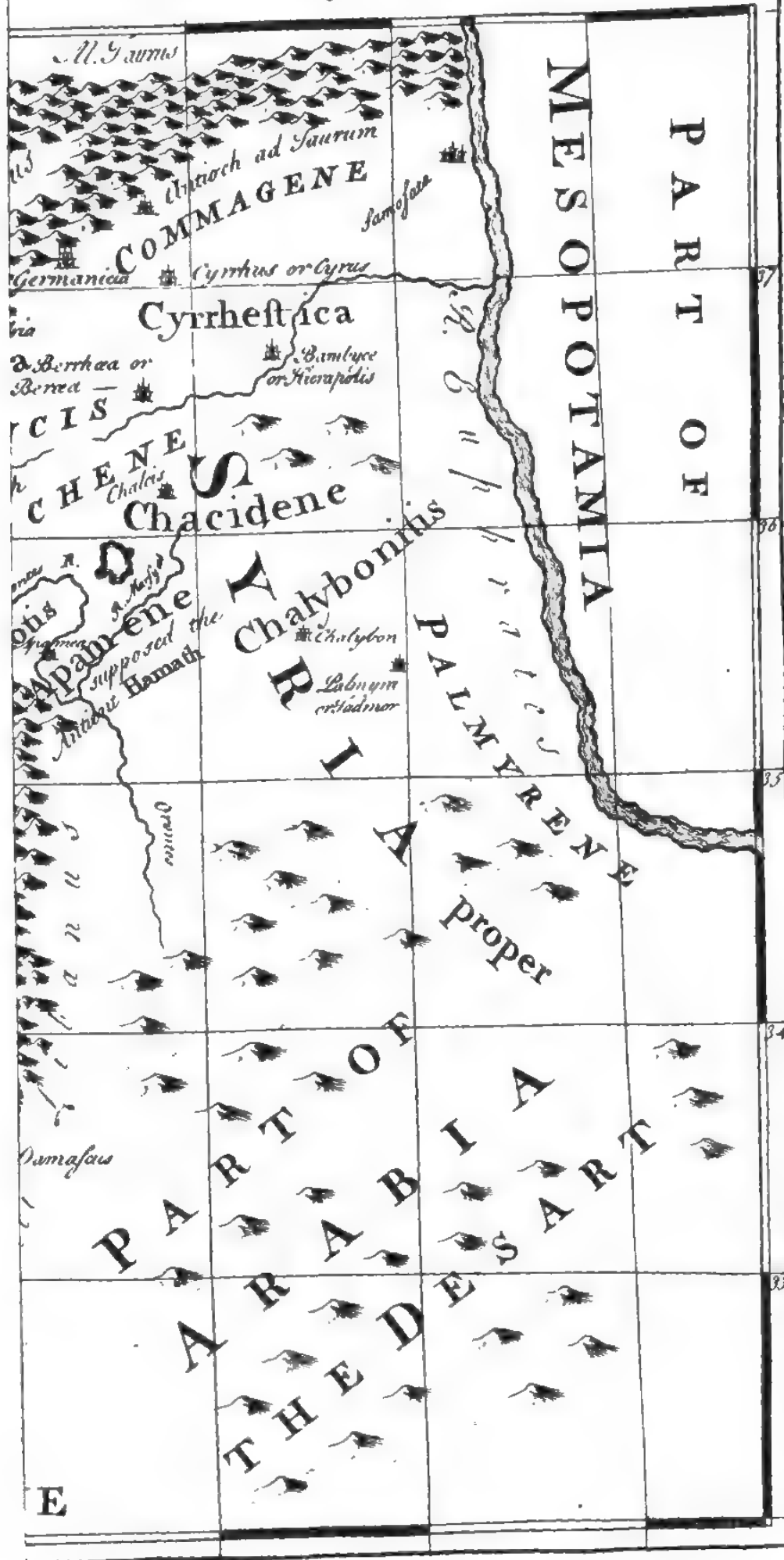
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NICE, according to this History.







a

## The KINGS of ARAD.

BESIDES the ancient kingdom of that name, which we read of in the xxist chapter of *Numbers*, and concerning which we know nothing more, but that it was vowed to utter destruction by the *Israelites*; we find, in profane history, the names of three kings of *Arad*, or *Aradus*; namely,

ARBAL, the father of *Narbal*<sup>a</sup>, who accompanied *Xerxes* in his great expedition.

NARBAL, the son of *Arbal*, who served under *Xerxes*;<sup>b</sup> as we have said.

MANY years after this, reigned one GEROSTRATUS, who whether he descended from the two former kings or no, we have not to say. He served *Darius* against *Alexander*,<sup>c</sup> joined the *Persian* fleet, as other *Phœnician* and *Cypriot* princes did; till hearing his son, *Strato*, had put a crown of gold upon the head of *Alexander*, and given up to him the island city of *Aradus*, the city of *Marathus* on the main land over-against it, as also the city of *Mariamnia*, or *Mariama*, and whatever else belonged to the *Aradian* dominion; he thought it most for his interest to approve, seemingly at least, of what his son had done, and to make his submission to *Alexander*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. c. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> ARRIAN. expedit. Alexand. magn. l. ii.

## C H A P. VII.

## The History of the Jews to the Babylonish Captivity.

## S E C T. I.

## The Jewish History, from Abraham to Moses.

c WE have, in a former chapter, brought down this history from the deluge to the birth of *Abraham*†, and given the genealogy of that patriarch from *Shem*, the eldest son of *Noah*, in a lineal descent of ten generations\*; concerning which, the sacred historian has scarce given us any other particulars, than their successions and duration. And if we find him more copious in his account, either of that father of the faithful, or of his descendants, it was, doubtless, to inspire the *Israelites* with a firm persuasion of the certainty of God's promises, so oft repeated to him, that his seed should, in due time, possess the land of *Canaan*. To the same end he reminds them, that they had been made to him above four hundred years before; during which time, both he and his posterity had been led d through many trials and difficulties, from their departure out of *Chaldea*, to their signal deliverance out of their *Egyptian* bondage; where, in spite of all their slavery and oppression, they were so wonderfully increased, as to be now more than sufficient to achieve the conquest of that fruitful land. So that if God's promises were not executed with a speed equal to their sanguine desires, if the country to which they were now going was to be possessed but by slow degrees, they should wait with patience, and take special care not to provoke him by their ungrateful mistrust, after so many wonders wrought in their favour, to put off the accomplishment of them till a more hopeful generation sprang up<sup>a</sup>, but still act like men fully assured of his assistance and protection. This was, doubtless, the reason why *Moses* gave them a fuller history of *Abraham*, and his posterity, than he had done of his progenitors. In conformity to which method, we shall begin ours with that patriarch, the father and founder of the *Jewish* nation (A).

The design of  
the Book of  
Genesis.

† Chap. II. p. 110, & seq.

\* Ibid. p. 116, & seq.

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xvii. 2, 7. Numb. xiv. 28.

(A) We have ventured to call them by that name in compliance with custom, though it was not given them till after the *Babylonish* captivity, when the tribe of *Judah* became the most considerable, if not almost the whole of what was left of *Israel*. The first name that was given to *Abraham* and his children, was that of *Hebrews*, which some derive from *Heber*, the fifth in descent from *Noah* (1). But it is hardly probable, that *Abraham* would call

himself by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predecessors. We rather think, as has been hinted before, that it was given him by the *Canaanites*, because he came thither from the other side of the *Euphrates*; the word *עבר* *Heber*, signifying in the original, the other side, whether of a river, sea, or any other thing: in which sense some people are called *transmarine*, *transalpine*, and the like. What seems to confirm this etymology

(1) Gen. x. 24. D. KPMKI.

Year of the  
Flood, 1977.  
Year before  
Christ, 1921.

Abraham's  
Call.

ABRAHAM was the son of *Terah*, and, as we hinted above, the tenth in a lineal descent from *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, to whom the right of *primogeniture* belonged. <sup>b</sup> He was born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* <sup>c</sup>, and was about seventy-four years of age when his father and he came from thence into *Haran* <sup>d</sup>, where they had not been seated long, before *Terah* died in the two hundred and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral was scarce over when *Abraham*, who in all likelihood designed to settle there, was commanded by God to depart thence into a land which he should show to him, and assured him that he would bless, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his seed, all the nations of the earth should be blessed <sup>e</sup>: He readily obeyed, being, doubtless, well acquainted with the call, and taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's son, with all his servants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitched his tents near the city of *Sichem* <sup>f</sup> (C), then inhabited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar to the LORD. Here God was pleased to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promises, and to assure him, that he would one day give that land to his posterity. Soon after this, *Abraham* fearing, perhaps, an inundation in that low country, betook himself to a mountain which had *Bethel* (D) on the west, and the town of *Hai* on the east, where he reared a new altar to the LORD; but a great famine, which happened soon after in those parts, forced him to remove into *Egypt*, which was then the only place where he might hope to find provision for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of *Sarah* his wife, who, though she was past the sixty-fifth year of her age, retained beauty enough to endanger the man's life who should pass for her husband, made him resolve, after some hesitation, that she should pass for his sister, and not for

<sup>b</sup> Gen. ix. 25, & seq. Vid. sup. p. 117, & seq. <sup>c</sup> Gen. xi. 31. <sup>d</sup> Vid. pag. 132. (Y) p. 133.  
<sup>e</sup> Gen. xii. 12, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. vid. pag. 283, & seq. <sup>g</sup> USHER'S ANN. p. 5. VILLET. & al.

logy is, that we don't find that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew *Lot*'s misfortune (2); so that it is likely the messenger enquiring for *Abraham*, of the inhabitants, might describe him by the word *יִבְרִי* *Yibri*, or one that came from the other side of the river. However, after *Jacob* had received the great name of *Israel*, they preferred that of *Israelites* to that of *Hebrews*, though the neighbouring nations did still call them by the latter (3).

(B) There seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in this account of *Terah*'s age: for if he was but seventy when he begot *Abraham*, and died in *Haran*, in the two hundred and fifth year of his age; and *Abraham* left *Haran* in the seventy fifth of his; it will follow, either that *Terah* must have lived sixty years in *Haran*, whereas it doth not appear by the text, that he lived there above one or two; or that *Abraham* must have lived sixty years longer than the text expressly says he did. We shall not trouble the reader with the ways which some ancient fathers and Jewish rabbies have taken to solve this difficulty. Some moderns think with *Willet* and *Tremellius*, that though *Terah* was but seventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he begot *Abraham*, and that those that were born before him, are purposely omitted by *Moses*, that *Abraham* might have the honour of the *primogeniture* for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with *Calmet*, choose rather to give him *Adar*, or *Azar*, for his father, and *Terah* for his grandfather, according to the Arabian history of that patriarch; and to fill up the chasm, suppose that *Adar* begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth year of his age (5); but besides the small reliance we can have on that history, the thing seems quite opposite to the text. Others therefore more reasonably suppose, with *Norton Knatchbull* (6), that there is an error crept in the original; and that

*Terah* was either a hundred and thirty years old when he begot *Abraham*, or that if he was then but seventy years old, he died in the hundred and fifty fifth year of his age; for the text says, that *Abraham* was seventy five years old when he left *Haran*, and that his father died but a little while before it.

It may not be improper to take notice here, that though *Haran*, the land so called, and *Haran*, the son of *Terah*, be spelt with the same letters in ours, and other versions, from which some have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet, in the original, they are differently writ; viz. the former with a *ח* *Cheth*, equivalent to the Greek *χ*, and might be more properly spelt *Charan*; whereas *Terah*'s son's name begins only with a *ה* *He*, which answers to our (H).

(C) If we may credit *Nicholas of Damascus*, *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldea*, Egypt, and reigned some time in the country of *Damascus*, before he went to *Sichem* (7), and his name was still famous there. *Josephus* seems to have quoted his very words, which are to this effect; *Abraham*, though a stranger, reigned in *Damascus*, whither he came with a great number of followers, from a country beyond *Babylon*, called *Chaldea*. But the people after some time conspired against him; whereupon he and his followers removed southward into *Canaan*, since called *Judea*; where he fixed his abode, and became the father of a numerous offspring. Thus far *Damascen*; to which *Josephus* adds, that *Abraham*'s name was still to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was still a village which bore the name of *Abraham*'s habitation. However, it is plain that the scripture says nothing of this imaginary reign.

(D) *Bethel* is here called so proleptically, for it did not receive that name till some time after, as will be seen in the sequel.

(2) Gen. xiv. 32. (3) Vid. sup. p. 128, & 129, b. (4) Idem loc. VILLET. ch. li. quest. 19.  
(5) CALM. hist. vi. HERBELOT. Bibliot. orient. p. 12, 13. (6) Vid. Essay on a new vers.  
(7) AP. JOSEPH. l. 1. c. 8. EUSEB. prep. l. 9. c. 16.

- a his wife, in every place they came to. He proposed it to her, and having gained <sup>Goeth into</sup> her consent, he committed her honour and chastity to the care of that providence <sup>Egypt.</sup> which had hitherto protected him, and set out upon the journey. From this descent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the space of four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. Paul <sup>h</sup>, agreeably to what *Moses* says in another place <sup>i</sup>, that *Israel* dwelt in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the LXX interpret it, that from the first coming of *Abraham* thither to the *Exodus*, should be four hundred and thirty years (E). We shall have occasion to resume this point in its proper place. *Abraham* had not been long in *Egypt* before *Sarah* charmed the <sup>Year of the</sup> *Egyptians*, and in the end captivated *Pharaoh* himself, who upon the fame of her <sup>Flood, 1075.</sup> beauty sent for her, and became so smitten with it, that for her sake he shewed <sup>Year before</sup> extraordinary favours to her pretended brother. In a short time *Abraham* saw him- <sup>Christ, 1919.</sup> self possessed of vast numbers of sheep, oxen, camels, asses, men and maid-servants, besides gold, silver, and other precious things, which *Pharaoh* heaped upon him, though all too mean to recompence him for the loss of his wife: at length God was pleased to interpose on his behalf, and to deliver *Sarah* from the imminent danger she was in. *Pharaoh* and his house were infested with such plagues, as plainly convinced them on whose account they suffered. The king then sent for *Abraham*, and having sharply rebuked him for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any stain of disloyalty as he had received <sup>Returns to</sup> her, and without staying for an answer, went out and gave orders that they might <sup>Bethel.</sup> safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

PERHAPS it may not be unacceptable to the reader to remind him, that *Pharaoh* was not the name of this particular king, but an appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt* (F). They had also other particular names, as *So*, *Necbo*, *Sibthac*, &c. but under which of the kings of *Egypt* this event happened is impossible to determine; not only because his particular name is not mentioned by *Moses*, but likewise by reason of the great confusion we have observed in their chronology and succession of their kings <sup>k</sup>; however, A. B. *Usher* ventures to call him *Apophis* <sup>l</sup>.

- ABRAHAM made no stay in *Egypt* after this; the famine being ceased in the <sup>d</sup> place which he had left, he returned thither by the same way, and on the altar he had built before, offered a sacrifice of thanks for his happy escape and safe return <sup>m</sup>. In the mean time the herds of *Lot*, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, such contentions arose between their shepherds, that *Abraham* resolved in a friendly manner to separate from *Lot*, and having given his <sup>Separates</sup> choice of the whole country that lay before him, *Lot* chose the fertile plains of <sup>from Lot.</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Galat. iii. 17. <sup>i</sup> Exod. xii. 40. <sup>k</sup> Vid. pag. 228, & seq. <sup>l</sup> Annal. p. 5. <sup>m</sup> Gen. xii. pass. & xiii. iv.

(E) This account is contradicted by a learned *Romish* chronologer (8), who pretends that from *Abraham's* going into *Egypt* to the *Exodus*, there elapsed six hundred years, and that the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. Paul (9), have no relation to these epochs. We beg leave to show his error, by comparing the number of years from the one to the other. 1<sup>st</sup> Then, that from *Abraham's* arrival into *Canaan*, to *Jacob's* descent into *Egypt*, are but two hundred and fifteen years, is thus proved. From the time of the promise made to him in *Haran*, to the birth of *Isaac*, are about twenty-five years; thence to the birth of *Jacob* are sixty more, and he was an hundred and thirty years old when he stood before *Pharaoh*; all which make but two hundred and fifteen years. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That the *Israelites* sojourned but two hundred and fifteen more in *Egypt*, is not only generally agreed on, but shall be farther proved in its due place. Again, that by the promise mentioned by St. Paul, as made to *Abraham* and his seed, is not meant that which God made to him, when he was going to offer up *Isaac*, is plain, because there are twenty five years between the first promise and the birth of *Isaac*, and if we suppose him to have been twenty five years old, as *Josephus* thinks (10), there

will be fifty years wanting of the four hundred and thirty; and if he was thirty-three, as some, or thirty-seven, as others have supposed (11), the difference will still be greater, and lengthen the space of their abode in *Egypt*, to fill up that of six hundred years; the contrary of which we have promised to prove hereafter.

(F) It will not be amiss, we hope, here to add something to what has been said before, concerning the name of *Pharaoh* (12), seeing all the etymologies of it are so very uncertain. The most probable ones are these that follow. *Boschart* thinks the word *Pharaoh* signifies properly a *Crocodile* (13) and that *Ezekiel* alludes to it in these words,—*Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of the river* (14).—Another critic fancies, that the *Arabick* word *Pharaoh*, to be raised on high, or be superior to, is the true root of the name (15). *Kircher* doth indeed derive the word from the same root, but will have it to signify, to deliver, or be free; and that *Pharaoh* signifies one who is free from, or above the laws (16). Lastly, and to name no more, the learned *Renaudot* thinks that *Pharaoh* is the same as the *Egyptian Pourro*, or *Pouro*, which signifies a king.

(8) GENEBR. chronol. 1 loc. (9) Galat. iii. 17. (10) Antiq. l. 1. c. 14. (11) BEAUSH. Rab. 1. loc. Rab. fol. 9 al. (12) Pag. 280. (13) HIEROZ. p. 2. l. 5. c. 17. (14) Ezek. xxix. 3. (15) LE CLERC in Gen. xii. (16) KIRCHER Oedip. Egypt. l. 1. c. 76. (17) RENAUDOT. Dissert. de ling. Coptica, p. 127. AP. CALM. sub voc. PHARAOH.

*Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, which he saw watered by the land of *Jordan*, and parted from<sup>a</sup> his uncle \*. *Abraham* was no sooner separated from him, but *God*, who seems to have been the sole conductor of this scene, that the promised blessings might fall on him alone, bid him cast his eye round the horizon, and promised to give all that land he beheld, to him and his posterity. *Abraham* soon after left *Betel*, and went to dwell in the land of *Moreb* (G), which is in *Hebron*, and there built an altar unto *God*, and soon after contracted a friendship with three of the greatest men of that place; viz. *Mamre*, *Aner* and *Eshcol*; the first of whom communicated his name to all the country. This alliance proved very serviceable to *Abraham* in process of time, and was the cause of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfortune which befel *Lot* about this time, who was taken captive by *Cbedorlaomer* b and his allies \*; forced him to muster up all his forces and his courage to rescue him out of their hands. This disaster no sooner reached *Abraham's* ears, than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, *Mamre*, *Aner* and *Eshcol*. He readily obtained their assistance, and joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in pursuit of the conquerors, and came upon them at *Dan*, in the night, roused and pursued them as far as *Hoba*, on the left of *Damascus*, and happily rescued *Lot* with all his family, servants, and cattle, and brought him back to his old habitation. The king of *Sodom*, who was probably the son of him who had perished in the slime-pits (H), hearing of *Abraham's* success, came out to congratulate him upon it, and would have offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women c excepted, but the patriarch nobly refused to accept of even the least share of it. Here *Melchizedec* met and blessed him, and he presented that high-priest with the tythes of all the spoil \* †.

Lot taken prisoner,

and rescued by Abraham.

Removes to Hebron.

AFTER this *Abraham* removed to *Mamre*, or *Hebron*, where *God* was pleased to appear to him a fifth time in a vision, to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to *God's* promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now for the first time to expostulate with him, not knowing how they could possibly be fulfilled whilst himself continued childless, and to all appearance must leave

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ver. 7, 8, & seq. Vid. supr. pag. 284. a. b.    \* Ibid. c. xiv. pass.    \* Vid. sup. ibid. <sup>b</sup> Ib. ver. 18.    † Sup. ibid. & p. 327. c. (P).

(G) It is surprizing that so many versions, such as the *Chaldees*, *Vulgate*, *Geneva*, *Munster*, *Cassio*, and others, should render the word *עֵלֹן* *Elon*, a plain, since it always signifies an oak. The *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and *St. Jerom's* among the old, besides some of the modern ones, render it by that word; and our *English* doth the same in some other places (18). And were it to have any other signification, that of *valley* would suit it much better than that of *plain*, because *Sichem* is said to be situate in the valley of *Aulon*, or *Elon* (19). As for the name of *Moreb*, which in the original signifies illustrious or conspicuous, it seems to have been given to the oak, not from any place near it, but rather by reason of its largeness, or the eminence of the place on which it stood; or more probably, perhaps, because it became famous upon so many accounts; such as *Abraham's* dwelling under it, *Jacob's* burying his wife, nurse, and strange gods under it. The reader may observe the same fault committed in these versions, with respect to the oak of *Mamre*, mentioned *Gen. xviii. 1*. where the word *Elon* is translated a plain, instead of an oak. *Sozomen* tells us, that this oak in *Constantine's* time, was famous for pilgrimages and annual feasts: That it was but six miles distant from *Hebron*; and that some of the cottages which *Abraham* built, were still standing near it; as likewise a well of his digging, where *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Heathens* resorted, either out of devotion, or to trade. *Bochari* doth further assure us, that he

had seen it, and that he brought away some of the fruit and wood. He observes, that its leaves are somewhat larger than those of the mastick tree, but its fruit is like an acorn (20).

As for *Hebron*, it is plain, that it was a very ancient city. Some authors (21) after *Josephus*, think that it was built ninety years after the flood, and that it claimed the precedency even of *Memphis*. Some ancient rabbies make it still older, pretending that *Ham* built it as soon as he was settled in that country (22): However, it is certain, that it was seven years older than *Zaan* in *Egypt* (23), which is not *Memphis*, but *Tanis*, the ancient seat of the kings of *Egypt* (24). *Hebron* was afterwards called *Arba* (25), or *Kirjath Arbah*, which signifies four cities, or rather the city of *Four*. The ancient *Jews* will have it to be so called, because *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* were buried there; with *Eve*, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, and *Leah*: but it seems more probable, that it had its name from the great *Arbah*, the father of the *Anakims* (26). As to the city of *Hebron*, or rather *Chebron*, *חֶבְרוֹן*, it is not likely that it took its name from *Hebron*, the grandson of *Caleb*, as some authors imagine (27), but rather from the verb *חָבַר* *Chavar*, to couple or join; because those married couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* and *Leah*, are buried there (28).

(H) As the text tells us, that the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* fell into some of the slime-pits, with which the valley of *Siddim* abounds (29), and takm

(18) *Gen. xxxv. 4. Josh. xxiv. 26. & alib.* (19) Vid. EUSEB. JEROM. *Onomast.* in *Αὐλῶν*.  
(20) *Essay on a new translation.* (21) VILLET. ch. 13. *quest. 15.* (22) R. SAL. & al. in *Numb.*  
*xiii. 33.* (23) *Chald. Paraph. LXX. & al.* (24) *Gen. xxiii. 2. Josh. xiv. 15.* (25) *Ibid.*  
(26) *1 Chron. ii. 42.* (27) JEROM. *MUSICUL. AP. VILLET. ubi supr.* ORIG. *AP. eund. & al.*  
(28) *Gen. xix. 10.* (29) *Gen. xiv. 10.*

a all his substance to *Eliczer* of *Damascus*, overseer of his household. This was indeed a modest way to try whether God designed to bless him with a child, and God did not leave him long in suspense, but assured him, that not *Eliczer*, but a son of his own body should be his heir; then commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars thereof. *Abraham* was now eighty five years old, and *Sarah* turned of seventy four, was thought barren. All these had been sufficient to stagger a faith less firm than his; but the scripture says, that he believed in God, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness<sup>r</sup>. God was pleased moreover, to repeat his former promises, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity, assuring him that it was for that very  
b end that he had brought him thither, out of *Chaldea*. Here *Abraham* could not forbear desiring of God to give him some certain token whereby he might be assured that his seed should possess that land, and God was pleased to comply with his request. He bid him to take a heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I); with a pidgeon and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. *Abraham* immediately took them, killed the four footed beasts, clove them in the midst, and joining the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilst himself stayed to drive away the fowls from the sacrifice. As soon as the sun began to set, a deep sleep fell upon him, followed by a horror of great darkness; during which, it was revealed to him from God, that his posterity should sojourn and be  
c afflicted in a strange land four hundred years<sup>r</sup> (K): at the expiration of which, God would punish their oppressors, and bring his children out of the land which he had promised him, whilst himself should be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, *Abraham* saw a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp pass between the victims, which in all probability consumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between God and *Abraham*, who, highly pleased with all these promises, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife<sup>s</sup>.

*SARAH* not dreaming that she was to be the happy mother of the promised child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have of her being past all possibility of having any of her own, resolved to be at least a mother by proxy,  
d according to the custom of that age and country. To this end she persuaded her husband to take her hand-maid *Hagar* to him, that if he had a child by her, she might bring it forth upon her knees, which was all the happiness she could expect from the promise. *Abraham* did easily acquiesce, and *Hagar* no sooner found herself pregnant, than she became haughty and insolent towards her mistress. *Sarah*, impatient to see herself insulted by a slave, whom her kindness had raised to that height of happiness, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against them both; and *Abraham*, willing to shew his resentment against her maid, and to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herself justice in what way she should think fit; which she accordingly did, but with such severity, that *Hagar*, not able to bear  
e it, stole away from her, and went and sat down by a fountain on the road to *Sur*, leading to *Egypt*. Here the angel of the Lord met her and persuaded her to return, *Hagar is forced to fly from her mistress*.

<sup>r</sup> Gen. xv. 12, & seq. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. ver. 6. Rom. iv. 3. & alib. <sup>t</sup> Ib. ver. 9. ad fin.

takes no notice of their coming out of them; we think it more probable that they perished there, than that *Abraham* stayed to take them out, as the *Jews* vainly imagined (30), contrary to the sense of the text (31).

(I) The word which we translate three years old, in the original, is מִשְׁלֶשֶׁת, *Mesheletheth*, which doth rather signify triplicated, or thrice told, being the *Paul*, in the conjugation *Piel* as the grammarians speak. Accordingly *Onkelos* (32) translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other *Jewish* commentators. One of them tells us (33), that *Abraham* was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt-offerings, sacrifice for sin, and peace-offering, but doth not allow that there were three of each kind.

(K) Expositors have given into various opinions in order to make out these four hundred years,

*Genebrard* mentioned, in a former note<sup>†</sup>, has affirmed that the *Israelites* dwelt in *Egypt* the full number of four hundred years (34), whose error may be easily confuted by the lives of *Kobath*, the son of *Levi*, who went down with *Jacob* (35), and died in *Egypt* in the hundred and thirty-third year of his age (36); of his son *Amram*, the father of *Moses*, who lived one hundred and thirty-seven years (37); and of *Moses*, who was eighty years old when he brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*; all which several numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we must subtract those which *Kobath* had attained when he went down into *Egypt*, and likewise the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made some reduce the number to less than two hundred and ten years (38), and others to two hundred; whereas we shall endeavour to prove that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. *St. Paul* reckons from the first

(30) BERESH. RAB. RAMBAM, & al. (31) Gen. ubi sup. (32) Vid. MERCER. VILLET RAB. SAL. & al. in loc. (33) MOS. GERUND. ap. MUNT. in Gen. xix. sub not. d. † Vid. sup. pag. 423. (E.) (34) Id. ibid. (35) Gen. xlvii. 11. (36) Exod. vi. 18. (37) Ibid. ver. 20. (38) CHRYSOST. homil. l. 1. NIC. de LYR. in loc.



Is persuaded  
by an angel to  
return and  
submit.

Abram's  
name changed  
into Abra-  
ham,  
Year of the  
Flood, 1101.  
Year before  
Christ, 1898.

and submit herself to her mistress; assuring her that she would be soon delivered of a son, whom she should call *Ishmael* (L), that his posterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they should prove fierce and warlike, that their hand should be against every man, and every man's against them (M); and that they should dwell in the face of all their brethren<sup>a</sup>. *Hagar* hearing this comfortable news, was soon persuaded to take the angel's advice, and in memory of this surprising vision, she called the well *Beer-labai-roi*, which signifies *the well of him that lives and sees me* (N). This well was between *Cadesb* and *Barneab*<sup>b</sup>. Soon after her return she brought forth the promised son, and called him *Ishmael*, according to the angel's word. *Abraham* was now eighty six years of age, and did not expect another son, but brought this up as the heir of all his substance, and of all God's promises; and *Hagar*, whose interest it was not to undeceive him, was prudent enough to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; so that it was not till almost thirteen years after, that God plainly promised him a son by *Sarah* his wife.

By this time *Abraham* had attained to the ninety-ninth year of his age, when God was pleased to ratify his former covenant with him, by changing his name from *Abram* to *Abraham* (O); and by assuring him, that he would make him the father of many nations; that kings should come out of him, and that his posterity should surely possess the land wherein he was a stranger. And as a token or rather trial of his faith and obedience, God commands him to circumcise all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that for the future all the males that should be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, should be circumcised on the eighth day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumcised, that soul should be cut off, as a despiser of God's cove-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xvi. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 14.

first promise made to *Abraham*, to the promulgation of the law in the first year after the *Exod*, four hundred and thirty years (39). Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired when *Israel* came into *Egypt*, as we have already proved †. The last remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned; *Kobath* came down with *Jacob*, and, according to *Eusebius*, begot *Amram* in his seventieth year; and *Amram* begot *Moses* much about the same age; to which, if we add the eighty years of *Moses*'s age when he led them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty; from which may be subtracted five years, the supposed age of *Kobath*, when *Jacob* left *Canaan*, and the remainder will be the time of their abode in *Egypt*, namely, two hundred and fifteen years (40).

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of *Abraham*'s seed sojourning in a strange land, must be reckoned, not from their coming into *Egypt*, but from the birth of *Isaac*. For all the time of their sojourning in the land of *Canaan*, *Gerar*, or any other, was still in a strange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of *Machpelah*. As to what is added, that they shall likewise serve and be ill treated, it is commonly understood to be spoken circumstantially, and might be put in a parenthesis, thus; they shall sojourn and be strangers, (and likewise serve and be oppressed) during the space of four hundred years, as *St. Austin*, and others, have fully proved (41). Accordingly we find *Isaac* oppressed in *Gerar*, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himself forced still farther from them<sup>\*</sup>; and *Jacob* served, and was oppressed by *Laban* near twenty years; yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppression. The *Egyptian* servitude did not commence till after *Joseph* and all his brethren were dead (42); before that, the *Israelites* lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that *Levi* was forty-four years of age at his first coming in-

to *Egypt*, which is the most that can be supposed, he must have lived ninety-three years in *Egypt*, because the text tells us, that he died in the hundred and thirty-seventh year of his age (43). And these ninety-three years being subtracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred and twenty two years of thralldom, even supposing it to have began immediately after his death. The natural sense therefore of this prophecy to *Abraham* can be only this, that his seed, from *Isaac* on, should be strangers in a land that was not theirs, during the space of four hundred years; during some part of which, they should be oppressed, afflicted, and, at length, brought under bondage; which term being expired, they should find a happy deliverance.

(L) *Ishmael* is compounded of the words יִשְׁמָעֵל and שָׁמַע, *jishmagb* and *El*, the Lord hath, or will hear. The reason of which name is immediately subjoined by the angel, namely, because the Lord had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the several tribes of the *Arabs*, *Ishmael*'s descendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whose habitation is in tents within the neighbourhood of *Judea* and *Idumea*.

(N) These words are no less obscure than the reason *Hagar* gives for calling the well by that name. They are both variously interpreted; but we choose to adhere to our *English* version, because it seems to us the most literal, and nearest to the sense of the original.

(O) We have already taken notice † that *Abram* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words אֲבִי and רֹם, *Ab* and *Rom*, which signify high father, and that *Abraham* is commonly derived from three, namely, אֲבִי רַב הָמוֹן, *Ab Rab Hamon*, the father of a great multitude; but this last is somewhat forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to support it but the reason which is subjoined in the text for

(39) *Galat.* iii. 17. † *Vid. sup.* p. 423. not. E. (40) *Vid. MERC. VILLET. MURST. & al.*  
(41) *AUG. quest. in Exod.* vi. 47. *MERC. JUN. MURST. VILLET. & al.* 159. 15. *LE CLERC in l.* & al.  
\* *Vid. sup.* p. 347. h. (42) *Ibid.* (43) *Exod.* i. 6. *Ibid.* vi. 16. † *Vid. sup.* p. 153. sub not. K.

a nant, from having any share in the promised blessings designed for him and his posterity. Lastly, and to compleat his happiness, God was pleased to assure him, that *Sarab*, his wife, should bear him a son, on whom all these blessings were to be conferred; and therefore, that her name should be no longer *Sarai*, but *Sarab* (P). Here *Abraham* falling on his face, probably to conceal his laughing, which either the strangeness or improbability of what he heard, had forced from him, began to intercede for the life and preservation of *Ishmael*, beyond which he thought it unreasonable to ask or wish for any thing; but the Almighty soon assured him, that these great blessings were not designed for *Ishmael*, but for a son to be born of the hitherto barren *Sarab*, whom he should therefore name *Isaac* (Q). That as to the son of *Hagar*, he would indeed bless him with a numerous posterity; but that *Isaac* alone, whom *Sarab* should bear in a year from that very day, was alone to be entitled to the covenant and promise, that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed \*.

God was no sooner departed, than *Abraham* took his son *Ishmael*, and all the males in his family, and circumcised them, as well as himself, without any regard either to his own age, which was almost one hundred years, or to the tenderness of his son, who was not above thirteen. All submitted alike to the operation, and to God's command, on the same day (R); and it was not long before his obedience was rewarded with a seventh and more remarkable visit from God. *Abraham*, who

*Isaac promised.*

Year of the Flood, 1105.  
Year before Christ, 1898.  
*Abraham and his family circumcised.*

\* Gen. xvii.

for changing *Abram* into *Abraham*, namely, that he was to become the father of many nations.

(P) *Sarai* שָׂרָי, in Hebrew signifies my princess, and שָׂרָב, *Sarab*, the name now given her, princess.

It is farther observable, that God, in the beginning of this 17th chapter (44), calls himself the first time, אֱלֹהֵי שְׁדָדַי, *El Shaddai*, which our version rightly translates Almighty God. Others have understood it otherwise, by deriving the word *Shaddai* from *Shad*, which signifies the breast of a woman, to express God's tenderness towards his servants; others deriving it from the verb שָׁדַד, *Shaddad*, which signifies to spoil, overcome, infer from the name *Shaddai*, the irresistibility of God's power, who, they think, doth here assume that title, because he is going to invert the order of nature, and cause the old and barren to become fruitful; but the most genuine etymology is from שָׁדַד used instead of שָׁדַד, for the pronoun *qui*, who, and יָדַי, *dai*, sufficient, or self-sufficient, an expression very fit and proper to assure *Abraham* and *Sarab* of the certainty of his promise to them, which none but an all-sufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) *Isaac*, or according to the Hebrew, יִשְׁכָּךְ, *Ischack*, signifies he has, or shall laugh.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumcision was first introduced into the world by the Hebrews, or Egyptians, has been much contested by ancient and modern historians, critics, and others. *Herodotus*, who declares he had received all his knowledge of the affairs of Egypt from their priests, gives it indeed for the Egyptians; but he seems in some measure to retract, if not to contradict himself, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practised it, but what received it first from the Egyptians; and a little after owns, that he did not know whether of the two had it first, the Egyptians or Ethiopians, though he is inclined to believe the former (46). As for the rest of the ancients, who are on that side the question, as they have blindly followed *Herodotus*, all their authority centers in him. However, it is certain that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the Jews excepted, did practise it universally.

The priests were indeed obliged to be circumcised, but the rest of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it appear that they practised it upon a religious account, as the Jews did: *Philo* (47) has given us the reasons why those nations used circumcision; namely, first, in order to avoid a distemper called a carbuncle, to which they, who were not circumcised, were often subject. Secondly, for the sake of cleanliness, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reason it was that they shaved their bodies all over. The third is symbolical, and foreign to our subject. The last is, that circumcision is a help to fertility, and that those who are circumcised are apter for procreation than those who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the Christian writers. These do not indeed affirm absolutely, that *Abraham* learned it from the Egyptians, but that it is possible he might have seen it in Egypt, and be so much taken with it, that God, in compassion to his infirmity, whose faith could not sustain itself without some outward and visible symbol, might sanctify this Egyptian ceremony, by retrenching all that was superstitious in it, and give it to him and his posterity, as a sensible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only *Le Clerc* (49) subjoins an argument which, in his opinion, turns the scale very much on the Egyptian side; for, says he, *Abraham's* family, at his first coming into Egypt, was so inconsiderable, and his posterity afterwards so hated and despised by the Egyptians, that it is by no means probable that proud nation should have received such a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? Was it not natural for the Egyptians, no less superstitious than haughty, to infer, that since it procured such great and valuable blessings to that despised people, it could not fail of proving more successful to them, if once they admitted it amongst them? Might not *Joseph's* time have been a proper crisis to recommend it to them? And were not those motives we have mentioned out of *Philo*, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanliness, and health, sufficient to recommend it, especially to a people that were mostly governed by their

(44) *Ver. 1.* (45) *OLEAST. & al.* (46) *HERODOT. l. 1. c. xlvii. Vid. CALM. Dissert. de Circumcis.* (47) *PHIL. de Circumcis. p. 810. ap. eund.* (48) *SPENRO. de leg. rituel. Jud. LE CLERC in loc.* (49) *Id. Bibliot. an. & med. p. 250, & al.*

Abraham entertains three angels.

dwelt still at *Mamre*, was sitting one day at the door of his tent, under a tree, when he beheld afar off three men, whom he took to be strangers; he went to meet them, and in the most civil and respectful manner invited them to come and take a small refreshment with him, and having obtained their consent, ordered a feast to be got ready for them (S). As soon as it was over, one of his guests, enquiring after *Sarah*, and being told, that she was in the tent, he then addressed himself to *Abraham*, and assured him, that he would visit him again before the end

their wives? and lastly, might not this be the very reason which made the *Egyptian* women use it as well as the men? However that be, the notion of the *Hebrews* having received it from them seems so contrary to the design and conduct of God, to preserve them from the superstitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and, indeed, it seems more reasonable to think that the *Egyptians* had it from some other nation, whether the *Arabs* (as *Beckart* thinks, by reason of the difference there was between the *Jews* and *Egyptian* circumcision) or from any other of their neighbours; or even that they might stumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to suppose that one must have it from the other, and that therefore the *Jews* might as well have it from the *Egyptians*. As for the reason of its being enjoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the best we have met with is that of *Cunæus* (50), that children were not thought sufficiently clean or perfect during the first seven days, being still full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this seems to be the reason of God's ordaining that no beast that was offered to him, should be less than eight days old (51). Circumcision therefore being a kind of solemn offering of a child to God, it seems highly reasonable, that the same law should be observed in it, as was enjoined concerning victims. But as to the eighth day being chosen rather than any other afterwards, without seeking for mysteries in that number, as some are fond of doing, it will be sufficient to say, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a necessity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that, because the child is then least sensible of the smart of, and least in danger of being hurt by it.

The last enquiry we need make upon this subject of circumcision, is, the reasons of its institution: And here we shall only mention one or two of those that are thought most considerable. The first is topical; because the heat of the climate required it, for the reasons mentioned above. Secondly, political, in order to distinguish those who were in the covenant of God, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumcision of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, first, the symbol and seal of the covenant made between God and *Abraham*, and his seed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in *CHRIST* (52). To these reasons we shall subjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will hardly meet with elsewhere: he writes thus: We reckon circumcision among the trials of *Abraham's* faith. It is easy to observe by very many circumstances of that patriarch's life, that he was designed as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conspicuous it became; the more difficulties he observed in the accomplishment of God's promises, the more he shewed the great idea he had of him that had made them, by overcoming

those obstacles. — Why did not God give him *Isaac* till the laws of nature seemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? It was to try his faith. — Why did God command him to sacrifice that very son to whom so many blessings belonged, but to the same purpose? Why did God set so long an interval between the promise of a son, and the accomplishment of that promise, that *Sarah* thinking it impossible she should be the mother of him, did give him her maid *Hagar*? Why was *Ismael* born so many years before *Isaac*, &c. but to make still fresh trials of his faith? Why might not then God have the same views in enjoining him to be circumcised? He not only makes him wait for this son near twenty years, though promised in so solemn a manner, but when that time is elapsed, and *Abraham* thinks himself on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, he crosses his hopes a-fresh, and commands him to undergo an operation that seemed wholly to put an end to them. *Abraham* could not but look upon circumcision as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and, consequently, that it must put him quite out of condition of ever being a father. The command of his having his covenant in the flesh, seemed as opposite to the promise of his having a son, as that of his sacrificing that son, was to the promise of his being the father of many nations. Notwithstanding which, *Abraham's* faith triumphed over this obstacle also — being fully persuaded that God could not only renew the strength of an old man, but likewise make him fruitful after his having undergone an operation which seemed so contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph that the scripture observes he was ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised; and it was to preserve the memory of it, that God enjoined that ceremony to all his posterity, &c. (54).

All that needs be added under the head of circumcision, is, that the *Israelites* did not afterwards understand the curse pronounced against those who had it not, so strictly as to cut them off, or drive them out from among them, provided they kept the law of nature, worshipped the only true God, and abstained from blood; but if they became circumcised, they were looked upon as children of *Abraham*, and were bound to keep the law of *Moses*. These were called by the *Jews*, Proselytes of righteousness, to distinguish them from those of habitation, who were uncircumcised, and only observed the laws of *Noah*, and were therefore called also *Noachides*. Thesetwo sorts of proselytes became so numerous, that in *Solomon's* time there were an hundred and fifty thousand and six hundred of them in his kingdom (55).

(S) This feast was a whole fatted calf, three measures, or pecks of fine flour, besides cream and milk, by which, and that other of two kids, which *Rebecca* prepared for her husband (56) when he was already grown dim with age, if we may guess at their stomachs, we shall be apt to conclude that they were not of the smallest. Neither

(50) CUN. apud BASNAG. Rep. Hebr. p. 351. HIERON. PAGIN. MUNST. MERCER. VILLET.

(51) Levit. xxii. 27. & al.

(52) TARG. ONKEL.

(53) SAURIN Disc. Hist. du V. Test.

(54) Gen. xvii. 24.

(55) 1 Chron. ii. 17.

(56) Gen. xxviii. 9, 10.

a of a year, by which time *Sarah* would have a son. *Sarah*, who was listening at the A son promi-  
tent door, and thought herself past child-bearing, burst out into a laughter, and fed to Sarah.  
the stranger asked the reason of it in such a serious tone, as struck her with a ter-  
rible fright. She would fain have denied it, but it was to no purpose that she en-  
deavoured to hide any thing from the person that spoke to her, who dismiss'd  
her with this gentle reproof, that she was highly in the wrong to mistrust  
what he had said to her, since nothing was impossible with God. The three  
heavenly guests, for such they were, rose up in order to proceed on their journey,  
and *Abraham* courteously accompanied them some part of the way. At length one  
of them, whom the original calls the LORD (T), as a further mark of his favour,  
b began to reveal a most dreadful secret to him, which was that the cry of *Sodom* and  
*Gomorrab* was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully resolved to  
destroy them utterly, if, upon enquiry, he found their wickedness equal to the  
cry of it; whether the remembrance that *Lot* was in one of those cities, or rather  
his natural compassion, gave the good patriarch fresh courage to intercede for those  
righteous men that might be found among the wicked; *Abraham* did not cease ex- Abraham  
postulating with him, till he had obtained a promise, that if there were but ten pleads for So-  
dom.  
righteous men found in the place, he would spare it for their sakes: Upon which,  
the LORD departed from him. The fate of those cities, and *Lot*'s deliverance,  
have been already related †: as for *Abraham*, he saw the next morning the thick  
c smoke of those unhappy places ascending like that of a furnace †.

Not long after, *Abraham*, leaving the plains of *Mamre*, probably to be out of  
the stench of the vale of *Siddim*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philistines* \*,  
between *Cadeb* and *Shur* (U); where the same adventure happened to him which  
he had met with in *Egypt*. *Sarah*, whom neither her pregnancy nor advanced age Abimelech  
(she being now ninety years old) had deprived of her beauty, was again desired by takes Sarah.  
*Abraham* to pass for his sister; *Abimelech*, king of that country, thought her still  
charming enough to invite her to his bed; but the LORD appeared to him in a Is threatened  
dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not restore her un- by God, and  
touched to her husband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in consequence of restores her.  
d which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him with considerable presents (W) †.

THE time appointed being come, soon after their leaving the court, *Sarah* brought  
forth the long expected son, and called his name *Isaac*. And *Abraham* failed not to Isaac born.

† Supr. p. 284, & seq.

† Genes. xix.

\* Vid. sup. p. 345.

\* Genes. xx. p. tot.

Year of the  
Flood, 2101.  
Year before  
Christ, 1898.

ther do the patriarchs differ much in this respect  
from *Homer*'s heroes, since he tells us, that when  
*Cumeus* entertained *Ulysses*, he dressed a whole hog  
that was five years old, for him and four more (57).  
However, if we consider their laborious life, and  
their enjoying a perfect state of health, we need not  
wonder at their extraordinary appetite and good di-  
gestion.

(T) The name *Yehovah*, יהוה, by which *Moses*  
calls the stranger that talked to *Abraham*, being  
looked upon, by the generality of *Jews* and  
*Christians*, to be the incommunicable name of  
God, it is believed by the far greatest part of the  
latter, that it was the Son of God who appeared  
in that form: However others, particularly some  
modern ones (58), maintain, that it was but an  
angel who spoke to him in the person of God.  
But it is not probable, either that *Moses* should  
call an angel by that name, or that *Abraham* should  
intercede with him as he doth, when he says, *That*  
*be far from thee to destroy the good with the wicked*;  
*shall not the judge of the world do right?* Or  
lastly, that an angel should peremptorily say, *If I*  
*find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the*  
*place, I will spare it for their sakes.* It is there-  
fore more probable, that it was CHRIST him-  
self, who is emphatically called the judge of all  
the world.

(U) *Cadeb* and *Shur* were the names of two  
deserts, the last of which the *Israelites* entered  
after the passing of the *Red-Sea* (59), and is the  
same which is afterwards called *Ethan* (60). *A-*  
*brabam* dwelling some considerable time here, call-  
ed the place *Beer-sheba* (61). Here it was that  
*Isaac* was born, and *Abraham* liked the situation  
and people so well, that he continued in it up-  
wards of twenty-five years: From this place like-  
wise he went to offer up his son in the land of *Mo-*  
*rea* (62).

(W) There seems to be a double mistake in our  
translation, in *Abimelech*'s speech to *Sarah*, which  
runs thus: *Behold I have given thy brother a*  
*thousand pieces of silver: behold he is to thee a*  
*covering of the eyes*—*and thus she was re-*  
*proved.* For it is plain, the king was purchasing  
*Abraham*'s friendship, and not quarrelling with  
him or his wife; and *Abraham* had already so far ju-  
stified both himself and her, that he seemed wholly  
satisfied, and therefore the word נִקְמָה, *Nake-*  
*cheth*, should not have been rendered rebuked, as  
*Kimki*, and others do, that think she was blamed  
by all for the lye she had told. *Pagninus* renders  
it *erudit* se, i. e. she learned more wit; where-  
as it is the participle of the verb נִקְמָה, which,  
though it is generally rendered to reprove, or re-  
buke, yet as often signifies to search, or enquire  
thoroughly

(57) *Odyss.* 14.

(58) *Le Clerc Com. in loc. Et al.*

(59) *Exod.* xv. 22.

(60) *Numb.*

xxxiii. 8. *Vid. TOSTAT. contr. Nic. de Lye.*

(61) *Gen.* xxv. 31. *Vid. Jun. in loc.*

(62) *Gen.*

xxii. 1.

circumcise him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happiness. <sup>a</sup> *Sarah* suckled the child herself, and weaned him at the usual time (X); and *Abraham* made a feast to all his household that day: but their joy could not last long without some mixture of grief, by the jealousy which *Isaac* caused to *Hagar* and her son. *Isaac* was scarce seven years old, when *Sarah* observed *Ismael* shew some marks of contempt to him (Y), which made her resolve to part them for ever, that she might be rid at once of all her fears. You know, said she to her husband, that *Ismael* has no share in the inheritance with my son; for which reason, it is not fit that they should continue longer together; send him therefore, and his mother away, that we may once more be at peace. Though *Abraham* loved her to such a degree that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not forbear looking on her <sup>b</sup> request as too cruel and unreasonable, seeing she knew that he had still a great fondness for the boy: but God confirming what *Sarah* had said, and promising moreover to protect *Ismael*, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, *Abraham* was at last prevailed upon to send him and his mother away the very next morning (Z). What befel them afterwards is foreign to our present subject.

*Ismael  
mocks Isaac.*

*Is sent away  
with his mother.*

*Abimelech  
makes a co-  
venant with  
Abraham.*

**ABRAHAM**, in the mean time, entered into a solemn league of friendship with *Abimelech*, king of the *Philistines*.<sup>a</sup> To secure his property in a well he had dug, and to guard himself against the outrage of the *Philistines*, who had taken several others from him before, and to ratify the aforesaid alliance, *Abraham* presented the <sup>c</sup> king with oxen, sheep, and other cattle; then taking seven young ewes, he desired him to accept of them, as a token that he had dug such a well, and that he should from thenceforth peacefully enjoy it. Upon this occasion that place was called *Beersebabah*, or the well of the oath, because of the covenant which they had sworn there (A). The pleasantness of the place, and the friendship of the king, invited *Abraham* to sojourn there many years. He planted here a stately grove, and built an altar to the LORD, resolving to end his days in this part, unless God should otherwise determine <sup>b</sup>.

*Abraham  
commanded to  
sacrifice his  
son Isaac.*

BUT GOD had yet a further trial to make of *Abraham's* faith and obedience, but so sensible a one, as would put it to the utmost proof. *Isaac*, the son of his old <sup>d</sup> age, the promised head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of so many promised blessings, and the dear and only object of so much affection; this very *Isaac* was now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain which God was to

<sup>a</sup> Vid. sup. p. 344. & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxi. p. tot.

thoroughly into a thing, till the truth be found. *Abimelech* therefore means no more, than that she is acquitted after a full hearing; and the *Chaldee* paraphrase hath translated it accordingly. The other mistake is *Abraham's* being said to be a covering to her eyes; whereas the king seems to speak of the thousand pieces of silver which he gave them, as a token of her justification; the veil being then looked upon as the symbol of women modestly (63).

(X) It is not easy to guess how long they gave suck in those days, the ancient *Hebrews* are divided about it (64); some holding that *Isaac* was weaned at the end of five, and others not till the end of twelve years, and others at the end of twenty-four months (65); if we may judge by what the young *Maccabee's* mother said to him (66); *My son, remember I have suckled thee three years*, that time will appear the most probable. However, we may safely believe that *Isaac* was not weaned before the usual time, for want of care or affection in his mother (67).

(Y) The *Jewish* interpreters expound the word *בצחק*, in the text, which signifies laughing or playing, by *מלעין*, which signifies to deride and despise, and not without good grounds, since *Sarah* did so highly resent it. They think that it

happened on the day in which *Abraham* made the feast for the weaning of *Isaac*; and that whilst the guests were congratulating him for having a son and heir in his old age, *Ismael* shewed some tokens of derision, which *Sarah* observing, went and complained of to her husband (68). However, it is plain it must have been something worse than childrens play, as the Septuagint has rendered it, since St. *Paul* calls it a persecution (69). Besides, it must be remembered, that *Ismael* is described by the angel (70) as a fierce and cruel man, and, consequently, could not but begin to shew some tokens of that disposition, being then upwards of twenty one years of age.

(Z) The text tells us, that *Abraham* gave them only some bread and a pitcher of water; a small provision if that had been all; but we must remember that bread and water are commonly taken in *Hebrew*, for all other necessary provisions. *Abraham* therefore may be supposed to have given them all things necessary for their journey.

(A) *בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע*, *Beersebabah*, is compounded of two *Hebrew* words, the first of which signifies a well, and the other an oath, or likewise seven. Here *Moses* applies the name to the oath, though it is more than probable that *Abraham* had an eye to the double meaning of the word *Sebabah*, when he

(63) PFEIFER FLACC. in loc. LE SCENE'S Essay. (64) Apud HIERON. quæst. Hebr. in Genes.  
(65) 2 Maccab. vii. 27. (66) AP. CALVIN. & MERCER. (67) CALV. WILLET.  
(68) Vid. MUNST. in loc. (69) Galat. iv. 29. (70) Gen. xvi. 13.



a point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-sacrifice, and that by the hands of his own father (B). *Abraham* never stayed to expostulate about the cruelty, illegality and severity of the command; but on the very next morning he gets all things ready, and leaving it to God to make good his own promises, resolves to obey. He sets out the next morning for the place, and takes with him his son *Isaac*, some servants, and all other things necessary for the dreadful work. And on the third day after his setting out, discovers mount *Moriab* afar off (C), the place appointed by God. There, leaving his servants behind, he goes up to the mount without betraying any sign of grief or concern, which might raise a suspicion in his son. *Isaac*, on the other hand, being laden with the wood and other materials b for a burnt-offering, and observing nothing of a victim, could not forbear asking his father where it was. Such a question at such a time was sufficient to have staggered a heart less firm than *Abraham's*, who only answered calmly, that God would provide himself with one. He little thought how prophetically he spoke, for he had no sooner bound his son upon the wood, and stretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but God was pleased to stop him short, being fully satisfied with this last trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promises and covenant afresh, and bound them with an oath, at the same time *Abraham* looking about found a ram, the victim God was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick bush, and with the help of his son offered it up instead of him; in memory of which he called c that place *Jehovah-Jireb*, the Lord will look to or provide, alluding to the answer he had given to *Isaac's* question. He went and rejoined his servants, and returned home to *Beer-sheba*, where *Sarah*, who in all probability was kept ignorant of the important secret, was ready to receive them with her usual tenderness and affection<sup>c</sup>. Not long after this he heard the joyful news, that *Milcab*, his brother *Nachor's* wife, had bore him a numerous issue (D), which determined him to send thither for a wife for his son *Isaac*<sup>d</sup>.

ABRAHAM well pleased with the constancy and resignation which he had beheld in his son, lived in great peace and tranquillity for some time; but it was at length disturbed by the death of *Sarah*, which happened in the hundred and twenty *Sarah's death*.

Year of the  
Flood, 1127.  
Year before  
Christ, 1872.

But counter-  
manded by an  
angel from  
heaven.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxii. p. tot

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

he made choice of seven, rather than any other number of ewes. From this well the adjoining city was called also *Beer-sheba*, which was the utmost bound of the land of promise on the south, as *Dan* was towards the north; whence came the proverb, *From Dan to Beer-sheba*. This city was one of those which fell to the lot of the tribe of *Siméon* (71); but because *Siméon* had his inheritance in the midst of the tribe of *Judah* (72), therefore *Beer-sheba* is also numbered among the cities of *Judah* (73).

(B) As the age of *Isaac* is not set down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was when *Abraham* was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of some learned *Jews* (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, since it would have been impossible for him to have carried such a load of wood as he did. Others (75) say, that he was thirty-seven years old; but that was the year of *Sarah's* death, whereas she was alive when this happened. *Josephus* makes him twenty-five years old (76); and some christians, ancient and modern, conjecture that he was past thirty, because that was about the age in which CHRIST suffered, whose type *Isaac* was at least in this transaction, in which there were several circumstances which bore a great conformity with those that attended CHRIST's passion.

(C) This mountain is certainly the same on

which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon* (77); and therefore those who affirm that CHRIST was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill; but to the whole ridge of them. *Moriab* takes its name from the Hebrew מֹרְיָא, *Raab*, to see: whence the LXX and *Aquila* translate it ὁ ὕψιστος, a high or conspicuous land. *Fuller* derives it from two Hebrew words מֶרְיָא, vision, and אֵל, God; and by contraction *Moriab*, because God was seen upon it (78).

(D) The children of *Nachor* by *Milcab* were 1. *Huz*; 2. *Buz*; 3. *Kemuel*; 4. *Chezad*; 5. *Hazo*; 6. *Pildas*; 7. *Jidlaph*; and, 8. *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebecca* the wife of *Isaac*. He had some others besides from a concubine named *Reumah* (79). *Huz* the first-born, is supposed by some to have peopled and given name to the land of *Huz* (80), where *Job* dwelt (81); but it is not improbable that it was already so called from *Huz* the son of *Aram* (82). From *Buz* came the *Buzites*; of which family *Elisba*, one of *Job's* friends, probably was (83). *Kemuel*, called in the text the father of *Aram*, is therefore thought the father of the *Aramites* or *Syrians*, perhaps the same with the *Camuelite* of *Strabo* (84), in the land of *Haram* (85); but we are inclined to believe, that by this *Aram* is only meant a son of *Kemuel*, and not a race of descendants, much less of the *Syrians*, as the LXX and *Vulgate* read it; or of *Aram Naharim*,

(71) *Job*. xix. 9. (72) *Ibid.* ver. 1. (73) *Ibid.* xv. 28. VILLET. *ubi sup.* (74) *ABENEZRA ap. TOSTAT.* (75) *Ap. VILLET. ib.* (76) *JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 14.* (77) *2 Chron. iii. 1, 2.* (78) *Miscel. Sacr. l. 2. c. xiv.* (79) *Gen. xxii. 21, & seq.* (80) *CALMET. Hist. vet. Test. p. 148.* (81) *Job i. 1.* (82) *Gen. x. 22. Vid. HIERON. in loc.* (83) *Job xxxii. 6.* (84) *STRABO, l. 16.* (85) *CALM. ubi sup.*



seventh year of her age, in the city of *Arbab*, alias *Hebron* (E). *Abraham* came a thither to mourn for her, and to pay the last devoirs to the faithful partner and constant companion of his travails, till having given a sufficient vent to his grief, another care called upon him; viz. to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore arose, and went to the gates of *Hebron* (F), in order to purchase a burying-place from the sons of *Heb*, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the most considerable in that place. He had no sooner declared the occasion of his coming, but they one and all told him with the utmost civility and respect, that he might make choice of the best sepulchre in the whole land, assuring him that none of them should withhold his own from him. But *Abraham* came to purchase, and not to borrow or beg, wherefore having returned their civilities, he intreated them b that he might be permitted to buy the cave of *Machpelah* (G) from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was then one of the assembly, and did immediately make him a free offer of it †. But *Abraham* still insisting upon paying the full worth thereof, before he would make any use of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of silver (H),

Abraham  
buys the cave  
of Machpelah.

‡ Vid. sup. p. 424 (G.)

† Vid. sup. p. 323. c.

*harim*, as some; or *Aram Seba*, as others think (86); for the city of *Nahor* was in *Aram*. This city and nation therefore seems to have been more ancient than *Kemuel*, and to have been so called from *Aram* the son of *Shem* (87). As for *Chezec*, if he was the father of the *Chasdim*, or *Chaldees*, at least of that part which was on this side *Babylon*, as is supposed by the same author (88), 'tis certain there were others more ancient on the other side, for *Abraham* came from *Chaldea*. However, these sons of *Nahor* gave names to some cities and families of *Syria*, such as *Buzan*, &c. remembered by a *Latin* author (89). The children of his concubine were *Tebah*, *Gabam*, *Thabab*, and *Maachab*. From this last the city of *Maachab* or *Abel Beth Maachab* (90), whose territories are supposed to have been situate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is somewhat obscure in this place. *Sarah* is said to die at *Arbab*, and yet no mention is made of *Abraham*'s removing from *Beer-sheba* thither; only he is said to come thither to mourn for her, and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon some occasion or other, and that *Sarah* went to *Arbab*, whilst her husband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking such a separation, think that he came only from his own tent into that of *Sarah*, to weep over her. For, in those days, persons of his rank had separate apartments for their female household, whether they dwelt in houses or tents.

(F) The gates of cities in those days, and for many centuries after, were the places of judicature and common resort. Here the governors, or elders of the city, met to hear complaints, administer justice (92), make conveyances of titles and estates, and to transact all the affairs of the place (93). To this custom alludes the verse in the *Psalms* (94), *They shall not be ashamed when they speak to their enemies in the gate*, i. e. when they are accused by them before the court of magistrates.

It is probable that the room or hall where the magistrates sat, was over the gates, because *Boaz* is said to go up to the gate. The like did *David*, when he went to weep for the death of *Ab-*

*salom* (95). How considerable they became in time for largeness and sumptuousness, appears by the two kings of *Israel* and *Judah* being present at one of them in all their royal splendor, and convening thither four hundred priests of *Baal*, besides their own guards and attendants (96). It seems as if these places had been at first chosen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who being all husbandmen, and forced to pass and repairs, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more easily called as they went by, when-ever they were wanted to assist in any public business. These gates were likewise markets for provisions, like those of the *Romans*, as appears by the prophet *Elisha*'s foretelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midst of famine, at the gates of *Samarina* (97). What the number of these magistrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from scripture; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, since, in the time of *Josue*, we can find but four sorts of them; viz. the *Zekenim*, or elders; the *Rasim*, or heads of the people; the *Sopbetim*, or judges; and the *Soterim*, or officers \*. *Abraham*, therefore, could not make his purchase from *Ephron* the *Hittite* †, without having recourse to the city gates.

(G) *Machpelah*, in *Hebrew*, signifies double: whence it is supposed, by some, that there was a cave within another; or two, or more, contiguous to each other; in one of which *Sarah* was buried, and *Abraham* afterwards in the other (98). Others think that is the name of the field, and that it should be rendered the cave that is in *Machpelah*. *Calmet* tells us of a person, whom he doth not name ‡, well versed in the *Arabick*, who says, that the word *Machpelah*, in that language, signifies shut up, or walled up; it being the custom to wall up these tombs, to prevent robbers from sheltering themselves therein. There are still multitudes of such sepulchres thus shut up, which seem to confirm this conjecture; which, if true, the words ought rather to have been rendered the inclosed cave, ground, &c.

(H) The learned *Prideaux*, who has given us the last and best estimation of *Hebrew* and *Attick* coins,

(86) TOSTAT. CAJET. in loc. (87) Gen. x. 22. (88) CALMET l. i. Vid. JUN. & VILET. (89) AMMIAN. MARC. l. 18. (90) 1 Chron. xix. 6, 7. (91) CALMET, ibid. p. 148. (92) Gen. xxxiv. 20. (93) Ruth iv. 1, & seq. 2 Sam. xviii. 33. (94) Psal. cxxvii. ver. ult. (95) 2 Sam. xviii. 33. (96) 1 Kings xxii. 10. 2 Chron. xxviii. (97) 2 Kings vii. 1, 31. \* Josh. xxiv. 1. † See before, p. 323. (98) JUN. MUNST. VILLET. & al. in loc. ‡ Sub voc. Machpel.

which

a which he payed down in full weight before them, and became possessor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, and soon after deposited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave (I) <sup>s</sup>.

By this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and *Isaac* was come to the fortieth year of his age. He thought it therefore high time to marry him to some of his own family during his life, which in all probability could not last much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and most faithful servants, and having made him take an oath to get his son a wife out of his own kindred (K), gave him all necessary instructions and authority to conclude the marriage, and sent him away with a train suitable to the embassy he was sent upon. That is, with ten camels loaden with the richest presents for the damsel's dowry; it being the custom in those days for the husband not to receive, but to pay a dowry for the wife. The servant made the best of his way to *Haran*, where *Nabor* dwelt; and being fat down by a well a little before the damsels of the country came to fetch water, pensive and solicitous how to perform his message to his master's satisfaction; he made a mental prayer to God, that he would give him a token of his having prospered his journey, which was, that the damsel, of whom he should ask for some water to drink, and she answered, that she would water his camels also, might be she who was designed for *Isaac*. He had not waited long ere *Rebecca's* officious courtesy gave him to understand, that his prayer was heard; and being informed by her whose daughter she was, with some other circumstances relating to her family, he immediately took out some gold ear-rings, to the weight of two shekels, and a bracelet that weighed about ten (L), which he presented to her, desiring, that if they had any room at her house, he might be permitted to lodge there that night. *Rebecca* answered in the affirmative, and taking the presents with her, ran home to acquaint her family with the adventure. *Laban* had no sooner heard the news, than he came and invited the stranger to his house, who gave them a full account of all his master's wealth and great prosperity. Whilst care was taking of him and his camels, he told them the occasion of his journey; and when he related to them the success which his prayer had had, and that he would neither eat or drink till they had given him a positive answer, *Laban* and *Bethuel* (M) concluded that the hand of God was visible throughout all this affair; and that it would be an unpardonable thing to refuse *Rebecca* to his master. They thought her extremely well disposed of, and consented that he should convey her to her husband as soon as he pleased. He then immediately began to take out all the jewels of silver and gold, and fine raiment, which he had brought, and presented them to her, and made some considerable presents besides to her mother and brother; after which the rest of the day was spent in feasting and mirth. The next morning

Year of the Flood, 1142.  
Year before Christ, 1857.  
Abraham sends his servant to get a wife for Isaac.

Rebecca is given to Isaac.

• Gen. xxiii. p. tot.

coins, reckons a shekel to be equivalent to three shillings of our *English* money; so that the sum which *Abraham* paid for his new purchase will amount to sixty pounds sterling (97).

(I) The art of embalming being known already in those days, it is more than probably that *Abraham* embalmed his wife before he buried her. The days of mourning, which he had fulfilled before he went to buy her sepulchre, being three days for any ordinary relation, but at least seven or eight for so near a one as a wife, he could never have kept her sweet till the cave had been purchased and fitted for her.

(K) The text tells us that the servant took the oath by putting his hand under his master's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the first time we read of the ceremony; but it was afterwards used by *Jacob* (98), and *Joseph* (99) in *Egypt*, when they were a dying. The oddness of it has inclined some judicious writers to think that it implied a more solemn mystery than men are aware of; viz. a swearing by the great MESSIAH that was

to come, and the like (100). Some *Jews* think it was a swearing by the covenant of circumcision, and that whosoever violated the oath, lost all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. *Kimchi* tells us, that it was still observed all over the east by those of his nation (101).

(L) In order to know the value of these presents, we should know what proportion gold bore to silver in those days, which is impossible. The author above quoted (102), tells us, that in process of time it came to be as ten, eleven, and twelve to one, according as it changed. But if we compute them according to the present value, which is as sixteen to one, they will be worth 27 l. 6 s.

(M) This *Bethuel* could not be her father, who had probably been dead some time before, but another brother (103); who therefore is here named after *Laban*, and is never more taken notice of during the whole transaction (104). *Josephus* makes the damsel tell the man, that her father had been dead long ago, and that she was left to the care of her brother *Laban* (105).

(97) PRID. Connell. Pref. p. 22. SAL. in loc. Vid. ALIX. in Pentat. Pref. p. 25. l. 1. c. 16.

(98) Gen. xlvi. 29.

(99) Ibid. l. 25.

(100) RAB.

(101) KIMCHI apud MUNST. in loc.

(102) PRID.

(103) Gen. xxiv. 50, & seq.

(104) Vid. NIC. de Lyræ.

(105) Antiq.

Isaac takes  
her home.

Abraham's servant, who thought now the time long till his master was acquainted a with the good success of his negotiation, desired to be dismissed. This request did somewhat surprize them. They desired him to stay at least ten days longer; but he standing firm to his resolution, the thing was referred to *Rebecca*, who consenting to go with him as soon as he pleased, they got all things ready for her departure; and after they had wished her all the usual blessings, and given her her nurse to accompany her, they took their leave. The servant soon brought her in sight of his young master, who chanced, that night, to be taking a solitary walk in the neighbouring fields; and as soon as *Rebecca* was informed who he was, she alighted, and throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damsels then was, she waited to receive his first compliments<sup>b</sup>. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleased with her extreme beauty and modest carriage, as well as the kindred she came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loss of his mother. He had now nothing to wish for but that she might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that blessing; during which he comforted himself and her with the assurance of God's promises, and the example of *Sarah*, who remained childless till the ninetyeth year of her age.

Abraham be-  
ing 141 years  
old, marries  
Keturah, and  
has six sons  
by her.

ABRAHAM could not but be pleased to see his son in the possession of so agreeable a wife; but that not proving sufficient to comfort him for the loss of his own, and finding himself still strong enough to make a new addition to his family, though c he was then an hundred and forty-one years old (N), and had continued a widower several years; he took another wife, named *Keturah* (O), by whom he had six sons, whom he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with *Isaac's* inheritance, and sent them to dwell towards the east (P). These six sons went away eastward of *Beerseba* and the land of *Canaan*, and settled in both *Arabias*, the *Petrea* and the *Deserta*, some footsteps of whose names are still to be met with, of which we have in part given an account already<sup>1</sup>.

Abraham's  
death.

CONCERNING *Abraham* we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundred and seventy-fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers, and that his two sons paid him their last devoirs, *Isaac* having probably sent for his d brother *Ishmael*, and buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, near *Sarah* his wife. By which it is plain, that *Moses* has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxv. p. tot.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. sup. p. 299.

(N) We need not wonder that *Abraham*, or any of the patriarchs should allow themselves to have concubines, and sometimes more wives than one, if we consider that a numerous posterity was looked upon as one of the greatest blessings, and as a mark of grandure and esteem. Accordingly we meet with several places of scripture, in which men of rank are particularly recorded for having a great number of sons (107).

(O) The Jews pretend that this *Keturah* was the same with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham* sent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all these children. The reasons they give for it are, 1. Because the *Psalmist* calls the *Midianites*, which came of *Keturah*, *Hagarens* (108). 2. It is said elsewhere they made war with the *Hagarens*, with *Jethur*, *Naphish*, and *Nadab* (109), which were the sons of *Ishmael* (110). And 3. because *Ishmael*, *Hagar's* son, is said to have assisted *Isaac* at the funeral obsequies of their father *Abraham* (111). To which they add, that *Hagar* being *Abraham's* lawful wife, it was juster for him to marry her than another. But these reasons, and her name's being changed from *Hagar* into *Keturah*, which signifies incense, and is the emblem of continency, in which she had lived ever since she had been dismissed from *Abraham*, are rabbinical dreams, for she is still called *Hagar* in the same chapter (112). Besides, the text is

plain against them, it being said that *Abraham* added or proceeded to take another wife, which is inconsistent with his recalling the old one. Add to this, that *Hagar* was only a concubine, and is no where called a wife, as *Keturah* is. As to the two passages of scripture above quoted, we need only answer, that they prove not the *Midianites*, or any of *Keturah's* sons, to be called *Hagarens*; but that this last name was common to all the posterity of *Ishmael*, some of which were called *Ishmaelites*, some *Iturians*, some *Nebeans*, &c. (113).

(P) From these words some authors have concluded that *Abraham* had married *Keturah* long before *Sarah's* death (114), or even immediately after he parted with *Hagar*; and that the words should be rendered *he had married*, instead of *he married* another wife, since *Abraham* doth not seem to have lived long enough to have disposed of all these sons in his life-time, as the text says he did, if he did not take *Keturah* till after his son's marriage. In answer to which, besides what has been said in the last note, that such a notion is contrary to the sense of the original, we may observe that *Abraham* lived at least thirty four years after it; by which time they might be all big enough to go from him. Besides, *Hagar* must by this time have been about eighty years of age, and so too old to bear so many sons.

(107) Vid. int. al. Judg. viii. 30. Ibid. x. 4. Esther ix. 10.

(109) 1 Chron. v. 9.

(110) Hieron. tradit. Heber. in Gen. xxv. 20.

(112) Ibid. ver. 12.

(113) Jun. in loc. Villet. c. 25. quest. 3. & al.

(108) Psal. lxxiii. 6.

(111) Gen. xxv. 7.

(114) Vid. CAL-

VIN in loc.

before

a before the birth of his two grandsons *Esau* and *Jacob*, though he must have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q).

(Q) *Abraham's* history has been embellished with a great many notorious fictions by the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*. We have already touched on some of them\*, and we shall now subjoin some few more that are remarkable; such as his making a long abode in *Egypt*, and teaching astronomy, and other sciences there (115); his inventing the *Hebrew* characters and tongue (116), the same we now use. His being the author of several books, and, in particular, the famous one mentioned in the *Talmud*, and highly valued by several learned rabbies, called *Jekirab*, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is also an apocalypse attributed to him by the *Se-thians*, a sort of hereticks that sprang up in the earliest times of christianity (117). His assumption is mentioned by St. *Athanasius*; and *Origen* tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced disputing about his salvation or damnation (118). The *Jews* make him also the composer of some prayers, and of the ninetyeth psalm, and of a treatise against idolatry (119). The *Indian* fire-worshippers, who think him to have been the same with their great prophet *Zoroaster*, do attribute his books to him, which they call the *Zend*, *Pavend*, and *Vostab*, containing all the principles of their religion (120). Dr. *Prideaux* mentions them as one book, or, perhaps, three books in one volume, which he calls *Zendevesti*; or, as the vulgar people pronounce it, *Zendevestow*, or plain *Zund*. Which name, he tells us, signifies a fire-kindler, such as a tinder box is here with us; and was given it by the author, to insinuate that it would kindle a brighter fire in those who should attentively and devoutly read it †.

The *Arabians* do likewise give us a history of this patriarch, though so altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were descended, as they are, from him by *Ismael*.

*Abraham*, according to them (121) was the son of *Azar*, and grandson of *Terab*; which account, could it be relied upon, would easily resolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have spoken of before, note (B), pag. 422. Since *Terab* might have begot *Azar* in the seventieth year of his age, and *Azar* have begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth of his; so that this last number, which is wanting in *Moses's* account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. *Calmet*, indeed, thinks we might easily suppose two *Terabs*; one first-named *Azar*, *Abraham's* father, and the other his grandfather: But how he can say that there is nothing in such a supposition that contradicts the sacred text, we can't so well comprehend. The eastern heathens have also a long tradition of *Abraham's* life, though vastly different from that of *Moses*, and fraught with a great many wonderful additions of their own invention. The reader, however, may be glad to have a short account of it out of the last quoted author (122). *Nimrod*, the son of *Canaan*, did reign in *Babylon*, which he is thought to have built, and saw in a dream a

star arising, whose light did out-shine that of the sun. The south-sayers, whom he consulted, told him that a child, not yet begotten, would be born in *Babylon*, who would prove very dangerous to him; whereupon *Nimrod* forbade, by an express order, all the *Babylonians* to lie with their wives; but *Azar*, one of his chief officers, found means to get at his own, and one night got her with child. The magicians came next morning, and acquainted him that his precautions had proved vain, and that the child was begot that night, and advised him to get all the pregnant women to be well guarded, and their children put to death as soon as they were born; but *Adnah*, *Azar's* wife, not shewing any marks of her pregnancy, went on with it, and was brought to bed of a son in a cave or grotto, the entrance of which she had carefully stopped; and then came and told her husband that the child died as soon as it came into the world. She failed not, however, to go and suckle it as often as she could; and was surprized to find him still sucking two of his fingers, one of which gave him milk, and the other honey. Being thus satisfied that providence took care of him, she visited him more seldom; but observing that he grew as fast in one day as other children do in a month, inasmuch that at the age of fifteen months he was as forward as a boy of fifteen years, she acquainted her husband with the whole story.

*Azar* went immediately to the cave, and ordered his wife to bring him into the city, where he designed to settle him in *Nimrod's* court. *Adnah* took the boy through some meadows where there were abundance of cattle; which made *Abraham*, who never had seen any before, very inquisitive what they were; and his mother took a great deal of pleasure in instructing him in their names, natures, uses, and the like, which made him desirous to know who had made them all; and being answered, that all creatures owed their being to God, *Abraham* asked how himself came into the world, and *Adnah* told him she brought him forth: He then enquired further who was her lord, and she answered that it was *Azar*; and who is *Azar's* lord, continued he? *Nimrod*, said his mother. But here she thought fit to stop all further enquiry, telling him, it was dangerous for him to be too inquisitive. By this time they were got to the city, which he saw swarming with all sorts of idolaters; he returned to his grotto more desirous than ever of knowing his Creator; and observing one night the star of *Venus* to shine brighter than all the rest, he began to fancy that to be the creator of the world, till he saw her set, which convinced him of the contrary, since he thought God incapable of any change. He made the same judgment of the moon; and, at length, seeing great multitudes worship the sun, he was tempted to do the same; but having likewise observed its declination towards the west, he concluded that it could not be God.

*Azar* presented him to *Nimrod*, who was seated on a lofty throne, and attended by a great number of the most beautiful slaves of both sexes. *Abraham* asked his father who he was that was thus

\* See before, p. 422. (C). (115) ARTAPHAN. & EUPOLEM. ap. EUSEB. præp. l. 9. c. 17, 18. JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. 36. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. (116) Id. ibid. SUID. in ABRAHAM. ISODOR. Hyspal. l. 1. c. 3. ORIGEN, &c. (117) EPIPHAN. Hæres. l. 39. c. 5. (118) ORIG. Homil. 35. in Luc. (119) R. SALOM. in Bava Batrab, c. 1. GRAMM. Cod. Talm. Tract. Habadab Zarab, c. 1. (120) HERBELOT. Bibliot. Orient. p. 16. † Connell. p. 317. (121) TARIK MOUNTCECKER ap. eund. p. 12. (122) Id. ibid. p. 13. ex lib. Mallem.

Rebecca's  
pregnancy.

As for *Rebecca*, she continued barren above nineteen years; during which time *Isaac* ceased not intreating the LORD for her, who was pleased at length to hear his prayers, and sent him the long-desired blessing. They now thought themselves happy indeed; but *Rebecca* did not long continue so. The struggles of the twins,

thus seated above all the rest, and he told him that it was *Nimrod*, whom all that croud about him looked upon as their god; but *Abraham* answered that he could not be their god, seeing he was not so handsome, and consequently not so perfect as they. He afterwards took occasion to preach to his father the unity of God, which made him so many enemies among the courtiers, who would not admit of his doctrine, that *Nimrod*, being acquainted with it, caused him to be thrown into a fiery furnace, out of which he came, nevertheless, safe and unhurt.

A famine that raged soon after this, having made him distribute all his store to the poor, he sent to a friend of his in *Egypt* for a fresh supply, but was refused, under pretence that he did not want it for himself, but to give it away to the poor. The messengers being afraid that the *Babylonians* would laugh at them, if they came home empty, filled their sacks with a white sort of sand; and being got home to their master, acquainted him with their ill success. *Abraham*, without being alarmed at it, went into his little oratory to comfort himself with his God; and, in the mean time, *Sarah* his wife, who knew nothing of this mystery, seeing the camels laden with full sacks, went and emptied one of them, which she found full of fine flour, and made some bread of it for the poor. *Abraham* having concluded his prayers, came out, and was surprized at the smell of the new bread, and asked his wife where she had got the flour; and she told him that it was that which had been brought to him from his friend in *Egypt*; rather, replied he, from God, our only true friend, who has not forsaken us in time of need. And, from that time, *Abraham* was styled the friend of God; a name given him by the prophets (124), and by all the *Moslems*, who call *Hebron*, the place where he lies buried, the city of the friend of God; though they make him vastly inferior to their *Mohammed*; to whom, one of them says, *Abraham* was but an officer, and the *Messiah* master of the ceremonies.

They are not agreed about the number of angels who dined in his tent. One of them (124) reckons there were three; viz. *Gabriel*, *Arraphel*, and *Michael*. The first of whom was sent to destroy *Sodom*, the second to foretel the birth of *Isaac*, and the third to deliver *Lot* and his family. The *Koran* tells us that *Abraham* treated them with a roasted calf: but observing that they did not eat, he was frightened with the thoughts of their being enemies; there being no greater token of enmity in those countries, than to refuse to eat and drink with the person that invites. The angels, however, soon eased him of that fear, by telling him that they were sent from God to *Lot*'s people; which made *Sarah*, who was then present, burst out into a laughter. Thus far *Mohammed*, who being, perhaps, ignorant of the true history of *Abraham*, tells it after his ridiculous manner. His interpreters pretend, that the cause of her laughing was either her joy to see her husband rid of his fears, or the pleasure she should have to see *Sodom* in flames, or her

admiration to see angels in human shapes. However, her laughter made the angel tell her that she should have a son named *Isaac*, who should be the father of *Jacob*. To which he answered, That it would be a marvellous thing indeed, if, old as she was, and her lord still much older, she should bring forth a son; but they having assured her that the divine power would not be wanting, seeing the blessing was upon *Abraham* and her, who were chosen to be the heads of a numerous family, they departed towards *Sodom*, whilst *Abraham* pleaded hard with God not to destroy the city, if so many righteous men were found in it; and so on.

The *Mohammedans* have likewise altered the story of *Hagar* and *Ishmael*, in which there is this prayer of *Abraham*: Lord, I have placed one of my sons in a barren valley, near thy holy temple. Of which the commentators on the *Koran* tell us the occasion was, that *Sarah*, who could not endure the sight of *Hagar*, or her son, desired *Abraham* to send them into some dry and barren land: That *Abraham* being troubled at her cruel request, was told by the angel *Gabriel* to do as his wife bid him; whereupon he conveyed both the mother and the child into the territory of *Mecca*, which was then barren, and without water; but that the angel made a fountain to spring up from under *Ishmael*'s feet, which is now the well of *Zemzem*, so famed among the *Turks*, and the only one in all that country. At the same time God blessed the land, and made it so fruitful, that it abounds with each kind of fruit of the four seasons of the year, which grow plentifully there all the year round.

There was then no temple built at *Mecca*, but only a great edifice, called *Sorab*, reared up by *Seth*, in *Adam*'s life-time, in the form of a temple, which was resorted to with great devotion. But the deluge having destroyed it, it was afterwards rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Ishmael*. The *Turks* call it *Caabah*, or the square-house, and think themselves bound to visit it at least once in their life, and always turn their faces towards it when they pray, in what part of the world soever they be. A modern author (125) thinks that both the *Arabs* and *Ishmaelites* did formerly worship *Bacchus* and *Urania*, or *Venus*, in that temple; for *Herodotus* assures us, that they worshipped none but those two deities, the first of whom they called *Urotali*, and the latter *Ali-lat* (126). Though other authors have since told us, that they worshipped also *Jupiter*, the sun, moon, and demons (127). However that be, it is most likely that the altar and grove which *Abraham* built at *Beerseba* (128), gave the first rise to the fiction of his building this temple.

They tell us moreover (129), that *Abraham* having prayed to God to let him see how he raised the dead, was asked by him *Whether he wanted faith?* No, replied he, but it would be a great satisfaction to me. At the same time the devil having taken notice of a dead body thrown up by the sea, and half devoured by fishes, birds, and wild beasts (130), thought it a proper instrument

(123) *Isa. xli. 8. Dan. iii. 35.* (124) DAMIATI. (125) CALM. *Diſſion. ſub voc. Abraham.* (126) HERODOT. l. 3. c. 8. (127) STRABO l. 16. PHILOSTORG. ap. PHOC. AMMAN. MARCEL. & al. (128) *Gen. xxi. 23.* (129) *Koran, c. 2.* (130) HERBELOT. *Bibl. Or. p. 15.*

which



2 which she bore, caused her a great deal of pain and uneasiness, till having consulted God about it, she was answered that *two nations were striving in her womb, and that two sorts of people should be separated from her bowels, one of which should prove stronger than the other, and that the elder should serve the younger*. Accordingly she was soon after brought to bed of two sons, the first of which, viz. *Esau*, was all over hairy, and the second came out holding him by the heel, and was therefore named *Jacob* (R). *Esau* became a great lover of hunting, and consequently the darling of *Isaac*, who was very fond of his venison; but *Jacob* was the mother's favourite, who knew that he was to inherit the blessings, and could not, perhaps, forbear

Year of the Flood, 1182  
Year before Christ, 1837.  
Esau and Jacob born.

strument to ensnare mankind against the belief of a resurrection. He appeared to *Abraham*, who had been bid to repair to the sea-shore, in the shape of a man that seemed astonished at something, and asked him, How it could be possible for the parts of that dead carcass, which had been devoured by so many living creatures, to be re-united at the general resurrection? To whom *Abraham* answered, that he who had created all those limbs out of nothing, could more easily gather them from the different places where they lay scattered, than a potter could the broken pieces of a potsherd, and make a new one out of them.

After this God bid him take four birds, and cut them in pieces, and to carry the pieces upon four different mountains; and then give them a call, and he should see them all four fly immediately to him. This seems to be taken from the heifers, goats, and pigeons, which *Abraham* was bid to hew in pieces, &c. (131). To which the *Mohammedans* have added several other circumstances, such as that the four birds were a cock, a dove, a raven, and a peacock; that he cut them all in small pieces, and jumbled them all together. Some add that he pounded them in a mortar, and divided the whole mass into four parts, which he carried to the tops of four different mountains; after which holding their heads, which he had kept unminced, he called them distinctly by their names; whereupon each of them came to fetch his own head, and flew away. Thus it was that *Abraham* was convinced of the truth of the resurrection, according to the *Mohammedans*. And this seems to have some far-off relation with what our SAVIOUR says of him (132), that *Abraham* had desired to see his day, and that he saw it and rejoiced; which the *Mohammedans*, according to their custom, have applied to the day of the resurrection. The *Persian* fire-worshippers do to this day express a great veneration for him; they call him *Zerdoost*, or *Zoroaster*, which signifies the friend of fire, because when he was thrown into the furnace by *Nimrod's* order, the flames, instead of consuming him, caressed and embraced him in a friendly manner (133).

*Calmet* (134) mentions a book in the French king's library, N° 792, written originally by St. Ephrem the Syrian, and translated from the Syriac into Arabic, upon *Abraham's* journey into Egypt; in which book there is also a sermon on his death, preached by St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, on the twenty-eighth of March; on which day the Coptic, or Egyptian Christians, do celebrate his festival. The ancient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience; and the martyrologies have given him a place among their

other saints, on the ninth of October (135). The church of Rome hath likewise ordered an office for him, and address him in particular for those who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of *Abraham* having been discovered near Hebron, they found his body, and those of *Isaac* and *Jacob*, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewise some gold and silver lamps hung up in the cave, which was visited by multitudes (136). The *Mosslems* have such a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; and the Christians built a church over the cave (137), which the Turks did afterwards turn into a mosque (138).

*Mos. Ben. Maimon* (139), and after him the learned *Spencer*, tells us, that *Abraham* was brought up in the religion of the *Zabeans*, who are supposed to have been great astronomers, astrologers, &c. and by discovering the power and influence of the stars, and heavenly bodies, came at length to worship them. Who these *Zabeans* were, whether a nation, or only a sect of philosophers, or whether their name imports any more than their religion, and the like, shall be enquired into in its proper place. In the mean time, as to what *Maimonides* says, we shall only answer with *Meyer* (140) that it is impossible to prove that the *Zabeans* were even as old as *Moses*, much more that they were older than *Abraham*; for though it be granted, that there were some people called *Zabeans* before *Moses's* time, and that that idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove that the *Zabeans* we are speaking of, were older than *Moses*; and *Spencer* himself owns (141), that it is almost impossible to discover their beginning, which has given rise to so many different opinions about it, and, perhaps, not one of them right. However, it is not improbable that *Abraham* being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that superstition, till God called him away from the one and the other.

(R) From the Hebrew word *קָנָה*, *Hekab*, which signifies the heel, is formed the verb *קָנָה*, to supplant; and by the addition of the *י* *Jod*, one of the formatives of nouns, *Jacob*, a supplanter; which name he in time made good. As for the name *Esau*, the meaning is somewhat obscure, unless we derive it, as some (142) do from *עֵשָׂו*, *Hassab*, to make, because *Esau* came out all hairy, and, as it were, perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is also supposed to have been called *Sheir*, or *Schir*, from *שָׁחַר*, *Shahar*, which signifies hair. And lastly *Edom*, from his selling his primogeniture for a mess of red pottage (143).

(131) Gen. xv. 9, & seq.

(132) John viii. 56.

(133) PRID. Connell. p. 1. book 4.

(134) Ex Bibliot. Orient. p. 16.

(135) Martyrol. Rom. ADON. USUARD. &c.

(136) BEV

SHOLMAN ap. HERBELLOT.

(137) Serm. Quadrag. Elmid. 1, 2. p. 773.

(138) Vid. CALMET

loc. citat.

(139) MAIMONID. Tractat. More Nevok. part. iii. c. 29 & 46. & in Avodah Zarab, c. 11 & 12.

(140) MEYER de Fest. dieb. Hebr. c. 12.

(141) SPENC. de Leg. Hebr. ritual. l. 2. c. 1. § 2.

(142) RAB. SAL. MERCER. & al.

(143) Vid. sup. p. 305.



intrusting him with the secret beelines, though she seems all along to have concealed it from her husband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, before *Jacob* gave proof of it. *Esau* came home one evening from his usual hunting, faint and hungry, and seeing a mess of pottage which his brother had got ready, begged to be refreshed with some of it; which he, it seems, well instructed by his mother, utterly refused unless he would part with his birth-right to him. And *Esau*, in his distress, swore away his birth-right to his brother *Jacob*, as we have seen elsewhere<sup>1</sup>.

*Esau sells his birth-right.*

Year of the Flood, 1194.  
Year before Christ, 1805.

*Isaac goes to Gerar;*

*is envied by the people.*

*A covenant between Abimelech and Isaac.*

Year of the Flood, 1239.  
Year before Christ, 1760.

A FAMINE, which happened some years after this, obliged *Isaac* to seek for another habitation; he thought to have gone down into *Egypt*, when God appeared unto him, and diverted him from it, bidding him go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, where *Abraham* had heretofore been so friendly entertained, promising that he would protect and multiply him exceedingly. He obeyed; but the fear he was in for his life, on account of his wife's beauty, made him resolve to let her pass for his sister, as his father had formerly done. This pretence passed current a considerable time, till at length the king observed from his window some familiarities between them, which made him suspect that she was something more than a bare sister to him. He therefore rebuked them sharply for the fraud, which *Isaac* endeavoured to excuse the best he could, telling him that the fear of his own life was the only motive that had induced him to it<sup>a</sup>. No sooner was this trouble over, c than new ones came thicker upon him. He sowed some land that had been allotted to him, and this brought such a surprising crop, as made him be looked upon with an envious eye by all his neighbours. His richness and multitude of servants made him likewise be feared as a dangerous man, who might, probably, prove one day too mighty for them. But as the success of open violence was doubtful, they resolved to harass him another way, by filling up all his wells, without which his vast multitude of cattle could not subsist. They likewise endeavoured to alarm the king against him, and succeeded so well in it, that *Isaac* found himself under a necessity of retiring to *Gerar*; where he dug new wells, and opened those which had formerly been dug by *Abraham*; in doing of which, d he met with great and repeated troubles and vexations from the *Philistines* of *Gerar*, and was forced soon after to remove at a good distance from thence<sup>a</sup>.

At length he was sued to by *Abimelech* in person<sup>a</sup>, either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one with him. *Isaac* expostulated with them upon the ill usage he had met with in their land; but nevertheless prepared a sumptuous banquet for them, and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requested<sup>a</sup>. On the same day word was brought to *Isaac*, that his servants had found a spring of water; upon which account he called the place *Beer-sheba* (S). The tranquillity which this new alliance had procured him, was soon after disturbed by *Esau's* marrying two strange wives, *Judith* the daughter of *Beer*, and *Basemath* the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites*<sup>a</sup>.

HOWEVER, *Isaac*, who beheld him still as his heir, was easily reconciled to him, and, apprised of the alienation he had made of his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and weariness. Finding himself therefore grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred and thirty-seven years old, resolved to bless him before he died. He called him one day to him privately, and bade him get some fresh venison, and dress it to his palate; and told him, he designed to confer his last blessing on him that day. *Rebecca*, who over-heard their discourse, knowing the importance of the paternal blessing, laid hold on the favourable opportunity, to procure it for her beloved son, in the absence of *Esau*. She directed him then to take two choice kids, which she would dress to his father's liking, and send him with them to his father, therewith to personate his elder brother: *Jacob* made several excuses. His

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 305. <sup>a</sup> See before, p. 346. c. <sup>a</sup> See before, p. 347. b. <sup>a</sup> See before, ibid. c.

<sup>a</sup> See before, ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xvi. p. tot.

(S) This name is rather revived than given to the place, since we have seen already on what account *Abraham* called it so (144); though it is not improbable but the discovery of this new well might lead *Isaac* into a third allusion to the word

שָׂבַע, *Shabab*, which signifies not only to swear, and seven, but likewise to satisfy or satiate; whereby he might intimate that he had wells enough, and would rest satisfied with them.

a skin and his voice he was afraid would betray him, being in both so unlike to his brother; so that if *Isaac* should detect the fraud, he would, more probably, curse than bless him. *Rebecca*, who knew there was no time to lose, took all the curses upon herself, and encouraged him to follow her directions, which he did. Whilst the kids were a dressing, she laid their skins on his hands and neck, and then arrayed him in *Esau's* cloaths, and sent him trembling to his father. When *Isaac* smelt the meat, he was surprized it was so suddenly got ready, and not knowing what to think of it, put the question several times to *Jacob*, whether or no he was in very deed his son *Esau*? to which he answered in the affirmative, desiring him to arise and taste of his venison, since God, who knew his zeal to obey his father, b had brought it into his hands much sooner than he could have expected. But *Isaac*, still doubtful, desired him to draw nearer, that he might be better satisfied; and when he had felt the hairy skin on his hands and neck, he owned that *the bands were the bands of Esau, though the voice was the voice of Jacob*. Thus far satisfied, or rather imposed on, he arose and eat heartily of his son's pretended venison. *Rebecca* forgot not to send some wine with it; and after a cup or two, he bid his son come near to him, that he might now bestow the promised blessing upon him. The smell of *Jacob's* raiment contributed much to *Isaac's* cheerfulness; he smelt and praised them, and in a kind of extatic rapture, embraced and kissed his pretended first-born; and having wished him all heavenly and earthly blessings, dismissed him. c If the father was pleased at his having performed this important ceremony, the son was no less rejoiced at his success, and at his being freed from acting a part, which to an honest man must have caused the greatest reluctance, to say nothing of the dread he must have been under during all that time, lest *Esau* should intervene. But what he did was in obedience to his mother, who, probably, assured him that they did only fulfil the divine decrees in all this, and that it had been a direct contravention of them to have acted otherwise. Her joy upon this occasion was great we may be sure.

*Jacob gets his brother's blessing from him.*

WHILST the mother and son were congratulating each other, *Esau* came to his father with the venison he had prepared for him. He invited him in the same dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered to observe such tokens of surprise and concern in his father's face. Not to repeat what we have already expatiated on: *Esau* found he had been circumvented in his absence; and a mournful scene ensued between the father and the son; which was closed up by *Isaac's* strenuously insisting that his blessing should remain with *Jacob*. *I have blessed him*, says he, *yea, and he shall be blessed* (T). Nevertheless, to assuage his excessive grief, he blessed him in these words, *thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew* Esau is also blessed.

\* See Gen. xxvii. 28, 29.

† Vid. sup. p. 306. b.

‡ Gen. xxvii. 33. Gen. xxxvii. p. tot.

(T) Whosoever narrowly observes *Jacob's* life, after he had obtained his father's blessing, will own, that it consisted in nothing less than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country for fear of his brother; deceived and oppressed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him after a servitude of twenty one years; in imminent danger, either of being pursued and brought back by *Laban*, or murdered by his brother. These fears are no sooner over, but the baseness of his eldest son, in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next, to the *Sichemites* (145); and lastly, the loss of his beloved wife, and supposed untimely end of his son *Joseph*; all these overwhelmed him with fresh successions of grief; and to complete all, his being forced by famine to descend into *Egypt*, and to die in a strange land: These, and many more, are sufficient proofs that his father's blessing was of a quite different nature, and consisted in two particulars only; viz the possession of the land of *Canaan* in right of primogeniture, which his brother had sold him, and which rather belonged to his posterity than to himself: The other and more valuable one, was that of the

MESSIAH's being born of his race, and not of that of *Esau*. As to the stratagem by which this blessing was obtained, though it appears somewhat harsh and unjust at first sight; yet if we consider that these two brothers were designed by providence as types; viz. *Esau* of the *Jews* (who were afterwards to be rejected for not accepting the spiritual kingdom of the MESSIAH, for the sake of an imaginary earthly one, which they did then, and do still dream of; and which is, in fact, preferring a mess of pottage to the noblest birth-right) and *Jacob* of the *Gentiles*, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected. If we consider further, that this alienation from one brother to another, had nothing to do with a future state, as some of the church of *Rome*, and of our own sectaries affirm, but was confined wholly to the present †; if we consider these things, we shall not want the subtilties of the schools to justify an action which was determined and conducted by a divine hand, unless men will affirm that God could not in justice make such an alienation; an assertion so bold and absurd, that we don't think any man of sense, and common modesty, would venture to maintain it.

(145) See before, p. 329. c.

† See before, p. 307. (H).

of heaven from above (U). By thy sword and thy bow shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy a brother; and it shall come to pass, that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck (W). This blessing was inferior to Jacob's in the following particulars. 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine, by which some think it implied, that *Esau's* lot should not be so fertile as his brother's; the reader may see what is already said on that head †. 2. Here is no mention of God, as there is in the first; God give thee, &c. 3. There is a spiritual blessing promised to Jacob, that they should be blessed that blessed him, &c. but no such thing is said to his brother. Jacob was, for a while, in danger of his brother's heaviest resentment; which *Rebecca* dreading, she found out an excuse to convey him out of the way, as far off as *Padan-Aram*, that he might there marry one of his cousins. She therefore proposed sending him to her brother *Laban*, alledging, that if he should follow his brother's example, and marry a *Hittite*, it would make the rest of her life uncomfortable.

Jacob is sent  
to Padan-  
Aram:

It is not improbable that *Isaac* had likewise had some suspicion of *Esau's* design to murder his brother, else it is not likely that he would have sent Jacob away alone, and with his bare staff in his hand, when his father *Abraham* had sent thither a servant in so noble a manner, unless it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reason which the mother alledged, was thought highly reasonable, and Jacob was privately sent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands and his farther blessing; which done, he set out for *Padan-Aram*. In his way thither he was overtaken by the night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields with a stone for his pillow. Here he saw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels ascending and descending, whilst God, who stood on the top, was pleased to encourage him, by promising that he would be his protector, and that he would bless and multiply him beyond measure. Jacob awaking from his dream surprized and frightened, cried out, *Surely God was on this place, and I knew it not!* Rising therefore from his hard bed, he took the stone which had served him for a bolster, and pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this vision he called the place *Bethel* (the house of God) for it was called *Luz* before that time. Here he likewise made a vow unto God, that if he would grant him his protection, feed and cloath him, and bring him back safe to his father's house, the LORD should be his God, that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the stone which he had reared should be God's house. Having finished his prayer, he went on cheerfully the rest of his way, till he came to his journey's end.

Serves seven  
years for Ra-  
chel;

is elevated by  
Laban.

His uncle *Laban* received him with joy; and after a month's stay with him, Jacob falling in love with his youngest daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, they agreed that he should serve him seven years for her, at the end of which she should become his wife. Jacob was so pleased with this motion, that he spared no pains to make his service acceptable to his uncle *Laban*, who liked him so well for a servant, that he resolved to continue him in the same capacity another seven years. For when the time was come for his being put in possession of the wife he had so dearly earned, he conveyed his new son-in-law into his eldest daughter *Leah's* apartment. Jacob did not discover the deceit till the next morning, when he found, instead of his beloved *Rachel*, her homely bleary-eyed sister, he could not forbear expressing his resentment in the strongest terms. *Laban* had his answer ready, and in a magisterial tone told him, that it was an unprecedented thing, in that country, to marry the youngest daughter before the eldest, and that it would have been a great injustice to *Leah* to have preferred her younger sister to her; but, continued

† See before, p. 307. a. (F).

u Gen. xxviii. 12, & seq.

w Ibid. p. tot.

(U) These words have been rendered by some modern authors (146), *thy dwelling shall neither be fruitful, nor watered by the dew of heaven*. And it is true, indeed, that *Idumea*, or the land of *Edom*, was not very fruitful; but they that understand the original, will easily see that it is capable of a better meaning, as we have already noted.

(W) We must not think that these predictions were to be fulfilled in Jacob's time, or in his per-

son, who never had any dominion either over the *Edomites*, or any other nation, nor ever possessed the least inheritance, *Machpelah* excepted; but died in a country where he had not one foot of land. How and when the *Edomites*, who multiplied exceedingly, and were a fierce, warlike people, became subject to Jacob's posterity, and when they shook off their yoke, we have already related (147).

(146) LE CLERC, &c. *in loc.*

(147) See before, p. 315, & seq.

he,

a he, in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and consent to serve me another seven years for her sister, I am content to take your word for it, and to give *Rachel* to you as soon as the seven days are ended. *Jacob* could not but be troubled at such an unfair procedure; but he loved *Rachel* too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore consented to these hard conditions, and at the week's end enjoyed the fruits of his servitude and constancy. Marries Ra-

DURING this interval, *Eſau* went and married *Mabalah* the daughter of his uncle *Iſhmael*, in hopes that she would be more acceptable to his parents than his two other wives, and brought her home to her father's house (X). He had children by all the three wives\*: his posterity became very numerous; an account of which has been given in the history of the *Edomites*†.

IN the mean time *Jacob* behaved himself very differently towards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, whilst *Leah* was forced to content herself with a formal civility; but God made quite another difference between them, by making the latter mother of many children, whilst her sister continued barren for a long time. *Leah* was soon brought to bed of a son, and it being then the custom of those times for mothers to give names to their children, not without some particular reason or meaning, she called him *Reuben*, intimating that God had seen her affliction, and had given her a son, which would probably engage her husband to love her. She had another soon after him, whom she called *Simeon*; because, she said, the LORD had heard her complaint. Her third she called *Levi*, hoping her husband would be now joined to her; and the fourth she called *Judah*, thinking herself bound to praise God for her fruitfulness; after which she left off bearing for a while‡. Reuben born.  
Simeon, Levi;  
and Judah  
born.

RACHEL by this time was so extremely mortified at her sister's happiness, that she came one day in a fit of envy, and told her husband, that, unless he gave her children also, she should inevitable die of grief. *Jacob*, who could not forbear being provoked at such a speech, which seemed to lay the blame of her sterility upon him, answered her in a passion, that it was out of his power to do miracles, that God, who had shut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was rather the way to obstruct, than to gain such a blessing. This mortifying answer made her bethink herself of the usual way, at that time, for women, in her case, to give their maids to their husbands; she therefore desired him to take *Bilhab*, and to try, at least, to make her a mother by her means; to which he consented, and soon after had a son by her, which *Rachel* called *Dan*, meaning that God had judged in her favour. She called the other son, which *Bilhab* bore, *Naphtali*, to express the violent struggles she had had with her sister; after which *Leah*, thinking she had quite left off bearing, gave her maid *Zilpah* also to *Jacob*, whose first son she called *Gad* (a troop) expecting more to follow, and the next she called *Asher*, to express her sense of the happiness she now enjoyed. Dan and  
Naphtali  
born.  
Gad and A-  
sher born.

c BY this time *Reuben*, who was about six years of age, brought home one evening some mandrakes (Y) which he had been gathering in the fields in the time of the

\* Gen. xxxvi. 1, 2.

† Ibid. p. tot.

‡ See before, p. 307, & seq.

\* Gen. xxix. p. tot.

(X) It will be proper to observe here, that *Moses* gives these three wives of *Eſau* quite other names, when he comes to speak of the posterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think that he had more than three, especially, because the fathers of the two former are likewise called by different names. Thus his first wife, *Judith* of *Beer*, is afterwards called *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the second, viz. *Bilhah*, the daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Abeli-Bamah*, the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hivite*; the last, called at first *Mabalah*, is now called *Bathshemah*; but what shews that these two latter names mean the same person, and that the same thing may be supposed of the other two (especially, considering that *Eſau* is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that she is called, in both places, the daughter of *Iſhmael*, and sister of *Nebajoth*. All the account

that can be given for this difference, is, that they had two names, and that it was usual to call them sometimes by one, sometimes by the other. Thus, the mother of *Abijam*, king of *Judah*, who is called in one place *Maacah*, the daughter of *Abishalom* (148), is, in another place, called *Michaiab*, the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeon* (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(Y) What these mandrakes were, is not easy to guess; but they could not certainly be what we understand by that name, 1. Because they had nothing inviting, either in smell, taste, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much less could he chuse them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text says, it was then wheat-harvest, which, in those hot countries, is about May, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake has a very strong

(147) Compare Gen. xxvi. 34. xxviii. 9. with xxxvi. 2. & seq.  
(149) 2 Chron. xiii. 2.

(148) 1 Kings xv. 2.

Issachar.

Zebulon and  
Dinah born.Year of the  
Flood, 1254.  
Year before  
Christ, 1745.

Joseph born.

Jacob's stra-  
tagem of the  
speckled sticks.

wheat-harvest. *Rachel* no sooner saw them, but she desired to have some part of a them. *Leah* hereupon answered, not over-complaisantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her husband from her, and now her son's mandrakes too; wherefore, to pacify her, and purchase the fruit, she agreed that *Jacob* should spend that night with her (Z); and *Jacob* no sooner came home, but *Leah* challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did. The consequence of it was, that she bore him a fifth son, whom she called *Issachar* (the man of reward) alledging, that it was given her as a recompence for giving her maid to *Jacob*. After this she bore her sixth and last son, and called him *Zebulon* (dwelling) in hopes that so many sons would make her husband dwell with her. She had likewise a daughter, whom she called *Dinah*, which is the feminine of *Dan*; b after which she bore no more. As for *Rachel*, her prayers at length being heard, she was happily brought to bed of a son, whom she called *Joseph*, in hopes that God would add another to him. By this time, *Jacob* having finished his fourteen years servitude, and being desirous to re-visit his old parents, desired his uncle to dismiss him and his family. But *Laban*, who had found no small advantage in having such a faithful servant, begg'd of him to stay with him a little longer, promising him, upon that condition, to give him what wages he should name. Here *Jacob* took an opportunity of reminding him how much his substance was increased since it was put under his care; but that it was now high time he should make some provision for his own family; however, that if he would consent to let him c have all the spotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of sheep, or goats, and all the black ones among the sheep, for his hire, he would consent to stay six years longer with him. *Laban* could not but think the condition somewhat hard, since the white ones only were to fall to his share; and had he known what project *Jacob* had in his head, he would hardly have consented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was struck, and a separation made between the white ones and the rest, and a space of three days journey put between them, to prevent all suspicion; after which, *Jacob* began to execute his new project. He had observed the rams leaping the sheep, at the places where they came to drink, from whence he concluded, that if he could lay some speckled sticks d in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth speckled lambs also; and tried it so successively upon the strongest of *Laban's* flock, that it soon dwindled away, whereas his own improved visibly, both in number and strength (A). *Laban*, vexed at his heart to see such a prodigious difference be-

strong stupifying smell, and is therefore called by the *Arabians*, *Jabrochim*; whereas the *dudaim*, or *mandrakes*, are commended for their fragrantcy, in the only place of scripture where they are mentioned besides (150). For this reason some have fancied them violets (151); others lillies (152); others jassimin; others have rendered the word desirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word *Dudaim*, which signifies, loves, in the dual, or, the breasts of a woman. Others again, and perhaps more probably, have guessed them to be citrons (154). That which has induced so many interpreters to suppose them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping conception (155), which made *Rachel* willing to try the effects of them; but besides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain that she did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable that *Leah* would have parted with them to her rival, if they had been known to have had such a virtue, which, perhaps, was not discovered till a long time after; when it became known among the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of the apple of love; and of the juice of which, the emperor *Julian* tells his friend (156), that he had taken a dose to excite that passion in him. A modern author,

in his history of *Æthiopia*, has confuted the notion of *Dodaim* signifying mandrakes (157), and affirms, that it signifies a certain fruit, which the *Syrians* call *Mauz*, not unlike the *Banana*, or *Indian fig-tree*, in shape and taste, and about the bigness of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one stem: But whatever these *Dodaim* were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain they must have had something pleasant, and inviting to a child, either in smell or taste.

(Z) The custom of those countries where polygamy was allowed, was, in those days, for the husband to take his wives by turns (\*); the kings of *Persia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (†), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that she sold her turn for that night to her sister, than that she did direct her husband which of the four he should lie with.

(A) Our ancient commentators fancied that *Jacob* made use of his speckled sticks in the spring of the year, when the lambs had the whole summer to grow fat and strong; but that he set them aside in autumn, when he knew the coldness of the Winter would spoil their thriving: But as the text speaks neither of Spring or Fall, our moderns have thought it more reasonable to suppose, that he laid the

(150) *Cant. vii. 13.* (151) *ONKEL. in loc.* (152) *OLEAST.* (153) *JUN. in loc.*  
(154) *BOCHART. BROWN'S Vulg. Err. CALMET Comm. in Gen. cap. xxx. ver. 11.* (155) *EPIPH. ap. VILLET.* (156) *LUDOLPH. Hist. Æthiop. Com. l. 1. c. 72.* (157) *Vid. CALM. in Gen. xxx. 16. Diß. sub voc. Mandrag. AUG. cont. FAUST. l. 22. cap. 29.* (\*) *Vid. VILLET. MUNST. & al.* (†) *HERODOT. l. 2. cap. 79.*



a tween the two flocks, and perhaps suspecting some trick in it, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and to leave him the rest; from which time *Jacob* took care to lay by the speckled sticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complained to him afterwards<sup>a</sup>: in spite of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, &c. bought men and women servants, camels, oxen, and asses; which raised such envy in *Laban*, and his sons, against him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; so that he thought it now high time to contrive the means of getting off with all he had<sup>b</sup>. He acquainted his wives with it, and finding them of the same mind, he sat them and their little ones upon camels, and having got all his servants and substance together, began his journey towards the land of *Canaan*, whilst his father-in-law, who was at a pretty distance from him, was busy a sheering his sheep; which gave *Rachel* an opportunity of stealing her father's gods (B). *Laban*, who did not hear of their flight till the third day after, was full seven days before he could overtake him;

*Jacob steals away from Laban.*  
Year of the Flood, 1260.  
Year before Christ, 1739.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxi. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxx. p. tot.

the sticks only before the young and lusty sheep and goats, and the old and weak he left to take their chance; by which means the best lambs came to his share, and the worst to *Laban's* (158).

(B) The word which we translate gods, in the Hebrew is *תְּרָפִים* *Teraphim*, which all the Jewish Rabbies own to be a word of no Hebrew etymology. The LXX translate it sometimes an oracle, and sometimes vain idols, and *Aquila* idols. Some think it to be an Egyptian word, and the same with *Serapis*; that *Ham* and his son *Mizraim* were the inventors of idolatry, and that the latter, who was the founder of *Egypt*, filled that country with idols; inasmuch that there was neither town nor village, house or road, where they were not to be seen (159): As to their figure, use, the manner of making them, &c. they are all equally uncertain. As to their shape, the most received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or something resembling a human form, as a busto term, &c. though the Jews pretend, that it was the head of a first-born son plucked off from the neck, and embalmed; under the tongue of which was fastened a golden plate, with the name of some false deity engraved upon it; which head being placed in a niche, or upon a shelf, did give vocal answers (160): but these are rather to be looked upon as fables not worth confuting; and the figure which *Michol* put in *David's* bed (161), which the original calls by the name of *Teraphim*, shews that it must have had an human shape. *Josephus* indeed, who might think it a reflection on that monarch, that there should be found an image or *Teraphim* in his house, has attributed a more subtle stratagem to *Michol*, though less credible (162). He tells us, that she hid the liver of a kid fresh killed under the bed-cloaths, that the panting of it might be taken for the panting of her husband in a fever. But without enquiring whether, or how long a kid's liver would continue panting, so as to be seen under the bed-cloaths; it is scarce credible, that the messengers would give her time to do all this; or, if she had notice of their coming, that she could time it so well, that the liver should be still panting hot when they came up. However, we shall meet with so many instances in the sequel of this history, wherein this author doth depart from the scriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour of his nation is concerned, that his

authority will be of little weight in all such cases.

These *Teraphims* were afterwards universally known by the name of *Talismen*, as they are to this day all over *India*. The *Persians* called them *Telephim*, a name not unlike *Teraphim*. They were made of different metals and sizes, cast under certain constellations, with the figures of some planets, and magic characters engraven upon them. What metal those of *Laban* were, or how big, or how many, is not easy to guess; only this the text tells us, that she hid them in the straw, and sat upon them. As for their use, it was chiefly to give answers, to foretel what was to come, to discover what was hid or lost, and the like. Besides this, they were likewise addressed to for temporal blessings, and to avert evils. They were to be consulted and prayed to at certain times under particular aspects of the planets; from which, according to the Jews, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another Rabbi goes further, and pretends, that they gave their answers *viva voce* (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The Teraphims have spoken vain things* (165). However, we must not suppose that all the *Teraphims* were of the same make, or for the same uses, even among the Jews. We shall have occasion to mention some other sorts, when we come to speak of that of *Michol* (166): Besides, as they came to be more universal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at least a human head.

The last thing worth enquiring into, is, what induced *Rachel* to steal her father's gods: Concerning which we can affirm nothing certain. Some think, that she did it to repay herself for the damage which they had sustained by her father (167); others, that she thought by that means to prevent *Laban's* enquiring of them which way *Jacob* went (168); others, that she would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, against which *Jacob* had read his wives many a lecture (169). Lastly, others think, that both she and her sister were still addicted to that superstition, and that their designing to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her husband (170); but that *Jacob*, making a thorough reformation in his house, caused them to be taken from her, and buried under a tree in *Sichem* (171).

(158) BOCHART *de animal. sacr.* CALM. *Comm. in Gen. c. xxx. 41.* (159) KIRCHER. *OEDIP. Egypt. Sint. 4. c. 3.* CUNÆUS *Rep. Hebr.* (160) TARGUM JONAT. *in Gen. xxxi.* RR. TAN-  
HUM. ELEAZ. *& al.* (161) 1 Sam. xix. 14. (162) *Antiq. lib. 6. c. 14.* (163) D. KIMCHI  
*sub voc. Teraph.* (164) R. ELEAZ. *cap. 36.* (165) *Zachar. x. 2.* (166) *Jude xviii. 1. &*  
*seq.* (167) PERRER, JOHNSON, *& al.* (168) ABENEZRAE *in loc.* (169) THEODORET  
*Quest. 9.* RAB. SAL. GREG. NAZIANZ. *Orat. de S. Pasch. & al.* (170) CYRIL *in Gen.*  
*lii.* CHRYSOST. CAJET. MUSC. CALV. *& al.* (171) *Gen. xxxv. 4.*



Laban over-  
takes him :

Searches for  
his Gods.

Makes a cov-  
enant with Ja-  
cob.  
They rear a  
monument in  
memory of it.  
Laban returns  
home.

Jacob's vi-  
sion.

He calls the  
place Maha-  
naim.

by which time *Jacob* had already passed the river *Euphrates* (C), and was got up the mountains of *Gilead*, where he had pitched his tent for that night. The day being too far spent for *Laban*, and those relations he had brought with him, to undertake any thing, they encamped near him, and waited for the morning. It is evident, that he had some ill design against his son-in-law ; but God, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleased to avert it, by threatening him severely, if he committed any hostility or violence against him. *Laban's* courage being thus cooled, their meeting on the next morning proved more calm than he intended it. He contented himself with expostulating with him, that he had stolen away without giving him an opportunity of kissing his children and grand-children, and sending them away with the usual ceremonies of musick and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints ; the cheat he had put upon him in making him serve so long for a woman he did not care for ; the changing his salary so many times, and his late strange behaviour towards him and his family : all these, and many more, he answered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the blessings which God had heaped upon him for his sake. *Laban* had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the stealing of his gods ; and *Jacob*, ignorant of *Rachel's* theft, desired him to make the most diligent search for them throughout his family, promising, that the person with whom they were found, should be immediately put to death. *Laban* lost no time, but went and searched every tent, and last of all came to that of *Rachel*, who had hid the *teraphims* under the camels litter, and had set herself down upon them. She kept her sitting whilst he was curiously examining every corner of her tent, and excused it, with telling him, that the condition she was then in, allowed her sex to dispence with the usual ceremonies. This prevented all further scrutiny, and *Laban*, who could not think that she would come near such sacred stuff in that condition, went away with a heavy heart, and acquainted his son-in-law with his ill success. This caused some fresh expostulations, which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable subject, which was to make a firm alliance between them, and to erect a monument, as a standing witness of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which *Laban* called in the Syrian tongue *Jegar-Sabadutha*, and *Jacob*, in Hebrew, *Gilead* ; both which signify the heap of witness †. Here they likewise swore, that neither would pass over that monument to hurt the other, and *Jacob*, that he would use his wives and children with all becoming tenderness and affection. The ceremony being ended, and a sacrifice offered upon the occasion, he feasted the whole company the rest of that day ; and the next morning *Laban* having embraced and blessed the whole family, returned home to *Padan-Aram* <sup>c</sup>.

*JACOB*, who thought his absence a greater security than the oaths he had sworn, was glad to have so well escaped ; but one fear succeeded another, and the repentment of his brother *Esau* began now to give him a fresh trouble ; but a vision which he had of an host of angels, who met him in his way to *Canaan* did dissipate his anxiety for a while, and in memory of this vision, he called the place *Mahanaim* (two camps). But being still fearful of his brother ‖, he resolved to soften him with a submissive message, or at least, to feel how his pulse beat towards him. To this end, he sent some of his servants before, to acquaint him with the success he had during his stay in *Mesopotamia*, the riches and multitude of wives, children, servants, and cattle, which he had acquired, and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he sent him some assurance of his being reconciled to him. The messengers returned with the news, that *Esau* was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to complete *Jacob's* fears, and to make him think himself a dead man ; but having recovered himself a little, he set himself about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes that if the one perished, the other might escape ; which done, he addressed himself to God in a very humble prayer,

† Vid. sup. p. 377. d.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxi. p. tot.

‖ Vid. sup. p. 307.

(C) Though the text doth not say what river he passed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the *Euphrates*, which the Scripture sometimes calls the river *Perab*, sometimes the great river, and sometimes emphatically, the river (172) ; either

because that and the *Nile* were the only two considerable ones they knew ; or, because it was one of the four rivers of *Paradise* ; or lastly, because it was the boundary of the promised land †.

(172) Vid. *Josh. i. 4. xxiv. 3. & alib.*

† Vid. *Gen. xv. 8.*

acknowledging

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a acknowledging his great mercies to him, and his own unworthiness of them, and begged his future protection against his brother's sword, and that he would fulfil all his former promises to him. After this he resolved to try how far presents would work upon *Eſau's* temper, and having set a-part two hundred goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred sheep and twenty rams, thirty she-camels with their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty she-asses and ten colts, he sent them before him in separate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him that they were presents sent by *Jacob* to his lord *Eſau*, in order to entreat his favour and good-will. On the next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook *Jabbok* long before break of day, whilst himself tarried at *Mabanaïm*; where there appeared a man, who wrestled with him till the morning, and not being able to prevail with him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, then desired him to let him go since day appeared. *Jacob* begged that he might have his blessing first; upon which he changed his name from *Jacob* to *Israel*, which signifies a man that has prevailed with God. But when he was desired to tell his own name, he refused it, and vanished from him (D). *Jacob* therefore called the place *Peniel*, or the face of God, and when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his posterity never eat of that joint<sup>d</sup>. And *Josephus* tells us, that neither *Jacob*, nor any of his posterity ever since, did eat that part of any creature<sup>e</sup>; and though the text mentions only the sinew that shrank; yet so scrupulous have some of the *Jews*

*He sends some presents to Eſau.*

*Jacob is named Israel at Peniel.*

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxxii.

<sup>e</sup> Ant. l. 1. c. 20.

(D) Most versions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to *Jacob* in the latter part of the 28th verse, as if *Jacob* had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been so far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, viz. *Eſau* and *Laban*, that he had been forced to flee from them both. This makes it therefore necessary to have recourse to a better version of these words, if the original can bear us out in it, which it will do without the least violence; or rather, by following the most strict and literal sense of it, which runs thus. *Thou hast acted or behaved princelike* (in thy wrestling) *with God, and thou shalt also prevail over men*. And indeed, what could be more comfortable to *Jacob*, in the strait he was in about meeting his brother *Eſau*, than such a promise? Or, What can more naturally account for this vision, than to suppose, that it happened unto him in order to dispel his fears? Not that we need to confine the meaning of the wrestling, or the sense of the angel's words to the present dread and difficulties which that patriarch laboured under; for his numerous posterity was to be no less subject to the hatred and persecutions of other nations: nothing therefore could be more proper to strengthen his and his childrens faith and reliance in God, than this prophetick vision and promise, that as he had now wrestled with God, and prevailed, so he should likewise, in the numberless difficulties which both he and they should meet with from their enemies. This version is likewise more agreeable to the *Chaldee* paraphrase, the *Sep-tuagint*, and the *Vulgate*, which render it thus, *If thou hast been thus far able to prevail with God, how much more wilt thou be able to prevail over men!*

This mysterious wrestling has indeed induced some of the ancient fathers to think it was to be understood in a spiritual, and not actual sense (173): which they conclude from the words of the Apostle (174), *we wrestle not against flesh and blood;*

and some *Jews* do think that it was done in a dream (175); and that his halting was either occasioned by weariness, the cold of the night, or the posture he slept in. But besides that his fear of his brother gave him but little inclination to sleep; the circumstances of the story, the imposition of a new name, and, above all, the testimony of the prophet *Hosea* (176), who says, *he had power over the angel, and prevailed, that he wept and prayed unto him*, seem to make it more than a dream, if it was not a real and corporeal wrestling. As to the person who wrestled with *Jacob*, some have believed it to have been an angel, only because *Hosea* calls him by that name in the place above quoted; whereas, when it is God or Christ that appears like one, he is distinguished by the angel of the covenant, or some other word (177). But what follows in the very next verse of the prophet, plainly confutes that notion: *he found him in Bethel, even the Lord God of hosts*. That it was God who met him in *Bethel*, is plain, by his saying, *I am the God of Bethel* (178). The general opinion therefore of ancient and modern authors, is, that it was Christ who wrestled with *Jacob* here. 1. Because he blessed him; and 2. Because *Jacob* says, *I have seen God face to face*, &c. and called the place *Peniel* (179). As for what is said, that he could not prevail, it might be an expression *ad captum*; as when he says to *Moses*, *Let me alone, that I may*, &c. (180). This *Peniel* became afterwards a city of some note; for we find that *Gideon* pulled down one of its towers, because they had denied him bread (181); but it was afterwards rebuilt by *Jeroboam* (182): *Josephus* says that he likewise built a palace there; it stood by the river *Jordan*, and belonged to the tribe of *Gad* (183). *Strabo* mentions a city adjoining to *Tripolis*, which was called the *Face of God*, at one end of mount *Libanus* (184).

(173) Hieron. qu. Hæbr. Orig. & al. (174) Ephes. vi. 12. (175) R. Levi, l. 1. & al. (176) Hos. xii. 4. (177) Ferrer. l. 1. c. 4. (178) Gen. xxxi. 13. (179) Tertul. lib. 2. contr. Marcion. Hilar. de Trin. l. 4. Ambro. de Fid. l. 6. Chrysost. in cap. 7. Act. & al. Calv. Merc. Jun. & al. mult. (180) Exod. xxxii. 10. (181) Judges viii. 17. (182) 1 Kings xii. 25. (183) Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 3. (184) Strabo, l. 16.

been even to this day, that, for want of knowing which joint it was, they abstain<sup>a</sup> from the whole hind-quarter; though others, less nice, abstain only from the thigh; and some again will eat even that, and content themselves with plucking the sinew out of it<sup>b</sup>. Some think, that *Jacob's* lameness was soon over; others, that he halted all his life. However that be, this new vision gave him such fresh courage for the present, that he marched on cheerfully till he had overtaken his family.

*Meets with  
his brother  
Esau.*

It was not long before he saw his brother afar off, coming towards him with his large retinue, at which he could not forbear betraying some fresh tokens of distrust. To prepare therefore for the worst, he divided his family into three bands; the two maids and their sons went first, *Leah* and her children next, and *Rachel* and *Joseph*, who was then about six years of age, he placed in the rear, as farthest from danger. As soon as he saw his brother, he bowed himself seven times down to the ground before him, who, being moved with his submissive behaviour, ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and wept over him (E). And seeing his wives and children, who, not to be wanting in their respect to him, did prostrate themselves before him one after another, in the same order in which *Jacob* had disposed them; and being informed who they were, returned their civilities with the same tenderness that he had done to his brother. He now began to chide him, in a civil manner, for sending him such great presents, and to desire him to take them back, alledging, that it was superfluous to him, who had enough of every thing; but *Jacob* begged so earnestly that he would accept of them, that he at length prevailed. *Esau* offered afterwards to accompany him to the end of his journey, or, at least, to leave a sufficient number of his men to guard him; but he begged to be excused from consenting to either, seeing he was forced to go gently on, by reason of his little ones, and the cattle that were with young: Upon which his brother took his leave, and went away for mount *Seir*<sup>c</sup>; and *Jacob* seeing himself rid of all his fears, stopped at a convenient place, to which he gave the name of *Succoth*, or *Booths*, by reason of the booths and folds he made there for his camels and cattle; soon after which, he likewise built himself a house there. <sup>d</sup> This *Succoth* became afterwards a city of some strength, and *Gideon* did severely punish some of its chief inhabitants for their saucy answer to him, when he was in pursuit of the *Midianites*<sup>e</sup>. It was situate between the brook *Jabboc* and the river *Jordan*. From *Succoth* he went to *Salem* (F), a place near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where he bought a piece of land from *Hemor*, the father of

*Jacob stopped  
some time at  
Succoth.*

<sup>a</sup> CALM. Hist. O. T. in loc.    <sup>b</sup> Vid. sup. p. 307.    <sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxiii. p. tot.    Judg. viii. 13. & seq.

(E) The *Mazorites* and *Cabbalists* observe, that there is a large point over the word *וַיִּשָּׁק* *Vaisba-kebu*, and he kissed him, which implies that he did not design to kiss his brother, but to bite him; for the word signifies also to bite; but that *Jacob's* neck was immediately turned into marble. Wherefore the text says, they both wept, he for the odd change in his neck, and *Esau* because he had almost broke his teeth against it, and that this prevented his wicked design against his brother (185). But it is more than probable, that *Isaac* and *Rebecca* had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's absence, that what *Jacob* and she had done, was by order of God himself, who had decreed the inversion of the succession before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime for him to oppose himself against the decrees of providence; and that instead of recovering his brother's blessing, he would bring a terrible curse upon his own head: by which, and other such like arguments, they had wholly persuaded him to acquiesce in the divine will, and to set aside all animosity against *Jacob*.

(F) We have here followed the *English* version, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived *safe* and *sound*, or

*peaceably*, at the city of *Shechem*; for the word *Salem*, or rather *Shalem*, bears that signification; and there are no remains of any place near *Shechem*, that is called by the name of *Salem*. For this reason some have thought it to be that *Salem* of which *Melchizedek* was king (186), the ruins of whose palace were still to be seen in St. *Jerom's* time; which shewed it, he says, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the same with *Salem* here spoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was so near *Shechem*, any more than the *Salim* where *John the Baptist* did frequent (188), which was near *Jordan*; whereas *Shechem* was at a distance from it. Besides, *Josephus* tells us, that the old *Salem* was the same as *Jerusalem* (189). And the *Psalmist* seems to intimate the same, when he says, at *Salem* was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in *Sion* (190); but the supposed *Salem*, near *Shechem*, must have been near thirty miles from *Jerusalem*. Others have sought for *Salem* in *Shiloh*, which is about half way between *Jerusalem* and *Shechem*, and have thought that they were the same (191). But besides that *Shiloh* is not near *Shechem*, it is plain from *Judges* (192) that they were two distinct places: wherefore, upon the whole, we think that *Salem* should here be rendered *safe* or in *peace*; namely,

(185) *Beresh. Rabb. in loc.*    *MASSORAH. in loc.*  
*quæst. Hebr.*    (188) *John iv. 5.*    (189) *Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.*  
*VILLEX. c. 33.*    (192) *Judg. xxi. 19.*

(186) *Gen. xiv. 18.*

(187) *HIERON.*

(190) *Psal. lxxvi. 2.*    (191) *Vid.*

*Shechem,*

a *Shechem*, for an hundred pieces of money, and pitched his tents there (G), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El Eshbe Israel*, or the mighty God of *Israel*<sup>b</sup>. This was in all likelihood the same place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, soon after his first coming into the land of *Canaan*<sup>c</sup>. And here also was, probably, *Jacob*'s well near mount *Gerizim*, where *CHRIST* talked with the woman of *Samarita*<sup>d</sup>; for that mountain stood in the country of the *Shechemites*<sup>e</sup>.

HERE *Jacob* might have lived long enough peaceably and agreeably, being beloved and respected by all that people, had not *Dinab*'s curiosity of visiting the women of the city, some say, to see one of their feasts<sup>m</sup>, proved the cause of much mischief, and obliged her father to withdraw from that place nearer to *Mamre*,

b where his father still lived. We have elsewhere seen † how *Shechem*, the son of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, who was prince of that country, saw her, became in love with her, ravished her, and sent her home to her father with the greatest assurances of marriage, if *Jacob*'s consent could be as easily obtained as that of his father *Hamor*.

*Dinab* told her mishap to her father, who was forced to bear it patiently for the present; because his sons were all out in the field. But as soon as they were come home, and made acquainted with it, their resentment grew to such a height, that

they resolved severely to revenge the dishonour done to their family. In the mean time *Shechem* having prevailed upon his father to obtain him the damsel, *Hamor* went with him to make the proposal of it to her father, and promised to give her

c as large a dowry as he should desire; adding, that if his family were to intermarry with the *Shechemites*, it might prove the most effectual means for both to live in perfect peace and friendship. But the treacherous sons of *Jacob*, who meditated nothing but the most bloody revenge, replied, that it was not lawful for them to contract any affinity with any uncircumcised nation; but, that if he and his people would consent to be circumcised, as they were, they would agree to his proposal.

The sequel shews that they designed nothing less. For the prince, having acquainted his people with the whole matter, did easily persuade them to accept the conditions, since it would give them a power over all their substance and riches. *Shechem* was no doubt very pressing to have the ceremony of circumcision performed out of hand, that he might the sooner enjoy his desires, and in complaisance to him, the whole city agreed to go about it that very day. Three days after this, when their wounds had rendered them incapable to stand in their own defence, *Siméon* and *Levi*, *Dinab*'s brothers, entered the city, and put all the males to the sword, and brought their sister back. After this they went and plundered the place, took all the women captives, and carried away all the cattle they found in the neighbourhood. When *Jacob* came to hear of this barbarous exploit, he was extremely displeased at it. He reprov'd them for it, told them the dangerous consequences that must inevitably attend such a treacherous action, which, he thought, must end in the destruction of himself and family. To all this his haughty sons only

e replied, Is then our sister to be treated like a common prostitute? And here it is not hard to guess how soon, or how easily the inhabitants of the neighbourhood could have repayed their treacherous cruelty with interest, had not God interposed, and sent such a pannick fear amongst them, that they did even let them

Shechem's  
amour with  
Dinah.  
Year of the  
Flood, 1267.  
Year before  
Christ, 1732.  
Hamor de-  
mands her  
marriage of  
his son.

Jacob's sons  
treachery.

They enter  
the city, and  
destroy all the  
males, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Judg. viii. 13. & seq. <sup>c</sup> Gen. xii. 7. Annal. USSER. p. 9. CALM. Hist. O. T. 205. VILLET. & al. <sup>d</sup> John iv. 6. & seq. <sup>e</sup> Judg. ix. 7. <sup>m</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 21. † Vid. sup. p. 329.

namely, from the dread and dangers he had been in of his brother *Esau*, and not because he was cured of his lameness, as the *Jews* imagine.

(G) The word *Kesbitab*, קֶסֶבִּיטָב, which is here rendered a piece of money, signifies also a lamb; from whence *Onkelas* (193), the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaster*, and others, have translated it an hundred lambs, as they have also that place in *Job*, where every one of his friends gave him a *Kesbitab*; but it is more likely that they gave him a piece of money than a lamb; for that would be of greater service to him in the condition he was in. All the *Jewish* interpreters, except *Onkelas* above-named, render it by the word מָנָה (194), which signifies a piece of money of about the va-

lue of a penny; and tells us, that the *Arabians* called money *Kesbitab* (195). It is more probable therefore that it was a small coin that had a lamb stamped upon it, and was called by that name, as we do call an *Angel*, from the stamp it bears of one. As for those who think that this price was hardly sufficient to purchase such a piece of ground, it not amounting to above ten or twelve shillings (196), they should consider, that if a lamb in those days was worth no more than five farthings, or three half-pence, which is probable enough, money than bearing a higher value, an hundred lambs would be but equivalent to an hundred such pieces of money.

(193) Targ. Onkel. in loc. (194) Vid. MUNST. in loc. (195) Ap. VILLET. (196) LE SCENE'S Essay on a new Translat. p. 166.

depart

depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered *Shechemites*. a

Jacob is bid  
to go and  
dwell at Be-  
thel.

HOWEVER, GOD was soon pleased to dissipate his fears once more, by speaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to *Bethel*, where he had formerly appeared to him when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. Here *Jacob*, conscious of all the idols, teraphims, and other superstitious trash which his family had brought with them, whether from *Padan-Aram*, or from the plunder of the *Shechemites*, and unwilling to carry any thing with him that might be displeasing to GOD, ordered a thorough search to be made after them, in order to have them, not, indeed, destroyed, as one might have expected, but buried in a deep hole, which he caused to be digged at the foot of b a famous oak near *Shechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they used to wear as talismans, or charms, against sickness and other misfortunes°. After which *Jacob* and his whole family set out with all they had, and arrived safely at *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel*: none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to pursue after him. As soon as he came there, he built an altar to GOD, and called it *El Bethel*, or the GOD of *Beth-*

Their idols  
buried.

Deborah dies.

*el*: soon after which *Deborah*, his mother's nurse (H), died, and was buried under an oak at the foot of the hill of *Bethel*, and the place was called *Allon Bachuth*, or the oak of mourning. He made but a short stay at *Bethel*, being desirous to go to visit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not seen since he went to *Me-* c  
*sopotamia*: but as he was marching towards *Ephraim*, *Rachel* fell in labour at a small distance from the place, and perceiving that it would cost her her life, called the child *Ben-oni*, or the son of my affliction; but after she was dead, *Jacob* changed that name, too likely perhaps to revive his grief for her loss, into that of *Benjamin*, or the son of my right-hand. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephraim*, and a stone monument was reared over the grave, which was still to be seen in *Moses's* time. This was not the only misfortune *Jacob* met with in this place: for his son *Reuben*, having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine, and *Rachel's* maid, did not scruple to lie with her: which, when his father heard, made so deep an impression in his heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day°. Soon after this *Jacob* left that d

Rachel dies,  
and is buried  
at Ephraim.

Reuben's in-  
cest.

Isaac dies,  
and is buried  
by his two  
sons.

melancholy place, and came at length to *Mamre*, to his old father *Isaac*, with whom he continued almost the space of thirteen years, some say, nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old, and having been almost blind and decrepid a considerable number of years (I). His two sons buried him in the cave of *Machpela* with *Abraham* and *Sarah*; after which *Esau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre*¹.

HOWEVER, the happiness which *Jacob* had enjoyed during his stay with his father, had not been without some alloy. *Joseph* was about seventeen years of age, and was become his darling, in regard of his excellencies of body and mind; be- c

° Gen. xxxiv. p. tot.    ° See CALMET Comm. in Gen. xxxv. 4.    ° Gen. xlix. 4.    ¹ Gen. xxxv. p. tot.

(H) It is not easy to guess how so very old a woman as *Rebecca's* nurse must then be, should be found in his retinue, unless we suppose, that she was sent by *Isaac* to enquire after *Jacob's* welfare. *Calvin*, and others, indeed think, that she went with him into *Mesopotamia*, having a desire to see her own country again; and that when she heard that he was gone for the land of *Canaan*, her desire to see *Rebecca* made her follow him thither; but it is unlikely that a woman, at her years, should take such rambles: For if we suppose her to have been forty years old when she was taken in to be *Rebecca's* nurse (and less than that she could hardly be, seeing she was not taken to suckle her, but to bring her up as a governess) she must have been near an hundred and seventy years old when she died. The *Rabbins* tell us, that *Rebecca* having promised her son, at his de-

parture, that she would send for him again as soon as she found that he was out of danger, did now send *Deborah* to fetch him back; but besides that a younger messenger would have been more proper, it is certain *Jacob* was not sent for, but called by GOD, and drove by *Laban's* cruel usage out of that country.

(I) The *Jews* tell us, that the masters who taught *Isaac* the law of GOD, were the patriarchs *Shem* and *Heber*, who were still living; and that when *Abraham* took him with him to mount *Moriah* to sacrifice him there, he told *Sarah* that he was going with him to the school of *Shem* (197). They likewise attribute to him the composing of the noon-prayers which they constantly use: For they think *Abraham* was the author of those of the morning, and *Jacob* of those of the evening, and *Isaac* of those of noon\*.

(197) SCAMBAT. Archiv. Vet. Test. l. 2. p. 197.

\* FABRIC. Apocryph. Vet. Test. 434.



a sides, his father had observed something extraordinary and promising in him, beyond what he could see in his other sons, which made him so excessively fond of him (K), that it procured him the envy of all his brothers. What encreased it still more was, that *Joseph* having observed some vile actions in the sons of *Bilbab* and *Zilpbab*, with whom his father had sent him to feed the sheep, in hopes that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and acquainted him with it. But he himself helped to compleat their envy, or rather, to turn it into an irreconcilable hatred, by innocently telling them some dreams he had, which seemed to foreshew, that he should one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he saw in a wheat-field his own sheaf standing upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he saw the sun, moon, and eleven stars, doing the like obeisance to him. This last he likewise told to his father, who, though he could not perhaps but be delighted with it, and think it significative of some great fortune that would attend him; yet, observing with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him severely before them, asking him, if he thought that his father, mother, and brethren were to bow themselves to the earth to him? But this rather helped to encrease their hatred against him, and made them resolve to contrive his death. It was not long before an opportunity offered itself to them. *Jacob* being uneasy that he had not heard from them for some time, since their removing their flocks to *Shechem*, and fearing lest some ill luck had befallen them there, sent *Joseph* to enquire after them. When he came thither he was told that they were removed further off, about twenty miles further north towards *Dudaim*. He went after them, and they no sooner saw him, but they all agreed to make away with the dreamer, as they called him, and to make their father believe, that some wild beast had devoured him. They had certainly executed their bloody design, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief which the news of his death would cause to their aged father, had not *Reuben* dissuaded them from imbruing their hands in his blood, and advised them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or desire d to make him die a more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice; they let him down into the pit, after which, as if they had performed some noble exploit, they sat down to eat and to drink. In the interim a troop of *Ishmaelites* happening to pass by, with spices and balm from *Gilead*, and bound for *Egypt*†, *Judah* persuaded his brethren to sell him to them, since his death would do them no more service than his being carried down into that country. His project was approved, and *Joseph* was sold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to *Reuben*, whose design was to have got him out of the pit, and to have sent him back privately to his father. The surprize and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced such complaints from him, that they soon understood what his meaning had been. They took therefore the more care that he should not know what was become of him. Soon after this, having dipped his party-coloured coat, which they had stripped him of, in some kids blood, they sent it home to their father; who no sooner saw it, than he supposed that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by some wild beast. He took his supposed loss so to heart, that he did not cease mourning for him, till he heard the surprizing news of his advancement in *Egypt*‡ (L), where *Joseph* happened to be sold to an officer of the king's guard,

*Hated by his brethren.*

*His two dreams.*

*He is sold, and carried down into Egypt.*

† Gen. xxxvii. p. tot.

† Vid. sup. p. 301. a.

(K) Most versions, as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joseph*, because he was the son of his old age; whereas he had two sons younger than he, viz *Zebulun* and *Benjamin*, and this last was born above fifteen years after him. It seems they have confounded the words בן זקנים *Ben Zekenim*, the son of senators or elders, as he is called here, with בן זקנה *Ben Ziknah*, the son of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it signifying, according to the Hebrew idiom, the son or disciple of senators; that is, because he was endued with extraordinary wisdom and prudence. Accordingly the Samaritan, Persian, and Arabic versions have rendered it, because he

was a wise and prudent son; though even this comes short of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly translated, because he was wise and prudent as a senator. And as it is natural for parents, especially fathers, to admire those children that shew any degree of wisdom above their years, so *Jacob* had a great deal of reason to express a more than ordinary love for such a son; whereas, to be fond of a child of old age, had *Joseph* been even such, is but a common piece of dotage, which *Moses* would hardly have thought worth recording (198.)

(L) *Justin*, in epitome of *Trogus*, makes mention of *Joseph*'s being sold into *Egypt* by his brethren,

(198) Vid. LE SCÈS. Essay.



Sold there to  
Potiphar:  
Is solicited  
to an amour  
by his mistress.

named *Potiphar* (M). Here *Joseph* shewed such diligence and integrity, and proved a so successful in all he undertook, that his master soon took notice of him, and committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been about ten years in *Potiphar's* house, when his extraordinary beauty and comeliness began to inflame his mistress's heart, and she not being over-nice in such matters, made no difficulty to disclose the secret to him in such plain terms as would force a direct answer from him. But how great was her surprize, when instead of the chearful compliance she probably expected, she found herself denied, and severely reprimanded for her disloyal passion! However, being willing to hope that another opportunity might prove more favourable, after several fruitless attempts, she laid hold on one when all the family was abroad, and accosted him in so passionate and violent a manner, as gave him to understand, that she would not bear any further denial. *Joseph* thinking it now safer to flee, than to stay and expostulate with her, was forced to leave his upper garment behind, which she held so fast that he could not get it out of her hands. This last affront so enraged her, that she resolved his immediate ruin. She began with setting up a most horrid out-cry, which soon brought in all the people that were within the hearing of it, then shewing them *Joseph's* cloak, she told them that he had made so furious an attempt upon her chastity, that nothing but her loud cries could have delivered her from him. By that time her spouse came home, she had dressed up her story so well, and made such use of the dumb witness she had torn from him, that she was easily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved him less than he did, it is probable he would have sacrificed him that minute to his resentment; but he contented himself for the present with sending him into the king's prison<sup>a</sup>, where we shall leave him for a while, to take a view of what passed in his father's family.

His refusal  
makes her ac-  
cuse him.

He is sent to  
prison.

Judah's mar-  
riage with a  
Canaanite.  
Er's death.

Not long after *Joseph* had been sold into *Egypt*, *Judah* chanced to marry the daughter of a *Canaanite*, whose name was *Shuab*, by whom he had three sons (N), *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelab*. *Er* being cut off for his wickedness, before he had any children by his wife *Tamar*, *Judah* bid his second son *Onan* to take her, according to the custom of that country, and to raise a posterity to his brother. *Onan* obeyed seemingly, but not brooking the thoughts that his children should be esteemed his brother's, took such a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar's* conceiving by him, that God was provoked to punish him with death also (O). *Judah* there-

Onan's sin  
and death.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxix. p. tot.

then, who envied the excellency of his wit; and having got him privately into their hands, sold him to some merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

(M) It may not be improper to observe here, that though the text calls *Potiphar* an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX render it, and the *Jews* fancy; some of whom think that he was not so thoroughly castrated, but that some of the strings being left, might make him desire a wife (200); for though the *Hebrew* word סריס *Saris*, doth properly signify an eunuch, yet is often used to signify an officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's person. He is also called שר טבחים *Sar Tabachim*, which, in its primitive meaning, signifies the prince of the butchers, from *Tabach*, which signifies to kill, slaughter, or, what is best express'd by the *French* word, *Egorger*. For which reason, some have rendered it the prince of the cooks (201). But as the matter is of no great importance, we have followed the *English* version, which agrees in this with the generality of interpreters (202).

(N) It is not easy to guess at what time *Judah* had these three sons by this *Canaanitish* woman; and if we take the words in the original, at that time, in a strict sense, as if it happened about the time that *Joseph* was sold, he must have been too young, being but twenty-two years of age; for *Joseph* was seventeen years old, and he could not

be above four or five years older, being the fourth son of *Leah*, and he and *Joseph* both born within the compass of seven years. So that the most that can be thought, is, that he had married either a little before *Joseph* was sold, or about that time; and that the latter part of the story of his son's marriage and death, and the business of *Tamar*, happened during the twenty years that *Joseph* continued in *Egypt*. And therefore, though *Moses* relates all these events in the chapter preceding that which gives an account of his disgrace and imprisonment, it is most probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the story of those two brothers too much, and so has made an end of *Judah's* adventures, before he went on with those of *Joseph*. Neither need we think strange that *Judah* and his sons should marry so young, since we have other instances in scripture of the like nature; such as that of *Abaz*, *Hezekiah's* father, who was but eleven years old when he was born; for *Abaz* was but thirty-six when he died, and his son was twenty-five when he began to reign (203), though he was his immediate successor. And if a prince in those latter days could have a child at that age, much more might they that lived in *Judah's* time.

(O) Though *Onan's* sin was in itself great enough, yet it is very probable that it was aggravated with a worse circumstance, viz. his having an eye to the suppressing the *Messiah's* coming, since

(199) JUSTIN. l. 36. c. 2.

(200) D. KIMKI, & al.

(201) Vid. MERCER. JUN. & al.

(202) JOSEPH. PHILO. AMBR. & al.

(203) 2 Kings xvi. 2. Ibid. c. xviii. 2.

a fore bid her remain a widow in her father's house, till his third son was grown old enough to supply his brother's place; but when she saw that time come, and that he neglected to send for her, as indeed he never designed it, lest *Shelah* should meet with the fate of his two brothers, she resolved to make herself amends by some other way, which she effected by the following stratagem.

JUDAH had buried his wife about this time, and was still young enough to feel the want of her. As soon therefore as the usual days of mourning were over, it being then the season of sheep-sheering, he resolved to try whether that diversion might allay his grief. He took an intimate friend with him, and went up to *Timnath*, the place where the shearers were at work. In the mean while *Tamar* hearing of it, resolved to make use of that opportunity to set on work her design. She put off her widow's garments, and dressing herself like a curtezan, and throwing her veil over her face (P), set herself between the two ways that lead to *Timnath*, through one of which the knew her father-in-law must needs pass.

JUDAH (Q) no sooner spied her, but thinking her to be what she appeared, *Judah and Tamar* began to make his addresses to her, and she insisting only upon a reward for her compliance, he promised her to send her a kid, and at her desire left her his seal, his bracelet, and staff, as a pledge for it. The encounter being over, *Judah* sent his friend *Adullam*, for that was his name, with the kid, to redeem the pledges, but in vain, for she was gone home; neither did the men of the place, of whom he enquired, know any thing of such a woman plying there. He went to *Judah* and told him his ill success, who, fearing to be exposed for his amour, answered his friend, let her keep the pledges, as long as I have performed my promise to her, as you yourself will bear me witness.

BUT the matter was not so indifferent as he thought. Some months after word *Tamar with child* was brought to him, that his daughter-in-law had proved disloyal, and was certainly with child. *Judah*, though glad at the news, because her death would free him from his promise of giving his son *Shelah* to her, pretended to be highly provoked at her incontinency, and ordering her to be brought forth, condemned her *Condemned to be burnt* to be burnt according to the laws of the country. *Tamar*, instead of being surprised at the dreadful sentence, which he had pronounced against her (R), pro-

since he should not have the honour to be numbered among his ancestors (204); and this might provoke God to cut him off. As for the sin of his elder brother, it is thought to have been the same with *Onan's*, but committed with a different view, that *Tamar* might not spoil her beauty and shape by bearing of children; but this is only a rabbinic conjecture.

(P) The text says, that *Judah* thought her to be a harlot, because she had covered her face. From whence some have fancied that she had covered it with paint; but these are sufficiently reprov'd and confuted by *Abenezra* (205). Others think that the veil over the face was the sign of a harlot (206); but whether they were so shame-faced in those days, or not, it seems rather that she had veiled herself that *Judah* might not know her. What therefore made him think her to be a curtezan, was her sitting alone in such a conspicuous place; for so the original may be rendered. If it be asked, how she could prevent her voice from betraying her, all that can be said is, either that she had an art of altering it so as not to be known, as some people have; or, which is more probable, that *Judah* was so hot in pursuit of his pleasure, that it did not permit him to make any reflection about it. *Vid.* our next note.

(Q) It seems by this action of *Tamar*, that she had observed something of this propensity to women in him, whilst she lived with his two sons, else it is not probable that such a project should come into her head; neither would she have appeared so sure of the success, as she seems to have been by the sequel. And indeed, it is plain that

it was neither the virtue nor sanctity of the twelve patriarchs, that recommended them to the favour of God, but his covenant with *Abraham*, and the glorious designs of his providence on their posterity. And this is what *Moses* told the *Israelites* in the wilderness in more places than one (207).

(R) Some think that *Judah*, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable that the *Canaanites*, in whose country he dwelt, would give a stranger such a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that she should be brought before a court of judicature, and sentenced according to the laws of the country. However, whether judge or prosecutor, 'tis certain he acted like an unrighteous one; for *Tamar* could not be justly accused of adultery, which alone condemned her to be burnt, unless it were because he had betrothed her to his son *Shelah*, by the promise he made her to marry her to him, and which, it is plain, he did not design to keep; otherwise, it was lawful for widows to seek their fortune elsewhere, as appears by what *Naomi* said to her two daughters-in-law (208). It was, moreover, an inhuman thing to put a woman to death before she was delivered; and the *Romans*, bad as they were with respect to children, whom they used to expose when they thought them burdensome, had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable that his eagerness to be rid of her, made him speak more unadvisedly than he would have done, had she been a more indifferent person. Upon the whole it appears, that *Josephus* looked upon

(204) *Vid.* ALIX. in *Pentat.*(205) ABENEZRA in *loc.*(206) JUN. CALV. *et al.* in *loc.*(207) *Deut. pass.*(208) *Ruth* i. 9.(209) *ÆLIAN.* l. 5.

Is absolved.

A strange birth.

Joseph.

Dreams of two prisoners explained.

Pharaoh's two dreams interpreted by Joseph.

Year of the Flood, 1284.  
Year before Christ, 1715.

duced the pledges he had left with her, and told him that she was got with child <sup>a</sup> by the owner of them. Whereupon *Judab*, in a confusion and surprize, owned that she was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in withholding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time. When her full time was come she brought forth twins; but the manner of their being born was something surprizing; for one of them put forth his hand, about which the midwife tied a scarlet thread, probably to try whether he would come out the first: but when he withdrew his hand, and his brother shewed him the way into the world; his mother called him *Phares*, or breach, by reason of the breach he had made between his brother and him; and the other was called *Zarab* <sup>b</sup>.

*JOSEPH* in the mean while was got into such favour with the keeper of the prison that he entrusted him with the care of all the prisoners. Two of them, men of some distinction; viz. *Pharaoh's* chief butler and baker, being very sad and thoughtful one morning about a dream which each of them had, *Joseph* being informed of the cause and the dream, gave each of them its particular interpretation, telling them also the precise time when they should see them fulfilled. Accordingly three days after the butler was restored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). *Joseph* took this opportunity of addressing himself to the former, and to beg his assistance and interest to get him out of prison, telling him at the same time how inhumanly he had been sold out of his country, and falsely accused by <sup>c</sup> his mistress, and what else he thought proper to move him to comply with his request.

BUT the butler being got at liberty and restored to his place, never remembered his fellow prisoner for two whole years, till a remarkable accident forced him, as it were, to call him to mind. The king his master had had two very frightful and portentous dreams in one night, the meaning of which he had in vain enquired of all his *Egyptian* wisemen, none of whom could give him the least light into them. The uneasiness which appeared in *Pharaoh's* countenance, and the search he ordered to be made for some more learned interpreters, did soon make our courtier recollect what *Joseph* had foretold him in the prison. He went therefore instantly to the <sup>d</sup> king, and after an humble apology for his ingratitude and forgetfulness, acquainted him, that two years before there was an *Hebrew* youth in prison with him who had interpreted his and the baker's dream with a more than ordinary exactness, and seemed to have a much greater talent in that way, than all the wisemen that had been hitherto consulted. *Pharaoh* was too eager to be satisfied about his own, not to send immediately for *Joseph*, who having washed and shaved himself, and changed his cloaths, was forthwith introduced to his majesty. He no sooner appeared than the king told him his dreams, and promised him a considerable reward if he could give him an interpretation of them. *Pharaoh* had dreamed that he had seen seven lusty fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*; soon after which <sup>e</sup> seven others lean and ill-favoured ones came and devoured them; and yet did neither look the fatter or bigger for it. His second dream was much of the same kind; viz. seven full ears of corn devoured by seven blasted ones. *Joseph* answered the king with his usual modesty, that the seven cows and seven ears signified the same thing; that the dream being repeated, was only a sign that the thing was to happen immediately after. That the seven fat cows and full ears signified seven succeeding years of plenty, which would nevertheless be quite forgotten in the seven succeeding years of famine, signified by the seven lean cows and blasted ears. He

\* Gen. xxxviii. p. tot.

on all the transactions mentioned in this chapter to be so little for the credit of *Judab* and his sons, that he has suppressed them all. This is one, though far from the only one, of the instances we told the reader of in a former note, of his suppressing any thing that cast a reflection on his nation †: The rest will come in course.

(S) Our translation has rendered the expression which *Joseph* uses to the butler and the baker, *shall lift up thy head*, too literally, since they would then imply that both would have the same fate; whereas they proved quite opposite. The words in the original mean, that in three days

*Pharaoh* would have them brought forth and examined; for the expression here rendered *lift up the head*, signifies to muster, to call to an account, and to take the sum of any thing; and the sequel shews this to have been the true meaning, since, after such examination, the one was hanged, and the other re-instated. It seems, therefore, probable, by the expression here used, that they had been suspected or accused of cheating the king; and that when their accounts had been examined, and cast up, the one was found guilty, and the other cleared.

† *Vid. sup. p. 443.*

thereupon

a thereupon advised the king to appoint some wise and expert men over his whole kingdom, who should take care to build granaries, and set officers in every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the seven plentiful years, against the succeeding years of famine.

THE king and all that heard him, were surprized at the wisdom of this young stranger, who was then but thirty years old, and concluded that he was the fittest person to be set over the kingdom, and to put his proposal in execution. He was thereupon made master and overseer of *Pbaraob's* house; and orders were given that he should be obeyed in all things, as if he had been *Pbaraob* himself. The king stopped not here, but took his signet off his finger and gave it to him, caused b him to be clothed in fine linen, and put a golden chain about his neck, telling him that he appointed him super-intendant over the whole kingdom, and the next unto himself in authority: he gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnatb-paaneab*, which signifies a revealer of secrets (T). And to compleat his happiness, he gave him the daughter of *Potipherab*, priest, or prince of *On*, to wife (U); and made him ride in his second chariot, while some men that ran before it cried, bow the knee (W). *Joseph* being raised to this height of power, took a progress through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and, in a word, ordered all things with such prudence and application, that before the seven years of plenty were over, he found his stores filled above numbering. c During this time he had two sons born of his wife *Asenath*. The first of whom he called *Manasseh*, intimating that God had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called *Ephraim*, because God had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction. Joseph's advancement and glory.  
His marriage.  
Manasseh and Ephraim born.

THESE seven plentiful years were succeeded immediately by the other seven, neither was the scarcity confined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the nations round about it. As soon therefore as the *Egyptians* came to be pinched for want of bread, they presented themselves to *Pbaraob*, who commanded them to apply to *Joseph*; upon which he immediately ordered his stores to be opened, and corn to be sold to the people, who flocked to him, not d only from all parts of *Egypt*, but from all the neighbouring countries.

By this time *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, sent ten of his sons to get a supply

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xli. p. tot.

(T) These are not *Hebrew* words, as some rabbies dream (210), who render it by *צַפְנָתַבְפָּנֵאֵב*, *צַפְנָתַבְפָּנֵאֵב*, for though the first word may be derived from *צַפַּן* *Zaphan*, to hide; yet the original of *Paaneab* is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom*, and others, think it signifies the SAVIOUR of the world in the *Egyptian* tongue (211); but it is most probable, that it signifies the revealer of secrets, and is accordingly so rendered by most *Jewish* and *Christian* expositors (212).

(U) As it is not likely that *Joseph* should be grown so great a courtier in so short a time, as to have forgot his religion, especially since we find him making so ample a profession of it to his brothers seven years after (213); so neither is it probable that he would have married the daughter of an uncircumcised, whether prince or priest. But it was not so with *Potipherab*, who could not but be desirous to purchase so advantageous an alliance at any rate, and therefore might easily be induced by *Joseph* to remove that only obstacle, by becoming circumcised. This was therefore a fair opportunity for him to introduce that ceremony among the *Egyptian* priests, which might, afterwards, be received also by the laity. However that be, we must not mistake the city of *On* for that of *No*, threatened with destruction by *Ezekiel* (214), which was *Alexandria*. *On* here was *Heliopolis*, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by *Ptolomy*, *Onium* (215), distant about twenty miles from *Memphis*, the metropolis

of the kingdom †. Neither must we confound this *Potipherab* with that to whom *Joseph* had been sold, as St. *Jerom* has done. 'Tis much more probable that they were two distinct persons, 1. Because the names are differently written; the first *Potiphar*, and the other *Potipherab*, or rather *Potipherangb*, ending with the letter *y* (*Ain*). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other priest, or prince of *On*. 3. The former therefore must have his residence in the capital, to be always about the king; the other lived at *On*, or *Heliopolis*. And lastly, it is not likely that *Joseph* would have ventured to marry his master's daughter, who might have proved like her mother, whose incontinency he had so severely smarted for (216).

(W) The *Jews*, *Kimki* excepted, unwilling to suppose that so religious a man as *Joseph* would suffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have divided the word *אֲבֹרָךְ* *Abrek*, and read it *אֲבֹרָךְ* *Ab rak*, which, in *Hebrew*, signifies tender father; by which they understand, that he was a father with respect of his consummate wisdom, and tender with respect of his years (217). And it is certain, that if the word be *Hebrew*, it signifies both bow the knee, and tender father; but if it be *Egyptian*, we are to seek for the meaning of it. *Josephus* says nothing of this circumstance, probably, because, for want of understanding the *Hebrew*, he was forced to follow the *Septuagint*, which renders it bow the knee.

(210) RAMBAM. (211) HIERON. in loc. EGUBIN, &c. (212) Targ. ONKEL. in loc. JOSEPH. Ant. l. 2. c. 6. LXX. GROT. JUN. in loc. & al. (213) Gen. xlii. 18. (214) Ezek. xxx. 16. (215) Vid. HIERON. loc. Hebr. † Vid. sup. p. 176. (216) AUGUST. quæst. in Gen. i. 36. CHRYSOST. Homil. 63. in Gen. MERCER. JUN. MUSCUL. & al. (217) Targ. ONKEL. R. JERUD. & al.

from thence, and kept only *Benjamin* with him. These, upon their arrival into a *Egypt*, were directed to *Joseph*, whom they must apply to for an order; and as soon as they saw him, they prostrated themselves before him, and begged they might be allowed to buy provision with other strangers. *Joseph* knew them immediately, though he was so altered that they could not call him to mind; he put on a severe look, and in an angry tone, asked them whence they came? and upon their answering, from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being spies, who were come to discover the weakness of the land. Such an unexpected accusation forced them to justify themselves; they told him in the most submissive terms, that they were come with no other design than to buy corn for their family, which was very numerous, they being all one man's sons; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, besides a twelfth who was now dead. This was what *Joseph* wanted, who in a surly commanding tone told them, that unless one of them fetched this youngest son, whilst the rest were kept in safe custody, he would not be persuaded but that they were spies, and would punish them as such. To shew that he was in earnest, he sent them all to prison, and kept them there three days; at the end of which he sent for them, and putting on a milder aspect, said to them, *this do, and live; for I fear God*. Let one of you remain a prisoner with me, whilst the rest go home with provision for your family; and when you bring your youngest brother hither, he shall be delivered up safe, and you justified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his most zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and sent to prison, whilst he had the pleasure to hear them confess their inhumanity towards their brother, whose bitter cries had not been able to soften them to pity; acknowledging that this misfortune had befallen them as a just punishment for it. Here *Reuben* had an opportunity of justifying himself, by reminding them of the pains he took to dissuade them from the horrid fact, little thinking who heard him, any more than his brethren; for *Joseph* spoke to them by an interpreter. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he dismissed them, not without contriving a fresh occasion of surprize to them after they were gone, having bid the officer, who was to fill their sacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the sacks. Accordingly, when they came to bait, and to give some provender to their beasts, they were not a little frightened to find all their money in their sacks, and failed not to make all the dismal reflexions upon it that their fear could suggest to them; concluding, that the haughty *Egyptian* lord had done it, that he might have a pretence to enslave them at their next coming. As soon as they were got home they acquainted their father with all these adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his son *Simeon*, was much more so when he found that *Benjamin* must go down to redeem him. He withstood all their persuasions as long as he could\*, till at length the famine increasing, and the provision being almost spent, *Judah* prevailed with him to part with his favourite son for a time, promising to bring him safe back, or else to be answerable for him at the hazard of his own life (X). As it was not without the utmost reluctance that *Jacob* consented to

*Joseph's brethren come to him for corn.*

*Joseph's rough behaviour to them.*

*Simeon kept bound.*

*Their money returned.*

\* Gen. xlii. p. tot.

(X) The whole conduct of *Joseph*, from his being first brought into *Egypt* to his discovering himself to his brethren, having been very much canvassed and disapproved, it will not be amiss to enquire how far it deserves it, and how far it may be justified, even abstracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. First then, he is blamed for not having sent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of *Memphis*, where he was sold, not being above eighty miles, at most, from *Hebron*, where *Jacob* dwelt. To this it may be answered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would, in all likelihood, have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the first opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And secondly, that *Egypt* being the place where he expected the preferment which his dreams had fore-signified to him, it was by no means advisable for him to leave it, but to wait

patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjust usage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, savours of the rankest revenge: but it is plain, that if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for it: whereas it is plain, he had a much better design in it, namely, either to bring their heinous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did †; or, 2. in order to inform himself of the state of his family, especially of his father, and of his brother *Benjamin*; or lastly, to make them relish his future kindness the better, by the rough usage they had met with before. The last, and indeed the most considerable thing he is blamed for is, his sending for his brother *Benjamin*, which he knew, his former behaviour considered, would cause an infinite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart: and if he refused to send him,

the

† Gen. xlii. 21, & seq.

this



a this separation, so he failed not to give his sons the strictest charge about him, and to take all the proper measures for their safe return, and to gain the favour of the proud Egyptian lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready such presents as they thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and having treated heaven, not without abundance of tears, for their good success, dismissed them; little dreaming what glorious news he should hear at their return, to make him amends for his son's absence. They no sooner appeared before Joseph, with their brother Benjamin, but he commanded his steward to conduct them to his house, where he designed they should dine with him. But they who had abandoned themselves to fear, began to suspect that some ill design was hatching to enslave them upon the account of the money which they had found in their sacks. To prevent therefore, as much as they could, any quarrel arising upon that score, they acquainted the steward with the whole affair before they entered the house; adding, that they had brought it back with them, with a new supply to buy their fresh provisions. The steward seeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehensions about it, for they should never be asked for it again. He then brought them into the house, ordered them water to wash their feet, and provender for their beasts, and at the same time he brought Simeon unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they set themselves about making ready their presents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmost reverence, as soon as he came home. Joseph having saluted them round, began to enquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngest brother that stood before him. Benjamin bowed his head to the ground, and Joseph having blessed him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them sit down by themselves, and to be served according to their rank and seniority, whilst he sat at a table by himself, and his Egyptian guests at another by themselves; it being then an abomination to the

Benjamin  
and his brethren  
dine  
with Joseph.

the whole family must starve at home, and Simeon remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, Joseph had it still in his power to have remedied it, since, if he had found that his other brethren stayed longer than ordinary, he could but have sent Simeon home with what message and supply he pleased. But as for the other part of his behaviour, his causing Jacob to pass so many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that so dear a son's absence and danger could cause; it cannot easily be justified any other way, than by supposing that Joseph did certainly foresee what would happen, and that his father's grieving sometime for Benjamin, would be so far from endangering his health, that it would only increase his joy when he saw him again, and give a greater relish to the news of his own advancement and success in Egypt. Without this supposition, 'tis plain, such a sudden transition from an excess of sorrow to one of joy, was of itself sufficient to have deprived him of his life, or of his senses.

(Y) It is to be feared the generality of our expositors have not been very happy in their translation of some of the presents which Jacob sent into Egypt, which has induced some learned critics of a later date (218), to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them, such as the hony, nuts, and almonds, which could be no great rarities in Egypt; nor, indeed, any of the others, except the balm, which was that of Gilead, and of great price all the world over. A small quantity therefore of it was a present worth accepting; but as for rosin, or wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth sending.

Bochart, and others after him, do indeed think that it was either rosin or turpentine, rather than balm of Gilead; because Gilead was on one side Jordan, and Jacob was then at some small di-

stance from it on the other: but that doth not prove that there was none to be bought there, or to be sent for upon such an occasion. He adds indeed, that Josephus affirms balm to have been unknown in Judea, till the queen of Sheba brought some of it to Solomon from Arabia Felix: but Josephus may be mistaken. Besides, how came Gilead to be so famous for it afterwards? The queen hardly brought the trees there, and if Solomon had sent for them afterwards, he would have planted them, in all likelihood, nearer to him: but whatever it was, 'tis plain that rosin and turpentine could not be a present worth Joseph's acceptance. The next is hony, which was indeed very much admired by the ancients, as well Jews as Gentiles, for a delicious food (219); but unless that of Canaan was better than ordinary, it was hardly a present worth sending to an Egyptian prime minister, since 'tis morally impossible that country should be without it. It is more likely, therefore, that they were dates, which are called by the same name דבש (Debsch) as the Jewish doctors observe, and which, when full ripe, yield a sort of hony not inferior to the other. The Arabick calls dates Duboor, and the hony of them dibo or dibis, to this day; and it is plain that Judea abounded in palm-trees of all sorts, more especially about Jericho, if we may believe Josephus and Pliny. The next is what we translate spices; but the Hebrew word נכמל Nakhel, doth rather signify storax than spices, being a precious aromatick gum, that was put into all their rich spicy ointments (220). Myr, or as it is in the original מולך Lot, is rather the stacte or ladanum of the Chaldee and Septuagint, the last name coming nearer the Hebrew word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypress-tree, and was one of the aromatics in the perfume prescribed by God to Moses (221).

(218) BOCHART Hierof. l. 4. p. 531. & seq. LE SCENE'S Essay. Essay towards a new translation of the Bible, and others. (219) 1 Sam. xiv. 27. 2 Sam. xvii. 29. Cant. v. 9. HOMER. Iliad. λ. ver. 630. Odyss. η. ver. 69. SUTTON. de NERON. c. 27. & al. (220) Vid. BOCHART. Hierof. ubi supr. (221) Exod. xxx. 34.



*Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* (Z). *Joseph*, according to the custom of the country, and of those times\*, sent dishes from his own table to all his brethren, and they were not a little surprized to see how exactly he served them according to their seniority; but much more so, when they saw *Benjamin's* portion five times larger than any of the rest, which was an usual mark of honour to the person to whom it was sent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going about their other affairs†; but *Joseph* had yet one fright more in reserve for them before he discovered himself. He bid his steward to put his drinking-cup into *Benjamin's* sack, and to overtake them at some distance off the city, and after a thorough search, to bring the pretended thief back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may easily imagine their surprise and concern when the silver cup was produced out of the sack of their younger brother. They made all possible haste to load their asses again, and returned to *Joseph*, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindness and civility to them; which he concluded however with assuring them, that, though he might justly punish them all, yet the person only upon whom the cup was found should remain a slave, whilst the rest might go home in peace. After they had expressed their grief and shame in the humblest manner they were able, *Judah*, who had taken *Benjamin* under his care, having recovered himself from his surprize, addressed himself to *Joseph* in the most submissive and pathetick terms. He acquainted him with his father's extreme fondness for the lad, the great difficulty they had to persuade the good old gentleman to part with him, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loss of him. He likewise offered himself at the same time as an equivalent for his brother, with such zeal and concern, that *Joseph* was no longer able to contain himself. His‡ bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow so fast, that he was forced to send all the by-standers away, whilst he made himself known to his brothers. He no sooner had told them that he was *Joseph* their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all struck with such mixture of joy and surprize for a considerable time, that they could make him no answer; neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themselves whether it was really he or an illusion. By this time *Joseph* having recovered himself, desired them to draw nearer unto him; he embraced them all round with a surprizing tenderness, and to dispel all their further apprehensions, he told them that their selling him into *Egypt* having been directed by an unseen providence, and proved the means of so much good both to himself, to them, and to all *Egypt*, he would be so far from resenting it, that they should never hear it so much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilst this was doing some of the *Egyptians*, one of whom might be the interpreter, went and acquainted the king and the whole court, that *Joseph's* brethren were come to buy corn. *Joseph* had no design to make a secret of it, when he sent the *Egyptians* out of the room; he only wanted to be without witnesses whilst he discovered himself to them, dissipated their fears, acquainted them with his good fortune, and tried to persuade them to bring his father down with all their families and cattle; seeing there were yet five years of famine to come, during which the earth would hardly return the seed it had received. However the news had pleased *Pharaoh* so well, that he sent for him, and told him, that since his father had such a numerous family, and the scarcity not half over, he might send for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promising him that they should never want provisions nor any other favour he could shew them. He likewise

*Joseph's cup found in Benjamin's sack.*

*Judah's speech to Joseph.*

*Joseph discovers himself.*

*Pharaoh's orders to Joseph.*

\* Vid. XENOPH. in vit. CYR. lib. 8. † Gen. xliii. p. tot. ‡ Gen. xliv. p. tot.

(Z) This extreme aversion of the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* has been variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the excessive pride of that nation, which despised all but themselves; others to the *Hebrews* being shepherds, and so eating of the sheep, and other cattle, which the *Egyptians* worshipped (222). Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that shepherds were also an abomination to the *Egyptians*, whether *Hebrews*, or otherwise; and *Moses* tells *Pharaoh*, that they could not sacrifice in *Egypt* what was an

abomination to them (224); that is, to kill and eat part of those beasts which they worshipped (225): but the most probable reason of this aversion to shepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as such, was the great oppression and tyranny under which they had groaned, when the *Hyksos*, or king-shepherds, as the word signifies, poured in upon them, enslaved, and held them in subjection, above five hundred years; and of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226).

(222) MUSCUL. MURST. TREMEL. & al. in loc. (223) Gen. xxxvi. 34. (224) Exod. viii. 26. (225) Chald. Paraph. in loc. (226) Vid. sup. p. 245. b. c. Vid. MANETHO apud JOSEPH. cont. APION.

bid

a bid him to send them a fresh supply of grain, and such other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots, to bring their wives, children, and best moveables; telling them that they needed not regard the ordinary stuff, since the good of the land was before them. *Joseph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and besides the chariots and provisions, sent to his father ten asses laden with the choicest commodities of *Egypt*; he likewise presented his brethren with changes of garments, and distinguished *Benjamin* by the addition of a large sum of money; after which he dismissed them with a strict charge that they should not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed more briskly this time than the last. They found their father alive and well, whose first  
b care was to look out for his favourite son, whom having joyfully received, he thought himself at the height of his happiness. But when they acquainted him with *Joseph's* grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had caused them such mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear so much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and being come to himself, doubted whether it was not a dream. At length when they shewed him *Joseph's* presents and the *Egyptian* chariots, his doubts and fears vanished, and he cried out in an excess of joy, *It is enough for me that my son Joseph lives, I have now nothing more to wish, but to go down and see him once more before I die*<sup>a</sup>.

*Joseph sends for his father, &c.*

THIS great desire of seeing so dear a son, whom he had so long mourned for, in all his *Egyptian* glory, spurred him up to hasten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and all the other lumber of household-stuff laid in his way. However, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he saw himself blessed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him safe into *Egypt*, demanded some fresh act of religion  
c from him, he chose to go to *Beerseba* to offer some sacrifices there; both because it was the place where *Abraham* and *Isaac* had lived so long and so happily, and because it was in his way to *Egypt*, being the utmost boundary of *Canaan* towards the south. Here God appeared again unto him, and bid him not fear to go down,

*Jacob goes down into Egypt.*

d since he would be with him and protect him, and in due time bring his posterity out of it to enter into the possession of the promised land; adding moreover, that as for him, he should have the comfort to live near his son *Joseph*, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes closed by him. *Jacob* thus comforted and encouraged, hastened his way to the metropolis of *Egypt*, and when he came within some small distance from it, he sent *Judab* before to acquaint *Joseph* with his arrival, and to desire him to come to him in the land of *Goshen*, where he had promised to settle them (A). *Joseph* was no sooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father; and their mutual joy upon this occasion was such, as is better imagined than expressed. As soon as this tender greeting was over, *Joseph*

e told them, that he would go out of hand to give *Pharaoh* notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curiosity to send for them and to enquire after their occupation; in which case, he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their fore-fathers, were shepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation which the *Egyptians* abominated, as we have seen before †; but *Joseph* had his ends in it, being probably afraid lest *Pharaoh* should detain them in his service, instead of sending them into the land of *Goshen*, where he was desirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of his brethren were brought before the king, and were asked what their profession was; they answered him as *Joseph* had bid them, adding, that the famine, which raged in *Canaan*, had forced them to come with all their cattle into *Egypt*, and begging that he would be pleased to appoint them the

*Joseph acquaints Pharaoh with it.*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxv. p. tot.

† Vid. sup. p. 456. (N).

(A) It is a wonder how the *Septuagint* came to place the land of *Goshen* in *Arabia*, at least, some copies have it *Goshen* in *Arabia*, since that was further off from *Egypt* than the land of *Canaan*. St. *Jerom* thinks, that it was the same as *Tchais* in *Ethiopia*, or bordering to it (227): but that was too long a journey for *Jacob*, neither would *Joseph* have been near enough to have seen and supplied his wants: whereas he gives it as a reason to his brethren, in the former chapter, for his

choosing this land, that they might be near him: but this *Goshen* was situate between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On*, or *Hieropolis* (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful spot of ground, and fit for cattle, and therefore *Joseph* tells us, that *Pharaoh* kept his own there (229). It was separate from *Egypt*, and therefore fittest for *Jacob* and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians* (230).

(227) *HIERON. loc. Hebr. JUN. MERC. & al.*

(228) *JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 2. c. 7.*

(229) *Id. ibid.*

(230) *Vid.*

Jacob stands  
before Pha-  
raoh.  
Year of the  
Flood, 1293.  
Year before  
Christ, 1706.

land of *Goshen* to dwell in; which *Pharaoh* readily granted. *Joseph* likewise pre-<sup>a</sup>  
sented his father to him, who wished his majesty abundance of happiness; and  
being asked how old he was, answered an hundred and thirty. Here the king  
expressing, perhaps, some wonder, to see a man so old, and in so good a case,  
*Jacob* added, that his life had been so full of trouble, that he came vastly short  
of the years of his ancestors. After this *Joseph* conducted him and the whole fa-  
mily to the land of *Goshen*; where he took care to supply them with all the  
necessaries of life, during the whole time of the famine. *Pharaoh* likewise or-  
dered *Joseph* to chuse some of the ablest of them, and to commit the care of  
his cattle to them, which he accordingly did<sup>b</sup>. It will not be amiss to give here  
the names of *Jacob's* children and grand-children, which came down with him in-<sup>b</sup>  
to *Egypt*. As to the difficulties in adjusting the account of them, and reconcil-  
ing it with some other places of scripture, we chuse to give them to our readers  
in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the history (B).

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xlii. p. tot.

(B) *Moses* makes mention of two numbers of  
souls in *Jacob's* family, exclusive of his daugh-  
ters-in-law, viz. sixty-six (231) and seventy (232);  
he doth likewise reckon thirty-three souls to *Leah*,  
including *Dinah* (233); and to *Zilpah* her hand-  
maid sixteen souls, including *Serah Asher's* daugh-  
ter and *Beriab's* two sons (234). To make which  
 reckonings agree with the fourteen of *Rachel* (235)  
and the two first sums of sixty-six and seventy;  
it is to be observed, first, that in the number  
sixty-six *Jacob* is not reckoned, but only the souls  
that came out of his loins; but in the num-  
ber of thirty-three he seems included, else we  
shall find but thirty two, viz. *Leah's* twenty nine  
sons, two grandsons by *Pharez*, and *Dinah*, in all  
thirty two; but that *Jacob* is reckoned in this  
number seems intimated by the eighth verse of  
the chapter in the words *Jacob and his sons*, viz.  
by *Leah*. Accordingly *Josephus* gives us a list  
of them to the number of thirty-two, including *Di-  
nah*; yet sums them up thirty-three, without ac-  
quainting us that he includes *Jacob*; though 'tis  
plain by the amount that he doth. This being  
premissed, the whole account will stand thus:

<i>Leah</i>	33 including <i>Jacob</i> .
<i>Zilpah</i>	16
<i>Rachel</i>	11 exclusive of <i>Joseph</i> and his 2 sons.
<i>Bilhab</i>	7
<hr/>	
	67

out of which deduct *Jacob*, because *Moses* reckons  
here only those that came out of his loins, and  
there will remain sixty-six.

To which add *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Ephraim*, and *Ma-  
nasseh*; because this second reckoning is of all the  
souls of *Jacob's* family, in which case he may be  
included, and the whole amount will be seventy  
souls (236): But if we reckon *Serah*, *Asher's* daugh-  
ter, as *Josephus* has done (237), and, in all prob-  
ability, *Moses* too, since he mentions her in his  
list, we need not include *Jacob* in the number;  
for it will be seventy complete without him.

It is true that *St. Stephen* (238) reckons the  
whole number of them seventy-five, which dis-  
agrees with that of *Moses*; but it must be remem-  
bered, that the apostles and first preachers made  
use of the *Septuagint* version, as being the only one  
then universally understood by the *Jews*; which  
version adds five more to *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*,  
namely, *Machir* and *Gilead*, sons of *Manasseh*;

*Sutalam* and *Tuban*, sons of *Ephraim*; and *Eden*,  
*Sutalam's* son. But besides that they differ from  
the *Hebrew*, by reading eighteen, instead of four-  
teen souls to *Rachel* (239): they likewise differ  
from themselves; for fourteen, and the five which  
they add, will make nineteen, and not eighteen.  
Some ancient fathers, thinking this knot insoluble,  
have endeavoured to pick some mysteries out of  
it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free  
the *Septuagint* version from error, which doth, in  
so many instances, differ from the original. How-  
ever, there is still another rational way to account  
for this difference between *St. Stephen's* reckoning  
and that of *Moses*, which is as follows. That *St. Ste-  
phen* follows the first number of *Moses*, viz. sixty-  
six; out of which he excludes *Jacob*, and *Joseph*  
and his two sons, to which he adds nine of their  
wives; for *Judab's* wife was already dead, and *Ben-  
jamin* is supposed to be still unmarried, and *Joseph's*  
wife out of the case: so that if we add these nine  
wives, which, though not of *Jacob's* blood, yet  
belonged to his family, and to *Joseph's* kindred  
(which is the expression *St. Stephen* makes use of)  
to the number of sixty-six, it will amount to se-  
venty-five (241).

Some ancient and modern writers have supposed,  
that all these grandsons were not born when *Jacob*  
went down into *Egypt*, but either soon after, or, at  
least, during his life; for which reason, they think  
*Moses* made no scruple to set them down with the  
rest (242). So far are they from thinking, for in-  
stance, that *Benjamin* had ten sons by that time,  
being but a little turned of thirty, that they think  
he was hardly married. The same thing they sup-  
pose of *Pharez's* two sons, alledging, though fall-  
sely, that *Pharez* was but one year old at *Jacob's* de-  
parture (243). But all these suppositions are point  
blank contrary to the text; and, if *Moses* must have  
reckoned all those that were born in *Egypt* before  
*Jacob's* death, we don't know why he might not  
almost as well have reckoned seven hundred as se-  
venty; since they must have increased very fast  
there, and married very young, else they could  
hardly from seventy have increased to upwards of  
six hundred thousand in the space of two hundred  
and fifteen years, which was all the time of their  
abode in *Egypt*. It will therefore be more reason-  
able to say, according to *Moses's* account, that *Pha-  
rez's* two sons were then born, though very young;  
for *Pharez*, being begotten of *Judab* in the thir-  
tieth year of his age, might take a wife at four-

teen

(231) Gen. xlii. 26. (232) Ver. 27. (233) Ver. 15. (234) Ver. 18. (235) Ver. 22.  
(236) VILLET. cap. xxxvi. (237) JOSEPH. Ant. l. 2. c. 7. (238) Act. vii. 14. (239) Gen.  
xlii. 22. (240) AUGUST. Quæst. in Gen. clii. EUCAR. & al. (241) BERRUYER Hist. du peup.  
de Dieu, p. 373, 374. 4to Edit. KIDDER in Pentat. (242) CALMET Comm. in Gen. in loc. &  
Histoire de Juifs, p. 245. BERRUYER loc. citat. St. AUGUST. Quæst. (243) PERRER.

a

## A List of Jacob's sons and grandsons.

A list of Jacob's family.

The sons of Jacob, and their sons,	By Leab	Reuben ; Hanoch, Phalluc, Hezron, Carmi.	{ The two first died in Canaan.
		Simeon ; Jemuel, Jamin, Obad, Jacobin, Zobar, Sbaul.	
		Levi ; Gershon, Koath, Merari.	
	By Zilpbab	Judab ; Er, Onan, Sbelab, Pharez, Zerab.	{ The two first died in Canaan.
		Issackar ; Tola, Pbuwab, Job, Shimron.	
		Zebulun ; Sereb, Elon, Jableel.	
b	By Bilbab	Gad ; Ziphion, Haggai, Sbuni, Esbon, Eri, Arodi, Arel.	
		Asber ; Jimnah, Isbuab, Isui, Beriab, Serab, a daughter.	
		Dan ; Hushim.	

The sons of Pharez, Judab's son, Hezron, Hamul.

of Beriab, Asber's daughter, Heber, Malchiel.

By Rachel, Benjamin, Belab, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ebi, Rosb, Mippim, Huppim, Ard.

In all threescore and six, exclusive of Dinab, Jacob's daughter by Leab, and of Joseph and his two sons, which being added to the number, it will amount to seventy souls.

THREE things are to be observed in the list which Moses has given us in this chapter, namely, 1. That the wives are not set down in it ; because they were not descended from him, any more than his servants and slaves. 2. That he doth not set them down according to the order of their birth, as in other places ; but mentions those that were born of Leab and her maid, and then those of Rachel and her maid. And 3. That the number sixty-six in one part of the list, is only of the souls which came out of Jacob's loins, and the second number of seventy, is that of all the souls which belonged to the house of Jacob ; to which therefore Joseph and his two sons, and a grand-daughter named Serab, Asber's daughter, must be added, in order to make the number of seventy complete.

WHILST Jacob and his family were kept in peace and plenty by the provident care of his son, the Egyptians felt the dismal effects of the famine, which encreasing daily upon them, and Joseph holding up his corn at a high rate, soon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to sell their cattle, houses, land, and at length their very selves for subsistence. By this means he bought all their lands and persons for the king's use, and from that time they all became slaves to the crown, except the priests, who had a sufficient quantity of provisions allotted to them out of the royal stores, without being at any expence for it. One would be apt to think, that Joseph's zeal for the king's interest carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence, and that he did not consider, that whilst he took such an advantage over a starving people, he raised the king's power to the degree of an absolute tyranny, under which his family or their posterity would one time or other severely groan, as they effectually did. The text as well as Josephus<sup>d</sup> tell us, that he transplanted the people from the one end of the kingdom to the other ; and that the miserable multitude went some one way and some another<sup>e</sup>, submitting to any misery rather than starving. However, when the seventh and last year of scarcity was come, Joseph acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop against next year, that the Nile would overflow, and

The Egyptians sell their lands and themselves for corn.

and are transplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxv. 24. & seq. & alib. Chald. & Arab. vers.

<sup>d</sup> Chap. xlvii. ver. 22. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Hebr.

teen or fifteen, and so have two sons before Jacob left Canaan (244). The same may be likewise said of Benjamin, who might have a number of children, and two grand-children, at the age of thirty one. We have already given instances of men, if they may be called so, who have had children when they were some years younger than we suppose these (245) ; so that there is no reason to depart from the plain text of Moses, to fall into more difficult suppositions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty that is raised against this ge-

nealogical list, is the difference of the names here mentioned, and in other places of scripture, where the same genealogy is rehearsed ; as in 1 Chronicles, and Numbers (246) ; but we have already observed, that it is very common for men to have two names in the scriptures, and to be called sometimes by one, and sometimes by the other<sup>f</sup>. Concerning which, the reader may consult our commentators at their leisure ; as well as about the omission of some of these persons mentioned in Moses's list, which are left out by the author of the book of Chronicles (247).

(244) MERCER. VILLET. (245) See before, p. 450 (N). (246) 1 Chron. iv. 24. Numb. xvi. pass. <sup>f</sup> Vid. sup. p. 441. (X). (247) Vid. VILLET. in loc.

the

The fifth part  
of the product  
of their lands  
assigned to the  
crown.

the earth produce again as usual; that he would distribute fresh lands, cattle, and a corn to them, that they might return to their usual tillage; upon this condition nevertheless, that from thenceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands should go to the king, and the rest should be theirs. The poor people were glad to submit to these conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all set about cultivating the ground that was allotted to them, and from that time it past into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of Egypt should belong to the crown, which law continued in force for several centuries after, till a new regulation and division was made †. However, Joseph by this means gained the love and esteem both of the king and people.

Jacob's re-  
quest to Jo-  
seph.

Year of the  
Flood, 1310.  
Year before  
Christ, 1689.

WHILST he was enjoying the fruits of his great success and policy, his family b at Goshen, whom he failed not to visit often, did wonderfully encrease both in children and wealth. At length Jacob, by that time he had lived there seventeen years, finding himself to grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, sent for his son Joseph, and spoke to him to this purpose: Though the desire of seeing a son so dear to me as you are, raised to the height of Egyptian glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was visited, made me willingly come down into this strange country; yet Canaan being the inheritance which God promised to Abraham and his posterity, and where he lies interred with my father Isaac and some others of our family, in the ground which he purchased of the inhabitants; my last and dying request to you is, that you will not suffer me c to be buried here, but that you will swear to see me carried to Machpelah, and there deposited with my ancestors: your great power with the king of Egypt will easily obtain you and me that favour, which is the last I have to ask of you. Joseph did not make his father wait long for that satisfaction; he promised and swore to him that he would fulfil his desire; and Jacob, who in all probability had sat up upon his bed whilst this ceremony lasted, bowed down his head towards his bed's tester, in token of adoration, and gratitude for the satisfaction which his son had now given him (C) ‡.

Joseph brings  
his two sons  
to Jacob.

JOSEPH, who could not long be absent from the court, took his leave of his father, not without giving strict charge to some of the family, that, upon the very d first appearance of danger, they should immediately send for him. Accordingly, as soon as word was brought to him that his father was a dying, he took his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim with him, and went to present them to him, begging him that he would give them his blessing before he died. Jacob, at the sight of them, found his strength, as it were, renewed. He sat up upon his bed, and addressing himself to him, spoke with such cheerfulness, and in such strong and lively terms, as shewed nothing less than the dotage or weakness of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promises which God had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous posterity's inheriting the land of Canaan, and concluded with the death of his dear Rachel. How tenderly I loved her, continued he, my whole family can testify, but I design to give her and you a further proof of my affection: you have had two sons born in this strange land, which, according to the usual order of inheritance, should have only the portion of grandchildren in the division of the promised land; but I will do more for them, and they shall from this day be called by my name, be esteemed my sons, and, as heads of two distinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, instead of the tribe of Joseph, c

Ephraim and  
Manasseh are  
made two  
tribes in Is-  
rael.

† Vid. sup. p. 206.

‡ Gen. xlvii. p. tot.

(C) In this place, where Jacob is said to have bowed himself, or rather to have worshipped towards the bed's head; the Septuagint, if it has not been corrupted, seems to have read *ἠὺς Μασε*, a staff, for *ἠὺς Μισσάβ*, a bed. So that they have translated it, he worshipped towards the end of his staff; and the Rhemish divines, he worshipped the head of his staff (248). From which, and what the Apostle to the Hebrews says (249), that he worshipped leaning on his staff (where the word leaning is added, to express the meaning of the particle *ἠὺς*, but in the Hebrew, and *ἐν* in the Greek; both which signify upon, and presuppose his resting or leaning upon, and not worshipping the top of the staff) they have not scrupled to defend the worship of the cross, of which this staff, they pretend, was the type (250). But without entering into the controversy, it will be sufficient, in order to justify our version, to observe, 1st, That the Apostle made use of the Septuagint, and so quotes it as he finds it there, and not as it was in the original, which the Jews did no longer understand. And 2dly, that he speaks there of a different action, viz. Jacob's blessing Joseph's children, which did not happen till some time after; whereas here Jacob makes Joseph swear not to bury him in Egypt. Here he seems to have kept his bed, and there to have received fresh spirits, and to have sat on it, leaning, perhaps, on his staff (251).

(248) *Bibl. Remens in loc.* (249) *Heb. xi. 21.* (250) *Remens. Annotat. in Heb. xi. 21, & al.* (251) Compare *Gen. xlvii and xlviii.* Vid. VILLET. c. 47.

they



they shall be called the two tribes of *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*. But if you have any more sons after them, they shall only be allotted the portion of grand-children: I have yet one thing more in store for you above the rest of your brethren, viz. the portion which I took out of the hands of the *Amorites* by my sword and bow. This shall likewise fall to the lot of your posterity, when God shall bring you into that happy land (D). He then desired his two grandsons to be brought to him, which *Joseph* accordingly did, placing the eldest at *Jacob's* right and the youngest at his left hand. But he was surprized to find his father cross his design, by crossing his arms and laying his right on the head of the youngest, and his left on that of the eldest. He would have hindered it, thinking that it was done by a mistake; but his father convinced him of the contrary, and in blessing of the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderness, he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manasseh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler blessing. The sequel of this history will shew how exactly this prophecy of *Jacob* was verified in those two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve s.

*Jacob blesseth the younger before the elder.*

FOR *Jacob* having now exhausted his spirits, and finding his death approaching, resolved to consecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his sons, whom he had gathered about him, what should happen to them in the latter days; and as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we shall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible style, than we have it in our version, without departing from the sense of the original; and where any difficulty happens in our way, we shall acquaint him with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premise here that what *Jacob* pronounces, or rather prophesies, concerning his sons, is not so much to be understood as foretold of them, as of their tribes; nor of what shall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till some time at least after their entrance into the promised land. Thus, for instance, when he says that *Zebulun* shall dwell along the sea-coasts, or that *Naphtali* is a well spread tree yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain that he means by the first, that the lot of the tribe of *Zebulun* should be by the sea-side; and by the last, that the *Naphtalites* should prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event has fully verified, and what shall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a most pathetick preface to draw their deepest attention, began with the first-born in these words:

“REUBEN, thou art my first-born, and wast once the first-fruits of my might and my strength, and as such thou wast entitled to the right of primogeniture, the best portion in thy inheritance, to the dignity of the priesthood, and the supreme authority over thy brethren: but all these prerogatives, like the unstable waters, that pass by and return no more, are gone from thee; because thou, little regarding the sacredness of thy father's bed, didst defile it, and alienate it from me<sup>b</sup>; for which crime, though thou continue still to be a tribe in *Israel*, yet thou

*Jacob's last blessing to his twelve sons. Reuben.*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xlviii. p. tot.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. MURST. loc.

(D) There is a threefold question started from this place, viz. 1. What portion this was which *Jacob* gave to *Joseph*. 2. How he is said to have conquered it by his sword. 3. If *Shechem* be the place here meant, why he says that he got it from the *Amorites*: Whereas *Hemor*, the father of *Shechem*, was a *Hivite* (252). As to the first, it is generally agreed, that it was the city and territories of *Shechem*; for we don't read of any other conquests that *Jacob* made; and accordingly we find *Shechem* mentioned in St. *John's* Gospel (253), as the place which he gave unto *Joseph*. 2. How he could say that he got it by his sword and his bow, when he so far disallowed his sons barbarous action towards the *Shechemites*, as to even curse their resentment which was the cause of it, has puzzled all our ancient and modern expositors to account for, we shall only mention some of the most notable conjectures about it. 1. Some think it was

the sword and bow of his innocence (254); others, of his prayers (255); others, of his money (256); others think that he speaks proleptically, and that it was to be conquered afterwards by *Joseph's* posterity (257): Others again think, that *Jacob* had achieved some warlike exploit against the *Amorites*, as *Abraham* had against the four kings (258). But the most general and probable opinion is, that when his sons had once got that city and territories by the murder of all the inhabitants, he was forced to stand up in his own defence, and to keep the possession of it by force of arms, till he removed to *Bethel*; and to recover it again by the same means from the *Amorreans*, who, living intermixed with the *Hivites*, had taken possession of it during his absence. And this is the reason why he says he got, or recovered it from the *Amorites*, and not from the *Hivites* (259).

(252) Gen. xxxiv. 2. (253) John iv. 5. (254) Hieron. tradit. Hebr. (255) Chald. Paraph. (256) Hieron. Ibid. August. (257) Jun. & al. (258) Cajetan. Andr. Masius. (259) R. Sal. N. de Lyr. Mercer. Villet. Berruyer, & al.



" shalt ever be far inferior to the rest of thy brethren, either in number, wealth, a  
" or strength (E).

Simeon and  
Levi.

" SIMEON or *Levi* might have succeeded to the right of primogeniture, which  
" their brother's incest has justly deprived him of, had they not proved such in-  
" struments of treacherous cruelty. May my soul be for ever preserved from such  
" bloody counsels, and my honour untainted from their horrid guilt: For the  
" fierceness of their anger hurried them to commit murder, and the impetuosity  
" of their fury made them break through all obstacles that opposed them. Cur-  
" sed be their fury, for it was violent, and their malice, for it was inhuman. This  
" cruel disposition of theirs forces me to divide their tribes, that they may never  
" be rejoined in *Israel*." Thus far the good old patriarch performed a severe and b  
ungrateful task, and his prophecy against those tribes was exactly verified in due  
time (F). Then casting his eyes on *Judah* with a joy equal to the indignation  
which he had expressed against his other brethren, he addressed himself to him  
thus:

Judah.

" JUDAH, thy name signifies praise†, and accordingly thou shalt have the  
" praise of all thy brethren. They shall fall prostrate before thee, as before their  
" king and sovereign, and thine enemies shall be forced to submit their necks to  
" thy yoke. Like a young lion shall my son fall upon his prey, and like an old  
" lion, or a fierce lioness ready to rush upon it, who shall dare to rouse him up?  
" The scepter shall not depart from *Judah*, nor the law-giver from between his c  
" feet, until *Shiloh* be come, and the people be gathered unto him (G); his portion  
" shall abound with such fertile vineyards, fruitful trees, and pasture-grounds, that

† Gen. xlix. ver. 5, 6, 7.

† Vid. sup. p. 441. c.

(E) The sequel of the *Jewish* history shews, that the tribe of *Reuben* did still remain in obscurity, and without any of the marks of distinction which used to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, such as a double portion, supreme authority, and the priesthood. Accordingly the *Jewish* expositors, especially the *Bereshith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis*, tells us (260), that he fell from a threefold dignity, viz. הכבוד והכנור והלכות primogeniture, priesthood, and royal dignity. But because thou art fallen, continues the commentator, thy primogeniture is given to *Joseph* (who accordingly had two portions allotted to him) the priesthood to *Levi*, and the scepter to *Judah*. And where it is said of this last (261), thy brethren shall praise thee, he paraphrases it thus: והיו כל אחיך נקראים על שםך. Thy brethren shall be called by thy name, i. e. they will not say I am a *Reubenite*, or a *Simeonite*, but a יהודי *Jehudi*, a *Jew*.

(F) *Jacob's* words imply a double dispersion, viz. of the two tribes from one another, and their being interpersed among the rest. And accordingly *Levi* had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of *Canaan*, but had a certain number of cities assigned to it in every tribe. As for that of *Simeon*, it had properly but a portion of *Judah's* inheritance (262), if we except some few places which they got upon mount *Seir*, and in the wilds of the valley of *Gedor* (263).

(G) The sense, as well as completion of this noble prophecy, being very much disputed between the *Jews* and us, we have endeavoured to render the latter part of the verse more agreeably to the original, which in its plain and obvious sense affirms that the scepter shall not depart from *Judah*—till both *Shiloh* was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to his obedience. This version is further proved by the event; for the *Jews* did not lose their scepter, or *Sanhe-*

*drim*, which was their בֵּית דִּין *Beth din*, or highest court of judicature and supreme legislative power, till the *Heathen* became converts to *Christianity*, of whom *Cornelius* was the first (264): And the *Jews* themselves own, that this supreme court did still subsist from the time of *Moses* the founder of it, to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*. They likewise own, that the word שֵׁבֶט *Sheveth*, which we translate *scepter*, doth not always signify the royal power of dignity, but, sometimes, only the legislative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The later *Jews* therefore finding themselves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretation of the ancients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various absurd notions, which they are not ashamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus some will have the meaning of this passage to be, that the *Messiah* shall not come till *Shiloh*, the place so called, be destroyed, or the *Jewish* monarchy be at an end (266). Others, by *Sheveth* understand a tribe, which that word also signifies; and think the meaning to be, that *Judah* should not cease to be a tribe till the coming of *Messiah* (267): in which they have been also followed by some *Christians* (268), because that tribe did visibly subsist as such till the destruction of *Jerusalem*; but so did that of *Levi*. However, many of our modern *Jews* stand stiffly to this sense, and scruple not to affirm, that it has subsisted not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed. Others add, that it retains still a kind of scepter or royal power beyond the river *Euphrates*; and that the *Nassi*, or head of it, is a prince lineally descended from *Judah*; whose splendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king (269): but credat *Judeus*. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewise disagree not only

(260) *Beresh. Rab. sect. 98.* (261) *Gen. xlix. 8.* (262) *Josh. xix. 1, & seq.* (263) 1 *Chron. ix. 39 & 40.* (264) *Acts 10. pass.* (265) *Vid. in MEDE's works a sermon on that text, and SAURIN's Discours Historiques, &c. disc. XLI.* (266) *ABEN-EZRA in loc. & al.* (267) *Vid. MUNST. in loc.* (268) *OLEAST. JUN. VILLET. & al. in loc.* (269) *BENJ. DE TUDEL. Itiner. & al.*

- a " he shall tie his ass to the vine and palm-tree, and wash his garments in the juice  
 " of the grape, and his teeth with the milk of his kine (H) <sup>k</sup>.  
 " ZEBULUN's (I) dwellings shall spread themselves along the borders of the Zebulun.  
 " sea, and he shall stretch the number of his commodious havens as far as the city  
 " of *Zidon* <sup>l</sup>.  
 " ISSACHAR, like a strong, but indolent ass, shall choose to carry burdens in Issachar.  
 " the midst of his brethren, rather than be deprived of his beloved ease, in the  
 " pleasant land of his inheritance, and prefer servitude and tribute before the fa-  
 " tiques of war and conquest (K) <sup>m</sup>.  
 b FROM the six sons of *Leab*, *Jacob* passes to those of *Bilbab*, *Rachel*'s maid. He  
 begins with intimating that the sons of the handmaids should have the same privi-  
 lege with those of the mistresses, and be heads and judges of their own tribes.  
 Then alluding to the name of *Dan*, a judge, he declares, " that he should judge his *Dan*.  
 " people, that is, his own tribe, like the rest of the twelve ; " and then adds,  
 " that like a serpent hid in the highway, or a viper in the sand, which doth not  
 " openly assault its enemy, but bites him by the heel ; so *Dan* should overcome  
 " more by policy and stratagem, than by valour and open force (L) <sup>n</sup>." Here the

<sup>k</sup> Gen. xlix. ver. 8, & seq.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 16, & seq.

only with us, but even among themselves, about the meaning of the word מְשִׁיב *Mechebek*, law-giver. Concerning which we shall refer our readers to the two last-mentioned divines for further satisfaction (270).

As to the word שִׁלֹּם *Shilo*, though it be almost universally owned to mean the *Messiah*, yet, as to its original signification, there is no small disagreement. St. *Jerom* reads it *Shalach*, from שָׁלַח *Shalach*, to send, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שָׁלוֹם *Shalom*, to be peaceable (272), and understand by *Shiloh* a peace-maker. Others derive it from שָׁלַם *Shil*, which they will have to signify a son, because שִׁלֹּם *Shiloh*, or *Shilijah*, signifies the secundine of a woman (273); but 'tis plain the first of these is no where to be found in the Old Testament; and the second only in one place, where it most probably signifies the secundine (274). A modern critic takes the word *Shiloh* to signify the end; and the sense of the words to be, that from the time the scepter comes into the tribe of *Judab*, it will continue in it till that tribe be at an end (275); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the above-mentioned *Monf. Saurin*, in an elaborate discourse on that subject †. Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from *Shulab*, to fatigue, be tired, suffer, and to be applied to the sufferings of the *Messiah* (276); but without fatiguing our readers any further, the most probable sense of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the *Septuagint*, *Onkelos*, and some others (277), who read it שִׁלֹּם *Shelo*, that is, he to whom it belongs, † and ה being often interchanged in the sacred book \*; and then the sense will be plainly this, that the sceptre, or legislative power, shall not depart from, but be deposited in the tribe of *Judab*, until the right owner, or he, *Shelo*, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This sense seems the most easy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the most applicable to CHRIST, the king of kings. As for the † redundant in שִׁלֹּם *Shilo*, it is agreeable to the property of the word *Ehevi*, as the Grammarians speak.

(H) *Judah*'s lot did exactly answer this pre-

diction; it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble pasture-ground for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of *Eshcol*, or the brook of the grape was, a bunch of which was brought by two of the spies whom *Moses* sent to search the land, as a specimen of the richness of that soil. Here was likewise the brook or torrent of that name, along whose banks were the most delicious pasture-grounds (278); and some travellers assure us, that there are still very large grapes to be met with in the valley of *Hebron*, which may be, probably, that along which that torrent runs (279).

(I) *Zebulun* is mentioned next, though *Issachar* was elder than he, for which no certain reason can be assign'd, unless we suppose that the patriarch had a prophetick eye to the lot which was to fall to *Zebulun*, which was, in time, to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the *Messiah*; for *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* were in that tribe, and himself was denominated a *Nazarene* from the first of these cities (280); but this is but a conjecture. Certain it is however, that if *Jacob* had been present at the division of the promised land, he could hardly have given a more exact description of *Zebulun*'s lot, than he did then, above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the *Mediterranean* on the west, to the lake of *Genesareth* on the east side.

(K) No less wonderful and exact was he in the description of *Issachar*'s tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The *Chaldee Paraphrast*, who is also followed by the generality of *Jewish* Rabbies, gives a quite different turn to this prophecy: They read it thus; " *Issachar* finding that his lot is " fallen in a fertile land, shall subdue the inhabitants of it, and bring them under tribute." But the first sense is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event: for that tribe had the richest and most fertile spot in all the land of *Canaan*, but was often infested and subjected by strangers, especially in the time of the Judges.

(L) The word נָחָשׁ *Nachash*, in the original, signifies a serpent in general; which having no such qualities as are here described, the *Septuagint* have translated it by the word *Cerastra*, which is  
 a kind

(270) MEDE & SAURIN. loc. citat. (271) HIERON. quæst. Hebr. (272) MERCER. & al.  
 (273) Vid. VILLET. cap. 49 & SAURIN loc. cit. (274) Deut. xxvi. 57. (275) LE CLERC in  
 Com. Pentat. in loc. † SAUR. loc. cit. (276) GOUSSET Comm. ling. Hebr. sub voce שִׁלֹּם fa-  
 tigare. Vid. CALM. sub voce Schilo. (277) LXX Targ. ONKEL. in loc. MORNAY cont. Jud.  
 OLEAST. & al. \* Vid. 2 Sam. xvi. 10 & 18. Ap. MUNST. in loc. (278) Num. xiii. pass.  
 CALVIN, MERCER, JUN. GROT. & al. (279) Vid. CALMET. Comm. in Numb. xiii. ver. 24,  
 25. (280) Matth. ii. ult. & cap. iv. 13, & seq.

prophetic patriarch breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy salvation, O a LORD*. The meaning of which seems to be this, that whether his posterity were preserved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their success to the drawn sword of *Judab*, or the hidden snares of *Dan*, yet their safety and happiness did chiefly depend on the gracious promises of God, on whom he did rely. Others think however, that *Jacob* foreseeing either the grievous oppressions which that tribe was to labour under, as it actually did from the *Amorites*<sup>o</sup>, from which nothing but a miracle could save them, or their defection from the true worship of God, that tribe being the first that set up the publick worship of idols<sup>e</sup>, did breathe out this short prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable that *Jacob* might have a much higher view than any of these, and that his comparing *Dan* b to a viper, might bring into his mind that universal salvation which was to be wrought by the seed of the woman, which was to bruise the serpent's head, and to have his heel bruised by it<sup>a</sup>.

Gad. "GAD, continued he, shall be often infested by bands of robbers and plunderers, but he shall conquer them at last (M)<sup>r</sup>."

Asher. "ASHER's portion shall make him happy; it shall abound with excellent corn and oil, the bread and dainty meats that shall be made of them shall be fit for a king's table (N)<sup>s</sup>."

Naphthali. "NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well-spread, or having grafts, which shoot out pleasant branches." Or, according to our *English* version, *Naphthali*, like a c hind newly escaped, or let loose, shall excel his brethren in swiftness, and be remarkable for the sweetness of his eloquence (O)<sup>t</sup>.

THESE four last were the sons of the two hand-maids, from whom he passes with a seeming joy to those of his beloved *Rachel*; and *Joseph*, whose turn came

<sup>a</sup> Judg. i. 34. Vid. TREMEL. in loc. <sup>o</sup> Judg. cap. xvii & xviii pass. <sup>e</sup> Gen. iii. 15.  
<sup>r</sup> Ibid. xlix. 19. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. ver. 20. <sup>t</sup> Ibid. ver. 21.

a kind of serpent, so called from its having two fleshy horns; its instinct is to hide itself in the sand, and by fastening on the horse's heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The *Jews* think that this prophecy was more particularly fulfilled, when *Sampson*, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which crushed him and the *Philistines* to death (282). Others, both *Jews* and *Christians*, suppose that *Jacob* designed to intimate by it, that, though *Dan's* tribe was but small, he having had but one son, yet it should produce one of the most famous Judges of all *Israel* (283). As for those who apply this prophecy to Antichrist, as if he was to come out of that tribe, because he is omitted in the Apocalypse in the list of the tribes that were sealed (284), they are scarce worth confuting, since they may as well fetch him out of that of *Simeon*, which *Moses* omits when he blesses the rest (285). Besides, *Jacob* pronounces these words as a blessing, not as a curse, to *Dan*, whose tribe moreover was dispersed, if not extinguished, a thousand years before Antichrist appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(M) What was prophesied of *Gad* was likewise exactly verified. His lot happened on the other side *Jordan*, where he was continually exposed to the excursions of the plundering *Arabs*, but by the continual watchfulness and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but sometimes also caught and plundered in their turn by the *Gadites*. Others indeed understand it quite otherwise; and it must be owned that the original is somewhat obscure in this place: they read it thus, *Gad*, being girded for the battle, shall lead an army, and bring it back conqueror, which they apply to *Jephtha*, who is thought to have been of that tribe; but as this sense is rather too forced, others read it, *Gad* armed shall fight at the

head of all *Israel*; which they think was in some measure verified, when, having received their portion on one side *Jordan*, they offered likewise to go and help their brethren on the other side to conquer theirs. But besides that this is also far fetched; these prophecies seem rather to intimate the fate and success of the tribes in general, than any particular action or circumstance of theirs. And therefore we prefer the first reading, and think that the prophecy refers chiefly to the continual conflicts the *Gadites* had with the *Hagarenes*, that is, with *Nephish*, *Jetur*, and *Nodab*, whom they at length overcame, and took from them in one battle fifty thousand camels, two hundred and fifty thousand sheep, and an hundred thousand men prisoners (286). This sense is likewise more agreeable to the character which *Moses* gives of that tribe, who compares it to a lion that leapeth upon his prey (287).

(N) The blessing spoken to *Asher* is capable of a double sense, and both verified by the event, namely, either that his country should be the most fertile, and produce the noblest corn in the whole land of *Palestine*, which it actually did; or else, that it should abound with the finest and most delicious oil, fit to be mixed in all kinds of pastry-work, which his portion was also remarkable for, inasmuch that its oil was the most famed of all *Canaan's*, as shall be shewn in the sequel; for which reason we have chosen to word it in such terms as should express the two excellencies of that noble soil, rather than to confine the sense to either particular. Though *Moses* in his blessing of that tribe, seems to intimate the latter, when he says, that *Asher* should dip his foot in oil (288).

(O) We have also given this prophecy in both the senses which the original will bear; but as that which our *English* version gives us is somewhat

(181) Vid. BOCHART. *Hierof. lib. i. col. 28.* (282) Vid. MUNST. in loc. VILLET. c. 49.  
(283) Chald. Paraph. JUN. in loc. CALMET. *Hist. O. T.* (284) PERRER. cont. i. (285) *Deut.*  
xxxiii. (286) 1 *Chron. vi. 19, & seq.* Vid. MERCER, VILLET, JUN. & al. (287) *Deut.*  
xxxiii. 22, & seq. (288) *Ibid. ver. 24.*

- a next, heard his blessing pronounced in the most pompous and endearing terms.

JOSEPH, said the good old father, shall increase daily more and more, as his *Joseph*: name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair sex, the damsels ran upon the walls to see him. (P) Or, according to our Version, he shall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well side, whose branches run up and spread against the wall. Men armed with the poisoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning *his brethren*, have caused him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he trusted, proved his strong shield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out  
b of prison, to be a father and protector to the house of *Israel*; for this the LORD, even the God of thy father shall bless thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatness of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous posterity, and the fruit of the breast, and plenty of all sorts of cattle. May all the blessings promised to me and to my forefathers, be doubled upon *Joseph's* head, even upon his crowned head (R); may they out-top and out-stretch the everlasting mountains, and prove to him more fruitful and lasting than they\*.

BENJAMIN, the last of all *Jacob's* sons, who had been so great a favourite of Benjamin. his father, did probably expect a suitable blessing from him; but whether it were that *Jacob* foresaw no extraordinary merit or happiness attending his tribe, or that  
c its being afterwards blended with that of *Judah*, would make it to share in all its blessings, he contented himself with describing him by his fierce and warlike disposition, who wolf-like should shed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their spoil (S). Having thus pronounced his prophetic blessing to every

\* Ibid. v. 22. & seq.

what uncouth and unintelligible, we have endeavoured to make the sense of it a little plainer; though that reading be the most generally received both by ancient and modern expositors; and the first part applied to *Barach's* overcoming *Sisera*, and the latter to the sweet words which *Deborah* and he sang in the noble canticle which was made on that occasion (289); yet as we have observed, that *Jacob's* blessings had a more general scope, we prefer the first reading, which compares him to a well-spread oak, which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied so wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*, who had but four sons when he came into *Egypt*; yet could muster up upward of fifty three thousand men fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; i.e. in less than 220 years. Those who make a difficulty against our translating the Hebrew אילא *Ailah* a great tree, because it is contrary to the *Maxorab's* punctuation, may find that version justified by the learned *Bochart* and *le Scène*, as well as that of the whole verse (291) which is agreeable to the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* versions.

(P) The original has בנות בן *Ben porath*; which if derived from the root פרה *parah* he has fructified, as some do, the sense will be, *Joseph* is a fruitful son; and then the word בנות *Banot* (daughters) must be understood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather choose to derive the word from פאר *Paar*, to make, or be, beautiful, the *R* being quiescent in *helem*, as the grammarians speak, and then the literal sense will be, *Joseph* is a son of beauty; the daughters ran upon the walls to see him, and this reading has by far the most votes.

(Q) Our *English* version, and some others, render this verse thus; but his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong: but this interpretation is something forced, and the literal sense runs thus; but he

continued in the strength of his bow; and the hands of his arms (not weapons but the arms of his body) יפיו *Yaphsu* were (not strengthened, as it is there rendered) but broken, knocked in pieces, which therefore may be more applicable to his fetters, in which sense the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Chaldee*, &c. have taken it. The same word occurs in the first verse of the 68th psalm; let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered; and is therefore rightly rendered there, since it would have been nonsense to have said, let his enemies be strengthened, that verse being the very words which *Moses* and the *Israelites* used, whenever the ark was taken up, before they marched from one place to another (292): to which may be added, that the verb פה *Phes*, has seldom any other signification than that we have given it, nor, in this place, can properly admit of any other.

(R) We have here likewise ventured to depart from the *English* version, which renders the words נזיר נזיר *Nazir Achaz*, him that was separate from his brothers; for though the verb נזר *Nazar* signifies to separate, whence the word *Nazarite* comes; and *Joseph* was really separated from his brethren when he was sold into *Egypt*; yet it is not probable that *Jacob* would have couched so barbarous and unnatural an action in such soft terms, when the original abounds with the most expressive: besides, *Nazar* doth rather signify a separating upon a religious account; it is therefore more probable, that he used the word *Nazir*, which signifies crowned, in allusion to his advancement in *Egypt*. Persons of his high rank, in all the eastern empires, being dignified with the title of *Nazirs*, and probably wore some kind of diadem about their heads by way of distinction and grandeur (293). This sense will be more agreeable likewise to the solemn and pompous style which the patriarch uses throughout all *Joseph's* blessing.

(S) The warlike and untameable disposition of this tribe was sufficiently verified afterwards in

(289) *Judg. c. iv. & v. p. 101.* (290) *Numb. i. 43.* (291) *BOCHART. Hierof. LE SCÈNE. Ety. on a new Translat. & al.* (292) *Numb. x. 35.* (293) *Vid. CALMET Hist. Old Test. in loc.*

tribe (T), he reminded them, especially *Joseph*, that they should bury him with a his ancestors in the cave of *Mackpbelah*; and they having renewed their promise to him, he laid himself again in his bed, and soon after expired \*, being 147 years of age, seventeen of which he spent in *Egypt*, in the land of *Goshen* (V).

AND now *Joseph*, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with his tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length remembering his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The *Egyptians* on their part mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, viz. seventy days, the ceremony of which was thus performed as we have elsewhere seen †: the body was sent to the physicians or embalmers, who first b took out the brain and entrails, and washed them in palm-wine, impregnated with strong

\* Gen. xlix. ver. ult.

† See before p. 214.

in many instances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, first, in the fierce battles which they fought against the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cause, the abuse of the *Levite* and his concubine (294), and in which they came off conquerors twice, tho' vastly inferior in number (295); and secondly, in the war, which the house of *Saul*, who was of that tribe, had with *David* and the house of *Judah*, for the kingdom, (296): upon the whole nothing is plainer than that they are described in Scripture as the fiercest warriors, and expertest archers in *Israel*.

(T) Some critics have cavilled at the words of *Moses*, he (*Jacob*) *blessed every one of them with a separate blessing* (297); whereas they think the three first might have been more properly called curses than blessings; and this has given others and us unnecessary trouble of answering them. Some authors have been too fond of having recourse to the subtilties of the schools to elude this difficulty: thus *St. Ambrose* tells us, that they, being rather prophecies than blessings, must therefore be blessings, because they are prophecies (298): and another subtil critic (299) says, that they were called blessings, from the greatest part being such: whereas it is said, that he blessed every one (300); others therefore have bethought themselves of that thread-bare solution, that the same word in the original signifies to bless and to curse, which has been applied to other cases, as well as this, and to as little purpose. Thus, when *Job's* wife bids him bless *God* and die, they have thought that she meant curse *God* and die; whereas 'tis plain she only speaks ironically to him, and means nothing but that he blessed *God* in vain; since he would die as well as those that let it alone. As for *R. Salomon's* answer, we mention it only for its absurdity and impiousness, who says that *Jacob* designed indeed to bless all his sons, but that he was seized with a phrentick fit at the beginning, which made him curse the three first that came to hand. It will be sufficient to say, that he blessed them all, though not alike; and if his severe rebuke to the three eldest, and the punishment he pronounced against them, did bring them to a sense of their wickedness, it was a blessing to them, though not a temporal one; though even in this last sense he may well be said to have blessed them likewise, since he assigned each of them a lot in the inheritance of the promised land, which he had power to have deprived them of; and as *Moses* did afterwards bless them, 'tis plain he did not think that they had received a curse from their father.

(V) Besides these prophecies of *Jacob*, which *Moses* has preserved to us, and which have been

sufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* attribute some other works to him, such as the treatise, entitled, *The Ladder to Heaven*; in which there is an explanation of that which he saw in a dream at *Bethel*; and which the *Ebionites* adopted as canonical; and a testament called by his name, *The Testament of Jacob*, reckoned by *Pope Gelasius* among the *Apocrypha's*. The *Jews* do likewise use some prayers every night, which they pretend to have been composed by him: they affirm that he wrote the 14 gradual psalms, and some others, whilst he lived with *Laban*; all which fables are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. However, as to the great praises which they give him, no one can blame them for it; and the author of *Ecclesiasticus* has justly summed up his character in few words, chap. xlv. 25, 26. Some divines, especially of the church of *Rome*, look upon him not only to have plainly foretold the coming of the *Messiah*, but to have been likewise a kind of type of him in his laborious and troublesome life; in his flights and travels; in his marriage with *Leah*, the figure of the *Jewish* synagogue, and afterwards with his beloved *Rachel* the figure of the christian church.

The *Mohammedans* allow him to have been not only a prophet, but also the father of all the prophets, who were all descended from him except *Job*, *Jethro* and *Mohammed*. They likewise believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his posterity 'till the times of *John the Baptist* and *Jesus Christ*, and that the twelve tribes of the *Jews* did spring from him, as their own twelve tribes did spring from *Ismael*. *Jacob* gave name to two places, viz. the well, and the ford of *Jacob*: the former was still known by that name in our *Saviour's* time, and we read of a famous church formerly built there in the form of a cross, and dedicated to *St. John the Baptist*; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers to drink some of its water for the recovery of their health. As for the ford of *Jacob*, it is not easy to guess whereabouts it was; but as for those who think that he forded the *Jordan* near the place where it empties itself into the sea of *Tiberias*, they seem to have gone much out of the way, and it is more likely that he crossed somewhere near *Beth-san*, since he came back by that way, when he returned from *Mesopotamia*, and that he forded the brook *Jabbuck* at *Mahanaim*, and went from thence to *Peniel* and *Succoth*, which are near *Beth-san*. His prayer likewise in which he says, *that he had passed over that river only with his staff, and now with two bands*, † makes it no less probable that he came back the same way he went.

(294) *Judg. xix. p. tot.* (295) *Ibid. c. xx.* (296) *1 Sam. pass.* (297) *Gen. xlix. 28.* (298) *Ambros. de benedict. Patriarch. Jacob. cap. ii.* (299) *PERRER.* (300) *Ver. 28. † Vid. Gen. xxxii. 10.*  
aKringent



- a astringent drugs; after which they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinamon, and cassia, and this lasted thirty days. They next put it into salt of nitre during the space of forty days longer; so that they allow'd threescore and ten days to compleat the ceremony. This method, we formerly observ'd \*, was only used for persons of the greatest rank; the meaner people had a cheaper way, but *Joseph* was too sensible of his father's merit to spare any cost for him. His deep mourning, making him unfit to appear at court, he begged of some of *Pharaoh's* officers to acquaint him with his father's death, and with his last commands, who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's just request, and order'd moreover the chief officers of his household, and the grantees of the kingdom, to accompany the
- b funeral pomp. All *Jacob's* family went likewise along with it, none stayed behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade consisted of a great number of chariots, and a vast multitude of men on horseback. † As soon as they had crossed the river *Jordan*, and were entred into the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt of seven days at the threshing-floor of *Atad*, and there performed a solemn funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel Mizraim*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. They then continued their march ‡ till they arrived at *Mackpbelah*, where *Israel's* sons deposited him in the cave, and then returned to *Egypt* with the rest of their company. It was then that *Joseph's* brethren began to fear his resentments for the former wrongs they had done to him; to prevent which, as much as
- c they could, they sent an humble message to him, to acquaint him that it was their father's earnest request to him, that he would forget all past injuries, and continue them still under his kind protection. Such an injurious and undeserv'd suspicion might have had a quite contrary effect than they desired, had he been of a less generous temper; but *Joseph* was so far from resenting it, or enquiring into the validity of this pretended last request of their father, which he never had heard of before, though he was the proper person to whom it should have been made, that he could not refrain his tears, whilst the messenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in: to remove which, he sent immediately for them, and received them with the same affection as when *Jacob* was alive; he ex-
- d cused and comforted them, and gave them such fresh assurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though probably, very much amazed at the greatness of his soul, a virtue to which they seem to have been utter strangers.

He outlived his father about sixty years, and when he found his death approaching, he sent for his brethren and told them, with the same prophetick spirit that *Jacob* had done before, that *GOD* would, according to his promise, bring their posterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, and deposit it in some place where they might in due time find it, and carry it away with them, and bury it in the spot

e of ground which *Jacob* had given to him by his last will. He gave up the ghost soon after †, and his brethren took care to fulfil his last request, having first got him embalmed, after the manner of the *Egyptians* (W). The sequel of the story

\* Ubi sup. p. 215. a. b.

† Gen. l. v. 1. & seq.

‡ Ibid. cap. ult. pass.

(W) The *Jewish* rabbies have been very fertile in their inventions, and added many particulars to the life and death of this great man, of which there is not the least footstep in scripture. An instance of the first kind is, the bloody fight which he had with one *Izephah*, the son of *Eliphaz*, at his father's funeral, who would have withstood their burying him in the cave of *Mackpbelah*, disputing their title to that ground. Him *Joseph* and his men having overcome, carried away with them into *Egypt*. and kept him there a prisoner as long as *Joseph* lived; but as soon as he was dead, *Izephah* found means to escape into *Italy*. This story is quoted by some learned rabbies (301) out of *Josephus Ben-Gurion*, a fabulous author whom they have substituted to the real *Josephus* the historian. After his death, they tell us, the magicians of *Egypt* told *Pharaoh*, that

if he had a mind to keep the *Hebrews* in his dominions, he must hide the body of *Joseph* in some place where they should never find it; for it would be impossible for them to go out of *Egypt* without it; upon which his body was ordered to be put into a *ארון של תק כיתום* chest that weighed 500 talents, which even according to the *Syrian* talent, which is but 12 pound, amounted to 6000 pound weight, which they carefully laid in the bottom of one of the branches of the *Nile*, after they had turned the course of it another way, whilst they sunk it in the mud: They add that *Moses* was forced to work a miracle to get it out and carry it away (302). Some tell us, that this coffin was carefully laid up in the king's treasury, because his magicians had foretold, that if ever it was carried out of *Egypt*, the land would fall into most terrible darkness,

(301) R. ABR. SEPHARHADI, R. MOS. GERUND. (302) *Elle Haddovarim Rabba. f. 28. וזאת הברכה*. See also the life of *Moses*, published by GAULMAIN in French, p. 32. and his notes, l. ii. c. 2.



shews how punctually their posterity fulfilled the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (X). He

darkness, and be plagued with an infinite number of other evils (303): besides these Jewish fables, *Joseph* has likewise been thought to have instructed the *Egyptians* in all those sciences which they became so famous for, by applying to him that verse in the psalms, † that he might instruct his (Pharaoh's) princes, and teach his senators wisdom. In a word, he has been taken for *Serapis* *Osiris* *Adonis*; for *Mercury*, alias *Hermes*; for the famous *Thout* or *Hermes Trismegist*, the reputed inventor of arts and sciences (304): on the other hand some heathen authors (305) tell us, that he learned several magic arts in *Egypt*, and in particular that of interpreting signs and dreams, and there is a book of magick still extant, which has been falsely attributed to him, intitled *Joseph's Looking-Glass*: it is mentioned by *Trithemius*, *Nauaeus*, and others. He is thought to have been the inventor of the art of measuring, and contriver of land-marks; which latter is more than probable, because he was forced to distribute the lands again to the *Egyptians*, after the famine was over, which might put him upon excogitating some kind of boundaries to them. And *Artaphanes*, quoted by *Eusebius*, tells us, that the *Egyptians* had their fields all in common, 'till he taught them to divide and bound them, that every one might cultivate his own inheritance; he adds, that he likewise invented the art of measuring, which procured him the respect and admiration of that people (306). They do shew to this day in *Egypt* some wells, baths, and other works of that patriarch, but those eastern nations have added so many ridiculous fancies of their own to history, that they do not deserve to be credited (307).

(X) Notwithstanding what was said in the conclusion of the last note, we shall venture to tell our readers, upon the testimony of *St. Jerome* (308) that the *Israelites* raised a most noble monument to *Joseph's* memory, which was still to be seen in his days. It stood in *Shechem*, in the field which *Jacob* bought of *Hemor*, and which he afterwards gave to him, in which field *Joseph* was actually buried (309).

*Mohammed* in his *Koran* *Sarat XII.* gives us a long history of *Joseph*, which he has stuffed with many fabulous circumstances, and which the eastern people have still more enlarged upon (310). The *Mohammedans* pretend to have several books of his amours with *Zelickah*, *Pharaoh's* daughter, and his master *Potiphar's* wife, which they make use of to kindle the love of *God* in their hearts, it being among them what the canticles are with the *Jews* and *Christians*, that is, an allegory of the love of *God* and a pious soul. As for *Mahomet's* history, though it differs much from that of *Moses*, yet the reader may not think it amiss to have a sketch of it. It is to this purpose (311) *Joseph* having acquainted his father with his dream of the sun, moon and 12 stars falling down before him, *Jacob* forbid him to tell it to his brethren, lest the devil should put it into their heads to conspire against him, adding that *Joseph* would be the chosen one of *God*, &c. but his brethren, seeing that he was better beloved than they, resolved to murder him; to which end they persuaded their father to send him into the fields with them, under pretence that

it would be a diversion to him, promising at the same time, that they would take great care of him: *Jacob* answered, that he was afraid lest they should be careless of him, to which they replied, are you afraid the wolves should come and eat him in our presence, or that we shall not have strength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well; they came home that same night, and told him, that whilst they were playing and running a race, and *Joseph* was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and finding that *Jacob* was hard to credit their story, they shewed him *Joseph's* bloody shirt; upon which *Jacob* told them, that they had done the deed, and would certainly answer for it before *God*; after which he endeavoured to bear his loss patiently.

A caravan which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted some water, let down their bucket into the well, and *Joseph* laying hold on it was drawn out; they clothed him forthwith, and carried him into *Egypt*, where they sold him for a little ready money. The person, who bought him, gave him in charge to his wife, telling her that he would one day prove useful, and be instead of a son to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his mistress *Zelickah* became so excessively in love with him, that she shut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her passion to him: *Joseph* rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door, but before he could open it, she caught hold on his shirt, and tore it off his back: her husband happened to be behind the door, and she no sooner saw him, but she began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by *Joseph* against her chastity, whom she therefore desired to be severely punished. She appealed to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what she said: to which the babe readily answered, that if the shirt was torn before, he was guilty and she innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and she accused him falsely. The shirt upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted *Joseph*, and discovered the ill intention of his mistress.

The whole city was soon filled with the noise of this adventure, and *Zelickah*, being informed that the ladies spoke of it much to her disadvantage, resolved to invite them to a feast, and whilst they were eating, to introduce *Joseph* to them. She did so, and he no sooner appeared, but his beauty did astonish them beyond measure; insomuch, that not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers instead of their meat, and whispered to one another, that he must be an angel and no man! By this means she put a stop to their reflections; but it was not long before she made another push at her servant, though with as little success; which so enraged her, that she got him sent into prison, where he expounded the butler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret *Pharaoh's* dream, which he did so much to his satisfaction, that he was made superintendant of all his finances.

*Mohammed*

(303) *Testam. XII. patriarch. in vit. Simon. † Ps. cv. 22.* (304) *Vid. CALMET Hist. O. T. c. xxxv.*  
 (305) *JUSTIN ex TROG. lib. xxxvi.* (306) *ARTAPH. ap. Euseb. de prepar. lib. ix. cap. xliii.*  
 (307) *Vid. CALM. loc. citat.* (308) *HIERON. qu. hebr. in Genes.* (309) *Joseph. ult. 32.* (310) *Vid. MARAC. notes on the Alcoran. HERSELOT. Diction. in the word Jousouph.* (311) *Biblist. Orient. Jousouph ben Jacob.*

- a was 110 years old, when he died, an age which came very short of that of his ancestors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinnacle of grandeur, to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great wisdom and merit had raised him. However, he had the pleasure to see of his offspring to the third generations, which none of his fathers did, viz. *Sbuttelab* and *Tachan*, the sons of *Ephraim*, and *Hadan* the son of *Sbuttelab*; as likewise *Macbir* the son of *Manasse*, and *Gilead*, *Macbir's* son. These five are those whom the *Septuagint* version adds to the number of the seventy that came down into *Egypt*, though 'tis plain they were not born 'till some time after\*.
- b How the *Israelites*, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the *Egyptians*, as they grew numerous and powerful, 'till they were at length brought under most cruel slavery, will be seen in the next section. In the mean time we hope our readers will not be displeased if we make a short retrospection on their forefathers, and add some few observations on the simplicity of their religion and manner of living, which were neither so obvious, nor could be interspersed in their history, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with those of the most polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, such as were the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the distances of time, place, and other obvious circumstances, they will appear to be the most natural and perfect pattern of civil society, and of a happy life. If therefore their posterity, after they became possessors of that happy land, did so strangely deviate from them, as it will appear by the sequel of this history that they did, it can be attributed to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy which their long and horrid thralldom had caused in them, which took such deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderness, during which time a new generation was as it were sprung up, nor the wholesome laws which providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which *Moses* had set before them in such lively colours; nor, lastly, all the heavy judgments which their invincible obstinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.
- d

It must be owned, however, that unless we can divest ourselves of that fond partiality which we have for the customs, our own times and country, we shall be apt to condemn, not only those of the ancient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have closely followed them, but likewise all those who have commended them for it: that part of their religion which consisted in the butchering of a

\* Vid. sup. p. 458. (B).

*Mohammed* goes on afterwards with the story of his brethren coming to buy corn; of his stopping his brother *Benjamin*, and of his discovering himself to them; and adds, that *Joseph* hearing that his father had wept so much for him, that he had lost his sight, he gave them one of his shirts, and bid them go home and lay it over his face, and he would recover his sight; after which he charged them to come back to him with their whole family.

By that time the Caravan was got half way homewards, *Jacob* told those that were with him, that he smelt the smell of his son *Joseph*, desiring them not to laugh at him, for he was sure of what he said. Accordingly a few days after one of his sons brought him *Joseph's* shirt, and as soon as he laid it over his face, his sight came to him again: he made all the haste he could to go down into *Egypt* with his family, and all he had; where *Joseph* met him, and taking him by the hand, desired him not to be afraid of coming into *Egypt*. He then made him sit down, whilst his brethren did fall prostrate before him, which made him take notice to his father that now his dream was fulfilled. Thus far *Mohammed*, whose followers further add, that *Joseph* was 17 years old when he was sold; that the king who then reigned was *Rian* the son of *Valid*; that he was likewise called *Pharaoh*, which signifies a despotick monarch; that *Jo-*

*seph* did afterwards instruct him in the knowledge of the true God; but that his successor, named *Rabous*, the son of *Massaab*, proved a wicked prince: that the *Israelites* continued 430 years in *Egypt*, from the time of *Jacob's* first coming down, to their being delivered out of it by *Moses*, who took care to carry away the bones and coffin of *Joseph*, which had lain buried in the bottom of the Nile.

*Ebn Batrick*, otherwise called *Eutychius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, tells us, that *Joseph* married *Asimah*, the daughter of the *Kaben* of *Aen Shem*, that is, the priest, or diviner of the fountain of the sun, which was the name of the city of *On*, called also by the *Greeks*, *Heliopolis*. He assures us likewise, that the *Nilometer*, which is in the city of *Memphis*, the description of which has been given before, † the basin and the canal in the city of *Cairo*, for the discharge of the waters of that river, were *Joseph's* own works. In a word, they attribute to him all the curious wells, cisterns, aqueducts and publick granaries, as well as some obelisks, pyramids, and other ancient monuments, all which are still called by his name. They add, that he had something shining like a star upon one of his shoulders, which was an indelible character of the gift of prophecy, and a sure token of his future grandeur.

† P. 179. & seq.

number of living creatures; their plainness and simplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their seeming contempt of arts and sciences; their real one of ease, luxury, and high titles; all these, and many more, will be apt to be censured by the lump, and every deviation from it will be looked upon as an improvement in society, and a refinement of their dull insipid taste, which some will be apt to attribute to the increase of arts and sciences, and others more absurdly to religion. But it is not to such partial judges that we appeal, for the justness of these remarks, but to the more thinking and unprejudiced sort, whose judgment is not warped by emulation, custom and example.

AND here we need remount no higher than where we began our history, that is, to *Abraham*. He had conversed with some of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living; or rather he had been educated in it, and was so great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of those nations he lived amongst, and brought up his children in the same way. For here we must remember, that in those days every family did as it were compose a kingdom or free estate of which the chief was in all respects (if we except the title and a few needless and troublesome formalities) supreme and absolute monarch; and as such made either war or peace, and alliances offensive or defensive with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter began betimes to live in walled and fortified towns, whereas the former chose to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other respects it is plain, they were inferior to none of the cotemporary princes, though they despised those pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours so much affected.

THEIR riches consisting chiefly in a prodigious quantity of cattle, such as sheep, oxen, camels and asses (horses we read of none); they were obliged to have a proportionable number of servants and slaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that *Abraham* was able to arm upwards of three hundred of his men-servants for *Lot's* rescue, besides those he left behind to guard his substance, and his old men, women and children. As for gold, silver, jewels, and such like valuable things, we do not find that he was possessed of any till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped those rich presents on him, though they might probably barter some of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in those days; but neither this, nor his other kinds of riches, did exempt him or his posterity from a laborious life, to which their chusing to live in tents, for the benefit of often shifting their habitations for the sake of pasture for their numerous herds, did unavoidably oblige them. To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances permitted it. Thus we find *Isaac* sowing his land in the country of *Gerar*, where the situation and the king's friendship invited him to make a considerable stay; but it is plain they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in those hot countries where water was scarce, and where it rains so seldom, may be gathered from the pathetic complaint which *Jacob* once made to his father-in-law. Neither was the fair sex exempt from bearing their share in it; and though *Abraham's* posterity doth not afford us any instance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female; viz. *Dinah*, *Jacob's* daughter, and she only remembered for her fatal excursion; yet if we look back into those of his kindred, whom he left in *Padan-aram*, we shall find that neither their birth, youth, or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their flocks at proper seasons. This we find to have been the case of *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and other fair damsels of that country, and of *Jethro's* daughters some hundred years after them. And how distasteful soever this primitive simplicity may appear to our present age, yet *Homer* will tell us how much and how long it was imitated by the *Greeks*, whose politeness is to this day so justly admired; inasmuch, that the chief employment of the seven sons of *Edion*, king of the *Sicilians*, was the keeping of their father's flocks; and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, particularly in *Arcadia*, but likewise in *Syria*, and other countries above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in some of the most beautiful pastorals of antiquity.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xiv. 13. *ibid.* xxvi. 26, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xiii. 6. & seq. *ibid.* xxiii. 16, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xiv. 24, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxvi. 11, 12, & seq.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. xxxi.—40, & seq. *vid. sup.* p. 444.

<sup>f</sup> *HOMER* *Iliad* Δ.

<sup>g</sup> *Idem* *Iliad* Σ.

- <sup>a</sup> THIS laborious life seldom failed to keep both men and women in a good state of health ; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digestion, so they were the more simple in their way of living : the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth were their common diet ; a kid, a fatted calf, or a dish of venison, were reckoned a rich feast ; and one would think, that *Homer* had drawn the pictures of his Heroes in his *Odysses*, after that of the patriarchs, so far was he from thinking such a life unworthy of the greatest men : Whoever considers that *Jacob* had been his mother's favourite, and consequently more tenderly brought up than his brother *Esau*, will no doubt wonder at his being suffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles, for so far it was at least from *Beer-sheba* to *Padan-aram*, without a servant, or any other conveniency for travelling than his bare staff ; but yet it appears, that he had been so well inured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himself down in the open field, as soon as night came upon him, and taking the first stone that came to hand to serve him for a pillow<sup>b</sup>. That he took care to breed up his sons in the same hardy way, is plain by his sending his favourite *Joseph* at the age of 16 as far as *Hebron*, to enquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from *Mamre*, where he dwelt. Neither did *Joseph's* hearing that they were removed about 30 miles further, discourage him from continuing his journey 'till he had met with them<sup>c</sup>.

- THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much to their health and vigour, but was likewise an effectual means to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths sweet and easy. If we except *Isaac*, who is described rather as a contemplative than a laborious man<sup>d</sup>, and began to fail in his strength much sooner than the rest ; we read of no diseases they were subject to, nor of any physicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All those, whose age is set down by *Moses*, lived to above 150 years, except *Joseph*, whose courtly way of living may probably have shortened his days<sup>e</sup>.

- THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues, how far otherwise soever it may appear at first sight : *Abraham* lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offspring esteemed one of the greatest earthly blessings ; he saw himself unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and though master of vast possessions, yet chose to make a Syrian servant his heir, rather than to marry another ; neither doth he take *Hagar* to his bed 'till he is persuaded to it by his wife<sup>f</sup>, and has the promise of an heir that should come out of his loins. The children he had since by *Keturah*, after *Sarah's* death, shew that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. *Isaac* and his promised posterity had the noblest title to all the blessings that were denounced to *Abraham* ; *Rebecca* proves barren for a considerable time, and had but two sons at last, and yet we do not find that ever he expressed a desire of taking another wife<sup>g</sup>. *Jacob* indeed was unwarily drawn in to marry two sisters, and afterwards to take their maids to be his concubines ; but whoever considers how contented he would have been with *Rachel* alone, that *Leah* was, as it were, forced upon him ; that *Rachel's* barrenness and desire of children, and his fondness for her, made him accept of her handmaid ; that when he had once done it for one sister, he could not decently refuse it to the other<sup>h</sup> ; that it was the custom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as consistent with the laws of conjugal fidelity ; whoever, I say, considers all these, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account : however, it is plain, that the jealousies and discords between the two sisters, and probably between the mistresses and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his sons to follow his example, since we do not read of one that did not rest contented with one wife. *Judah* indeed is justly taxed with incontinency, but it must be remembered that his adventure with *Thamar* was wholly accidental, and unsought for by him, and that he did not give himself that liberty, 'till after his wife's death<sup>i</sup>. However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much less do we intend to write panegyrics upon them ; for which reason we shall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hospitality to strangers ; their faithfulness to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conspicuous for, and shall content ourselves with adding a few words concerning their religion, and shewing that that, joined to their primitive simplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxviii. 11.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. xxxvii. 17.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1 & seq.    <sup>d</sup> Gen. i. 26.  
<sup>e</sup> Gen. xv. 3.    <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xvi. 2.    <sup>g</sup> Ibid. xxv. 21, & seq.    <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xxix. & xxx. passim.    <sup>i</sup> Ibid.  
 xxxviii. 12, & seq.

and a happy life ; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively instance of the early depravity of mankind, but casts no reflexion on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and absolute sway over his whole family, obliged him to breed them up in the knowledge and fear of the true God, and a strict observance to his laws, which was the most effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that ease and tranquillity for which they are so justly admired.

As for their religion, it was not only the freest from idolatry and superstition, but the simplest and purest in the world, or at least, that the world was then capable of. It consisted chiefly in a ready obedience to God's commands, under whose immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promises under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowledgment for all his blessings and deliverance. This last part seems to have introduced the religious custom of tithes, if they were not of a much older date : accordingly we find *Abraham* giving the tenths of all the spoils of his late gotten victory to *Melchisedech* <sup>a</sup>, and *Jacob* vowed the like portion of all his possessions to God, if he would bless and bring him back safe to his father's house<sup>b</sup>. How these were at first paid, or to whom, is not easy to guess, whether to *Shem* or *Eber*, or any of their descendants, who still held the high priesthood ; or, as is most likely, by consecrating a tenth part to religious uses, such as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of sacrifices to God, since such things as are consecrated to God's worship, are in the language of scripture said to be given to God. These sacrifices have indeed something in them that is shocking and unnatural, as we observed before, and when we consider how soon they began, and how universally they spread themselves, reason will be at a loss how to account for their introduction and progress, any other way than by supposing them to be of God's own instituting, as types of that grand sacrifice which *CHRIST* was to offer up for the sins of the world : but this is rather a point of divinity than history, and so out of our sphere. In all other cases it is plain, their religion was pure, simple and uniform, and might have continued such after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, had not their degeneracy and stubbornness obliged their divine law-giver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing those of other nations with their own, as the sequel of their history will shew. We shall only add, that as other nations seem to have received from the ancient patriarchs the ceremony of sacrificing beasts to their gods ; that is, of substituting an innocent lamb, sheep, &c. in their guilty stead, without retaining the notion of the design, or typical institution of them ; so it is very probable that the intended sacrifice of *Isaac*, by the father of the faithful, by which he gave such a glorious testimony of his faith, and reliance on God's promises, may have given birth to the bloody custom of sacrificing of children, which became afterwards so universal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Israelites* themselves. The notion of its being enjoined to that patriarch only, as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembered of it than the great applause and blessings he received upon that account ; from which they might conclude as it were *a fortiori*, that if his bare intention proved so meritorious, much more would the real sacrificing of their own children be : and when they had once imbibed the notion, that the main merit of such a bloody ceremony consisted chiefly in the stifling all sense of humanity and natural affection, it was easy for them to infer, that the more they did so by the cruel torments they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the sacrifice ; but this we rather chuse to submit to our reader's judgment than to dwell longer upon it.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xiv. 20.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xxviii. ult.

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Ἰσορρίας δεχάίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καλάνου, ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ἐνρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ πτεροὶ σωῆξαν  
ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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## S E C T. II.

*The history of the Jews from their Egyptian bondage, to their entrance into the land of Canaan.*

- <sup>a</sup> **W**E return now to the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, who did so prodigiously increase <sup>The great increase of the Israelites in Egypt.</sup> both in number and strength, during the 215 years of their abode there<sup>a</sup>, (A) that the jealous *Egyptians* had already long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not formidable people. And indeed if we consider to what a prodigious multitude those seventy souls, which came down with *Jacob*, were increased, in so much that *Moses* tells us, they amounted to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards<sup>b</sup>, all able to bear arms; besides those under 20 years of age, old men from sixty to a hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer than that, and women, which may be reasonably supposed to have been much more numerous than the men, who were allowed a plurality of wives. I say, if we consider
- <sup>b</sup> this wonderful increase (which in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought 70 wives with them, which is the utmost that can be supposed, will be as 140 to 280,000, that is, as 200,000 to one) we shall not wonder at *Egypt's* fearing lest they should in a short time cover the whole face of it. Neither need we have recourse to miracles as the *Jews* do<sup>c</sup>, for this prodigious increase (B). We have already given in a former chapter some tables<sup>\*</sup> of the probable increase of mankind in any number of years; and if this seems to outdo that calculation, it must be remembered, that they had a peculiar promise for it, and a peculiar blessing from God attending them. Neither was their courage or strength less to be feared than their number. The sons of *Ephraim* had already given a proof of it to the *Egyptians*, when they made that bold, though unsuccessful, attempt upon the *Gathites*, in one of the Cantons of the land of *Canaan*, even before their father's death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 years in *Egypt*. This adventure, though not recorded by *Moses*, has been preserved to us by the author of the first book of *Chronicles*<sup>d</sup>, and might easily let the *Egyptians* see what the united force of twelve such fructifying tribes might do in process of time, when one single one, of so short a standing, could venture upon such a hazardous enterprise. However that be, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when *Moses* was born; sure it is, that from or even before that time they began to be more
- <sup>c</sup> and more cruelly oppressed by the *Egyptians*, whose unheard of treatment towards that oppressed people, might be owing to more causes than one; such as

<sup>a</sup> Exod. i. 7.    <sup>b</sup> Numb. i. 46.    <sup>c</sup> Vid. ABEN EZRAH, & MUNSTER in loc.    <sup>\*</sup> Vid. sup. p. 105.    <sup>d</sup> 1 Chron. vii. 21. OSLAND. in loc.

(A) *Moses* was so surprised at this wonderful increase of his people, when he came to take an account of them, that he makes use of four of the strongest verbs in the whole Hebrew tongue to express it, viz. פָּרָו *pharà*, they fructified or multiplied like the fruit of trees; יִשְׂרָצוּ *jifrazzà*, they multiplied like fishes; רָבּוּ *rabbù*, they daily increased in number; יַעֲצִמּוּ *jatzamù*, they grew stronger and stronger (1). Had their hard bondage suffered them to have increased as much in wisdom and greatness of mind, they had not given him so much trouble, as we find they did both in *Egypt* and in the wilderness.

(B) St. *Austin* (2) thinks that this prodigious increase of the *Israelites* was altogether miraculous, in which many of the *Jews* agree with him. *Aben Ezra* tells us, that they brought forth 3 or 4 at every birth; and affirms, that a woman may bring forth as far as seven children at once (3). This he seems to have taken from *Aristotle* (4), or from *Trogus*, who says, that in *Egypt* the women were some-

times delivered of 7 children at once: but without having recourse to such prodigious births, which happen but seldom, we need but suppose that the *Israelites*, both men and women, were very fruitful, that they began soon, and continued long in begetting, which has been shewn in the former section to have been the fact. We see no impossibility for 70 males, in the compass of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to *Simler's* computation, 70 persons, if they beget a child every year, will in 30 years time have above 2000 children; of which, admit that one third part only did come to procreate, in 30 years more they will amount to 9000; the third part of it will in 30 years more be multiplied to 45,000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be at least 2,760,000. If therefore there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was that they should be able to multiply at that rate, notwithstanding their hard labours and cruel bondage.

(1) Exod. i. 7. PELICAN. & al.

(2) AUG. de civit. lib. xviii. cap. 7.

(3) ABEN EZRA. ap. MUNST. in loc.

(4) HISTOR. animal. lib. vii. c. 4.

They are hated by the Egyptians.

Their cruel bondage.

their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the *Israelites* both as a shepherds, and as *Hebrews*, who killed and lived upon those beasts that were worshipped in *Egypt*; the great difference of religion; envy to see them so successful and the like; but the main and indeed sufficient motive mentioned in the text, was their being grown more mighty than the *Egyptians*, and the danger there was, least upon any war they should join with their enemies, and drive them out of the land. This last made such an impression upon them, that though they were resolved to crush them as much as possible, if not totally to destroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C) and all kind of oppression, as the sequel of this history will soon shew.

THIS terrible persecution, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, began under the reign of a new king<sup>c</sup>, who knew not *Joseph* (D), or had forgot

<sup>c</sup> Exod. i. 9, 10.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 8.

(C) It is to be observed, that the original words סָרִיס שָׂרִי *Sari Massim*, which we translate task-masters, do properly signify tax-gatherers; the burthens are mentioned afterwards under another name; so that they lay heavy tributes upon them, to impoverish, and heavy burthens to weaken them. *Philo* tells us (5), that they were made to carry burthens above their strength, and to work night and day; that they were forced to be workers and servers; that they were employed in brick-making, digging and building: that if any of them dropt dead under their burthens, the others were not suffered to bury them. *Josephus* tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into channels; to wall whole towns, cast up dikes and banks to keep off inundations; and to erect phantastical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn several laborious trades, and confined them to a perpetual restless labour. Another author tells us (7), that in order to render them more odious to the *Egyptians*, they made them go differently apparelled. But without troubling ourselves further than with what *Moses* tells us, we shall find their work hard enough (8); they were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and seek out for stubble instead of straw, without the least diminution of their tasks, of which if they chanced to come short, which could not possibly be avoided, their overseers were severely beaten for it (9). Thus they tried by these three ways to bring them under, viz. by exacting a tribute to lessen their wealth, laying heavy burthens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increasing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulness, taking the words of *Moses* in their literal sense, if we consider that kings were then only elective, and all the subjects looked upon as their slaves (10). Archbishop *Usher* mentions seven kings between *Joseph*'s death, and this who knew not *Joseph*, i. e. in about 60 years, which was more than sufficient to obliterate all his signal services. Some indeed thinking this impossible, there being still so many monuments extant of them, have understood *Moses*'s words in a less strict sense, as if he had not forgot, but refused to acknowledge them. Thus St. *Paul* is made to say (11), that he knew not that it was the high-priest that caused him to be smitten, when every child might have known

him both by his particular dress, and the place where he sat: whereas it is thought that he meant, he did not acknowledge him to be the high-priest, because he had obtained the mitre by bribery (12); but as *Moses* calls this a new king, probably because he was of another family, if not a stranger, there will be no reason to depart from the literal sense. Who this new king was is not so easily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Assyrian* born, from the words of the prophet (13) *My people went down into Egypt to sojourn, and an Assyrian oppressed them*. But we don't find, in the *Egyptian* chronicles any *Assyrian* kings either before *Moses*, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be *Mephres*, in whose ninth year *Joseph* is supposed to have died, and the bondage to have began (14); because *Levi* outlived *Joseph* above 23 years (15): whereas the thralldom did not commence till all the patriarchs were dead. Some therefore suppose that it was *Amenophis*, because *Eusebius* thinks that *Moses* was born in the 18th year of his reign, and so doth St. *Jerome* (16). This king is also called *Memnon*, the speaking stone, whose statue did use to speak at the sun-rising, and is thought by some to have continued till our Saviour's time (17). Archbishop *Usher*, after *Marcator*, thinks it was *Rameses Mianus*, the latter part of whose surname seems to have been deduced from the forepart of *Amen-Opbis*, by which name sundry of his predecessors, as well as his son after him, were called. This king, the above-mentioned primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frightened at the number and strength of the *Israelites*, he began to oppress them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, besides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building also of royal magazines, storehouses, and the whole cities of *Ramfis* or *Ramesis* and *Pithom*; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (18), but we shall find a great difficulty here, viz. how to reconcile that learned prelate with what *Pliny* says (19), that this *Rameses* reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moses*. Upon the whole, the reader is desired to remember what we said in the history of *Egypt* concerning the difficulty of adjusting their chronology, and particularly who those kings were under whom the *Israelites* suffered this slavery †. As for those

(5) PHILO in *vis. Moiss.*

(6) *Antiq. l. ii. c. 9.*

(7) EUPOLEM. ap EUSEB. *prop.*

(8) Exod. i. 14.

(9) Ibid. c. v. *passim.*

(10) DIOD. SICUL. l. ii. c. i. Gen. xlviii. 19, 20.

(11) *Act. xviii. 5.*

(12) LE SCENE *Essay d'une nouvelle version &c. al.*

(13) *Isai. lvi. 4.*

(14) VINCENT in *loc.*

(15) Exod. vi. 16.

(16) EUSEB. HIERON. in *Chronic.*

(17) PERRER.

SIMLER. & al.

(18) *USHER'S annal. p. 12.*

(19) *PLIN. lib. xxxvi. c. viii.*

† *Vid. sup.*

p. 258. *not. l.*

- a the great services which that glorious minister had done both to the crown and nation of *Egypt*. This we need not wonder at after so many years, when *Abasbuerus* could so soon forget *Mordecai*, who had so lately saved his life \*. Though it must be owned, that had *Joseph's* merit been never so fresh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically considered, had nothing strange or uncommon, since it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man, that had been dead above 50 years, had prevented his taking all the cautious measures to secure his own kingdom against the danger it seemed threatened with from a people, who from an indigent family were become such a numerous and formidable host. The religion of the *Israelites* so opposite to *Egyptian* idolatry; their strict union  
b among themselves; the great riches they had heaped up during *Joseph's* life; their indefatigable industry in feeding their numberless herds, in trade and agriculture; their bodily strength and warlike temper; in all which, and many other respects, they seem to have been far superior to the *Egyptians*: all these I say did sufficiently justify *Pharaoh's* fears, if not in some measure authorise those violent measures which he took against them (E). We have seen in our days christian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions against their own natural subjects, of whose fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs than ever the kings of *Egypt* had from the children of *Israel*; and yet these persecutions have been justified, nay canonized, whilst *Pharaoh's* have been branded with the worst of epithets,  
c and are not mentioned without horror.

- HAD indeed the *Egyptian* court been less a stranger to the *Israelites*, they would have had little cause to fear being driven out of their own country, against which these were so far from designing any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themselves but as sojourners in it for a while, still waiting for the happy day when God should call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wisely concealed this secret from the *Egyptians*, who would be too loath to lose the service of such a numerous people, not to prevent their going by all possible means. Besides, had it been known, there was still some danger of their joining with their enemies, upon any war or invasion, in order to facilitate their escape. *Pharaoh* indeed makes the great advantage of their servitude a pretence for not letting them go where *Moses* desired †; but had that been all, it is not likely he would have taken such effectual methods of depriving himself of it, by totally destroying them: for when he found by the experience of *Pharaoh's*  
d at least ten years, that neither the hardships he laid upon them, nor all the cruel-  
ties which his officers and people used towards them, could prevent their multi-  
plying as fast, if not faster than ever †, he sent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives,  
*Shiprah* and *Pnubah*, (F) and strictly charged them, that when they perform-  
cruel order to  
the Hebrew  
midwives.

\* *Esther* vi. 23.

† *Exod.* xiv. 5.

† *Ibid.* c. i. 12.

those who pretend that the *Israelites* continued above 400 years in *Egypt*, as *Genebrard* (20); or that they groaned under that slavery all that time, as *Josephus* (21), they'll send us still farther to seek for a king that will fit them; but we hope we have sufficiently proved their error in our notes in the former section, p. 425. not K, and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(E) *Josephus*, not thinking all these sufficient to alarm the king of *Egypt*, tells us (22), that there was a certain scribe famous for his predictions, who went and told him, that there was a *Hebrew* child to be born about that very time, that would prove a scourge to the *Egyptians*, and advance the glory of his nation, and that if he lived to grow up, he would be eminent for his virtue and courage, and make his name famous to posterity: that *Pharaoh* was so startled at this prediction, that he ordered the *Egyptian* midwives, under pain of death, carefully to attend the labour of all the *Hebrew* women, and to destroy all their males. But as *Moses* doth not hint any thing like it, the reader may as safely reject as admit it.

(F) Though *Moses* mentions but two midwives, yet we must not suppose that they could suffice to such a vast number of women. Some therefore think, that these two only attended on the nobler sort of *Hebrew* women, whose children *Pharaoh* chiefly intended to cut off (23): whereas his charge was to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think, that the *Hebrew* women being strong, and easily delivered (24), might probably shift with two midwives; but it is to be considered, that this was not so much the real fact, as an excuse of the midwives, for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable, that these two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the rest (25); and that there was such a precedence or superiority among midwives, whatever *Cajetan* says to the contrary, appears very probable at least from what *Plinarch* tells us, that among the *Grecians*, there were some to whom the care of that business was committed, and that publick schools were kept for that purpose (26). Several learned expositors, especially among the *Romish* (27), following the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions, which read *המילדות העבריות* *Hawia-*

(20) *Genebrard chronogr.* p. 11. sub *An. M.* 2660.

(21) *Antiq. l. ii. c. ix.*

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) *CAJET. in loc.*

(24) *Exod.* i. 9.

(25) *PELICAN. VATABL. OUTRAM. & al.*

(26) *Vid. JUX. in analys. VILLET. & al.*

(27) *PERRER. ARET. SIMLER. &c.*

They are re-  
warded for  
their disobe-  
dience,

and rewarded by God for their piety.

ed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they should destroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But these women, who feared God, and abhorred such a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and saved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh*, being extremely provoked at it, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatening tone asked them how they dared to disobey his orders? The women had not their answer to seek, for they readily told his Majesty, that the *Hebrew* women did not, like the *Egyptian* ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being lusty and strong, and bringing forth more like the beasts of the forest than like women (G); so that their children were born before they could come to them. *Moses* tells us, that their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that God blessed them with a numerous posterity (H): not because their having told a lye to the king, made them wor-

\* Ibid. ver. 21.

*Hamaledoth baghibrioth*, the midwives of the *Hebrew* women, instead of the *Hebrew* midwives, as the grammatical construction rather requires, have fancied, after *Josephus* (28), that they were *Egyptian* midwives, as being most likely to obey the king's bloody command, and that the *Israelites* had no midwives among them. This last is wholly improbable, and contrary to several places of scripture, besides their being influenced by the fear of God to disobey the king's order, is more applicable to the *Hebrew* than to the *Egyptian* midwives. Lastly, their names, which are wholly *Hebrew*, shews them to have been such; for the word *Shiphrah* comes from שפר *Shaphar*, which signifies to be, or to make beautiful; and therefore the *Jewish* etymologist gives us this reason for her being called so, viz. because שפירת את הילד she shaped the babe into form. The other was called *Phuah*, from פעה to cry out, either because they generally make the women to cry out lustily, that they may be the sooner rid of their burthen; or because they are most accustomed to the cries of the mothers and the children. And whereas *Josephus* says, that *Hebrew* women would have been too partial to their people, the same reason did hold against *Pharaoh's* setting up *Hebrew* task-masters over them, which yet we find he did, and the fear of death might as easily influence the one as the other nation to obey the king (29). As for those who think, with some *Hebrew* Rabbies (30), that these two midwives were *Jocbed*, *Moses's* mother, and *Miriam* her daughter, and that they are here only surnamed, in allusion to their office; they are not worth confuting, since *Miriam* could not be above six or seven years old when this order was given, as we shall see by and by.

(G) The word חיות *chaioth*, which we translate *lively*, doth likewise signify wild beasts, and may be taken in that sense in this place, seeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beasts of the field, needed no help to be delivered. A great deal of learned dult has been raised about this answer of the midwives; as, 1. Whether it was, strictly speaking, a lye. 2. Whether, and how far it was excusable in them. 3. Whether the reward mentioned by *Moses* was given them for the lye, or for their mercy, or both. It is plain, this answer of theirs was the effect of their fear of the king's displeasure, and not of that merciful disposition which they shewed towards the poor children: this last was the vir-

tue here rewarded; whatever betided them for the lye they told, if it was really such; for it is very probable, that the *Hebrew* women, who were kept more strictly than the loose and masterly *Egyptian* dames, might have much easier labours than they, and so have less need of midwives. Their answer might therefore be true in part, though not in the whole, and as to their stretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good design, they had the examples of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, who made their wives pass for their sisters, though they were only so in a far fetched sense.

(H) Our *English* and several other versions, having followed the *Hebrew* too literally, have rendered this place, the Lord made them houses; which though it may imply the same sense we have given it, yet it is too obscurely expressed, and has led some expositors, for want of attending to the *Hebrew* idiom, into some absurd notions. Thus St. *Jerom* understands it of houses in heaven (31), others of strong houses built by the *Israelites*, to defend them against the rage of *Pharaoh* (32). Others, thinking them to have been *Jocbed* and *Miriam*, have understood it of the kingdom and priesthood, which were afterwards settled upon their posterity; because *Jocbed* was mother to *Aaron*, and *Miriam* to *Caleb* (33); but besides that *Miriam* was too young for such an office, it is not certain she was *Caleb's* mother; on the contrary, *Josephus* tells us (34), that she was the wife of *Hur*. Some again, taking them to have been *Egyptians*, have understood it of their being incorporated into the common-wealth of *Israel* (35) as *Rahab* afterwards was. Others think that their families were enriched by a particular blessing (36); but the truest sense is, that their houses or families were greatly increased. For the word בן *Ben*, a son in the *Hebrew*, comes from בנה *Banah*, to build, because he is as it were the builder of the house or family: in this sense *Sarah* gives her maid to *Abraham*, that she might be built, that is, be made a mother by her (37). Accordingly the *Psalmist* (38) says, who maketh the barren woman to become a house or family, and to be a joyful mother of children (39).

There is still one difficulty more in the text, which is, that the word לָבֵן *labem*, so them, is of the masculine gender; whereas if it had related to the midwives, it should have been לָלֵב *laben*, from which some have imagined, that it refers to the *Egyptians* who built themselves strong houses to put the pregnant *Hebrews*

(28) Ant. l. ii. c. ix.

PHARAD. & al.  
LOM. & al.  
AUGUST. THEODOR.  
LE SCENE, &c.

(29) S. AUG. lib. contr. mendac. cap. xv. xvi.

(31) Hieron. in cap. lxxv. Isai.

(34) Ant. l. iii. c. 9.

(37) Gen. xvi. 2.

(32) SEPHARADI in loc.

(35) VATABL. PINED. &c.

(38) Ps. cxiii. 9.

(30) RAB. ABR. SE-

(33) R. SA-

(36) AU-

(39) D. KIMCHI PERRER.

- a thy of no better than a temporal reward, exclusive of any other, as some ancient fathers have thought<sup>1</sup>. But *Moses* records this temporal recompence, as best suiting the carnal people he had to do with, and whom the sequel will show to have had little thought of another life, if they could but make themselves comfortably happy in this.
- HOWEVER, *Pharaoh*, finding that these underhand stratagems proved ineffectual, resolved to act more openly against the *Israelites*, and to make the parents become the executioners of their own children. To this end, he issued out an order, under the severest penalties, that every *Hebrew* male-child, that was born, should be The Israelites commanded to drown all their male children. cast into the *Nile*, and that none but the females should be suffered to live; by which
- b the people saw themselves obliged either to drown their own children, or to see it done by the *Egyptians*, as soon as they were discovered, and themselves severely punished for not obeying the king's edict. Such a bloody command could not but cause the greatest consternation in the afflicted *Israelites*, too prone naturally to despond and despair of God's promises. They thought themselves on the eve of their deliverance from the hardest of slaveries; a glorious deliverer was promised to them, whom they now see condemned to die as soon as born. But God, whose designs could not be frustrated either by the private artifices, or open violence of the king of *Egypt*, made him the instrument of bringing up that very child whom he took such pains to destroy.
- AMRAM the son of *Kobab*, and grandson of *Levi*, had married *Jochebed*,
- c the daughter of *Levi*, his own aunt (I), by whom he had had two children before the king's edict, viz. *Miriam* and *Aaron* (K) †; but *Moses* not being born 'till Moses is born, some time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, God inspired them with a more than ordinary reluctance to obey it; so

<sup>1</sup> GREGOR. lib. viii. moral.

† See Exod. vi. 20.

brews in, that they might not elude the king's design: but if that had been the case, he must rather have built large cities to have sufficed the vast multitude of *Hebrew* women. Others think, that it was the *Israelites*, and not the midwives that were so multiplied; because, say they, women cannot be said to build families, but men (40); but the contrary of this is plain, by the blessing which was given to *Ruth* (41), that *she might prove like Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house, or family, of Israel*. We rather therefore think it more probable, that the *Mem* is put for the *Nun*, which very often happens, and the masculine for the feminine, as we find it in the next chapter (42), where the masculine relative is applied to *Jeibro's* seven daughters, and many other places besides (43); and that the masculine pronoun is given to the midwives by way of excellency, which is no uncommon thing in the sacred tongue.

(I) We have ventured to call *Jochebed* *Amram's* aunt, though the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and after them many learned expositors, both *Papists* and *Protestants*, have thought that she was no more than his uncle *Kobab's* daughter, and consequently his cousin-german, because the marriage of an aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* law (1). For though the word דוד *Dod*, in the original, doth sometimes signify an uncle's son (2), and דודא *Dodab*, an uncle's daughter, or cousin-german; yet seeing *Moses* tells us (3), that she was born unto *Levi*, and accordingly calls her *Amram's* aunt (4) in another place, we thought we might safely give her that name after many learned men (5). And here we cannot forbear taking notice of a mistake which *Calmet* must have been led into by some *Amanunfis*, who mentions the learned *Usher* in the number of those who

think that she was but first cousin to *Amram*; whereas the contrary appears by the very place quoted by him, where that prelate calls her *Levi's* daughter, and *Amram's* aunt and wife. Some *Hebrew* writers (6) pretend that she was born about the time that *Jacob* came down to *Egypt*; at which rate she must have been 135 years old when *Moses* was born, that is; above 40 years older than *Sarah* was when she bore *Isaac*: but had *Moses's* birth been so miraculous, we need not doubt but he would have recorded it, as well as that of *Isaac*. It is therefore more likely, that *Levi* begot her in *Egypt*, in the 100th year of his age, which was nothing wonderful, seeing *Abraham* begot several children of *Keturah*, after the 137th of his; and *Jacob* begot *Benjamin* when he was 107; and as for *Jochebed* she may be safely supposed to have bore *Moses* when she was 68 years old, nothing being more common than for the *Hebrew* women in those days to bear children at, and even after that age (7); and then we need not to go seek for another *Jochebed*, to make her coincide with the time of *Moses's* birth, as some have done, since whatever other of that name were found, she must be *Amram's* aunt, as the text calls her in the places above quoted.

(K) Though *Moses* doth mention nothing of the age of his sister, either when she was born, or when she died, yet it is plain she was the eldest of the three, because she was old enough to watch *Moses* when he was exposed; whereas *Aaron* was but three years older than he: but that she should be so old as the *Jews* make her, viz. to have been one of the two midwives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expositors, who make her but ten years old at most, when *Moses* was born.

(40) SIMLER. JUN. VILLET. in loc.

(41) *Ruth* iv. 11.

(42) *Exod.* ii. 17.

(43) VATABL. PISCAT. MUNST. & al. in loc.

(1) NIC. DE LYN. A. MONTAN. CAJETAN. PERRER. CASTAL. & al. in loc.

(2) *Jerem.* xxxii. 12.

(3) *Numb.* xxvi. 59.

(4) *Exod.* vi. 20.

(5) *Chald. parabr.* JUN. MUNST. PAGNIN. SIMLER. USSER. & al.

(6) CALM. *Hist. O. T.* lib. ii. p. 296. not. b. USSER. *annal. ad An. Mund.* 2385.

(7) VATABL. in loc.



Year of the  
Flood, 1429.  
Year before  
Christ, 1571.

and concealed  
three months,

and exposed to  
the common  
fate,

and taken up,

and brought  
up by Pha-  
raoh's daugh-  
ter.

that they ventured to keep him privately during the space of three months (L),<sup>a</sup> till at last fearing the extreme danger of a discovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themselves, they were forced, though with the utmost regret, to expose him like the rest. However, nature, shrinking at the thoughts of his immediate death, made them contrive to make him a small ark of bull-rushes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the Egyptians made their paper<sup>a</sup>, which was strong enough to hold out the water, and smooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was besmeared, and by its lightness fittest to swim with the child's weight. This ark being daubed with pitch within and without, they put the child in it, and committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of providence, they left Miriam his sister, who was then about 8 years of age, at a convenient distance to watch and see what would become of him: The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds<sup>a</sup>, soon stopped the cradle from being carried by the current, and here it was that God sent him a happy deliverer from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

WHILST his sorrowful mother was retiring from him, providence directed thither the princess, whom he had made choice of to breed him up as her own. It was Pharaoh's daughter, who, being come to the river with a design to bathe herself, spied the ark as she was walking along the shore. Her curiosity soon made her send some of her retinue to fetch it to her. It was not long before her surprise, at the sight of so beautiful a child, was succeeded by an irresistible love and pity for him, whose cries and tears would have reached a heart less gentle and pitiful than her's. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of some of those unfortunate Hebrews who groaned under her father's heavy thralldom; her pity told her, that so lovely a boy deserved a better fate, and that it was her duty, since chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to save him from the common ruin.

PROVIDENCE, which conducted all this scene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own son, and into young Miriam's head, to approach the princess, and to offer herself to fetch her an Hebrew nurse to suckle him. She was no sooner bid to go, but she fled with all imaginable joy to call the mournful Jochebed,<sup>d</sup> who did not make them wait long before she came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princess, and with him an express order to take the same care of him as if it had been her own. At the same time she told her that as she did not know the boy's name, she would give him that of Moses, seeing she had drawn him out of the water (M); and having promised her an ample reward

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPH. Ant. l. ii. c. 9.  
& al.

<sup>a</sup> Isai. xviii. 2. HERODOT. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. i.

(L) This pious concealment is sufficiently justified by St. Stephen, and the epistle to the Hebrews (8), not only on the account of the child's beauty, which is also mentioned by Justin out of Trogus, but also upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, Josephus tells us (9), that Amram finding his wife with child, and being solicitous about the king's edict, prayed earnestly to God to put an end to this dreadful persecution, and that God appeared to him and told him, that he would shortly free his people from it, and that the son, that should shortly be born to him, should prove the happy instrument of their glorious deliverance, and eternise his own name thereby — that this made them conceal him as long as they could, but fearing a discovery, they resolved to trust him to the care of providence — who accordingly conducted Pharaoh's daughter to the river's side, and inspired her with such sentiments of pity, that she adopted him for her son. He calls that princess Thermuthis, and after him Epiphanias in Panaris, and others. Artaphanes (10) calls her Meris, and the Alexandrian chronicle Myrrina. Josephus adds further (11), that Thermuthis having sent for several wet nurses

one after another, the child did scornfully turn away his head from their breast, and that Miriam, who was then present, told that princess, that if the nurse and the child were of different nations, her milk would never agree with it, but that if an Hebrew woman was fetched, he would probably take the breast from her. Upon which she was bid to go for one, and quickly brought the child's mother, whom he fell a sucking most heartily, to the admiration of the princess, and all the by-standers. Thus far Josephus. The Jews observe further, that the word river, here used, is not נַחַל *Nahar*, which signifies a great river, such as the Nile was, but יַרְדֵּן *Yor*, which signifies a river, or rather canal, that is drawn from the great one, to water the country (12); and as the land of Egypt abounded every where with the latter, the Israelites needed not to go far for a place to drown their children in.

(M) Moses is here thought to have Hebraised his name, in order to express the sense of the Egyptian one, which had been given him by Pharaoh's daughter †. The word *Mo* or *Mai* in the Egyptian tongue, according to Josephus (12), signifies water; and *Yses* or *Ise* signifies preserved, and so *Moses* one preserved out of the water.

BUT

(8) ABT. vii. 20. Hebr. xi. 13. (9) Ant. l. ii. c. ix. (10) AP. EUSEB. prep. Eb. ix. cap. iv.  
(11) Ant. loc. citat. (12) Ibid. † Vid. sup. p. 153.

for

a for her care of him, she returned to the palace without acquainting any one with the adventure, whilst the joyful mother went home to impart to her husband the news of this happy accident.

THIS signal care of providence failed not to make them look upon *Moses* as a child designed for some glorious purpose, and to give him an education suitable to the idea they had conceived of him, whilst he stayed with them. They brought him in due time to *Pharaoh's* daughter, who adopted him for her son, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for <sup>(N)</sup>. However, it is reasonable to suppose, that his parents had so well instructed him in their religion, and taken such care to let him know both what relation they bore

*His education.*

b to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being designed by heaven to be the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other use of the education which the princess gave him, than to confirm himself more and more against the superstitions and idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and to make himself fit to answer those ends for which he seemed designed by providence. It was this noble motive which made him sympathize with the oppressed *Hebrews*, and prefer the reproachful and despised name of *Israelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh's* court. It was this generous love to his people, which made him venture to visit and commiserate them, and where it was in his power to relieve them from their intolerable oppression, though at the hazard of his own life. For having observed one day, an *Egyptian*

c using an *Hebrew* with some uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of those cruel task-masters whom *Pharaoh* had set over the *Hebrew* ones, and who used to punish them upon the least default of those that were under their inspection; *Moses* was so exasperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about and see that the coast was clear, before he fell upon him, killed him, and buried his carcass in the sand. If what *Josephus* tells us <sup>\*</sup> be true, that he had before this time been at the head of *Pharaoh's* troops, and made several successful campaigns against the *Æthiopians*, who had ravaged and plundered some provinces of *Egypt* (O), we

*He kills an Egyptian.*

<sup>a</sup> Act. vii. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Hebr. xi. 24, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Ant. lib. ii. c. x.

But *Aben Ezra* (13) tells us, out of an *Arabic* book, entituled, עבודת האדמה, or, the cultivation of land; that *Moses* was called, מוֹשֶׁה, *Monios* or *Monious*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, signifies drawn out (14), but it is very likely, that if his name had differed so much, and had been altogether *Egyptian*, *Moses* would have taken notice of it, as he doth of the new name that was given to *Joseph*, or as *Daniel* doth his own, and that of his three friends. It is therefore most likely that the word *Moses* is derived from the verb מָשַׁח *Massach*, which signifies to draw out, and is taken in that sense by the *Psalmist*, Ps. xviii. v. 17. יִשְׁכֵּחַ מַיִם רַבִּים *he shall draw me out of many waters*. Which verb might probably be common both to the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues, both in sound and signification (14), only with this difference, perhaps, that in the *Egyptian* it may bein the passive, and signify drawn out; whereas in the *Hebrew*, it is the participle active, drawing out, and may allude to his bringing the *Israelites* out of their bondage.

(N) *Clement Alexandrinus* tells us (15), that *Moses* was taught arithmetick, geometry, physick, musick, and hieroglyphicks, otherwise called enigmatical philosophy: To which *Philo* adds (16), astronomy, which he learned of the *Chaldeans*, and the *Assyrian* characters from the *Assyrians*; and that they sent for the best masters from *Greece*, to instruct him in all liberal arts and sciences: But that was not a time for the *Egyptians*, who excelled the rest of the world in all sorts of learning, to send for masters from *Greece*, which rather stood in need of *Egyptian* teachers; so that when *Moses* is said to have been instructed in all the learning of *Egypt*, it plainly implies that he had the best

and most learned education that the whole world could then give him. If it be asked how the *Egyptians* came by all those sciences, as we can affirm nothing certain or new concerning it, we shall content ourselves with referring the reader to what has been already said of it in the description of that country in a former chapter <sup>\*</sup>. An ancient author, quoted by *Clement*, bishop of *Alexandria*, and by *Eusebius* (17), calls *Moses* the first of all the sages or wise men, and says, that he was the first inventor of the art of grammar, which he taught to the *Israelites*, from whom the *Phœnicians* received it, and the *Greeks* from them.

(O) A great deal of pains have been taken to find *Moses* suitable employment for those forty years of his abode in *Egypt*. *Josephus* has given us several remarkable particulars of his life daring that time, which are not indeed warranted by the text, but yet seem to have been universally known and believed by the *Jews* of his time, the reader may perhaps be glad of an abstract of them. He tells us, that the princess *Thermutis* having no children of her own, and having adopted *Moses*, on the account of the singular beauties of his body and mind, brought him to her father, who took him into his arms, and received him with great tenderness, and taking his crown off his head, laid it on that of the boy; but *Moses*, instead of being pleased with it, took it off, flung it to the ground, and set his foot upon it: Whereupon, the same priest, who had formerly foretold his birth, cried out that he ought to be put to death immediately, and that *Egypt* could not be safe otherwise. But *Thermutis* soon snatched him away,

(13) *ABEN EZRA* in loc.

(14) *SIMLER. OSIANDER* in loc. *VILLET. in Exod. ch. ii. quest. 17.*

(15) *CLEM. ALEX. lib. i.*

(16) *PHILO* in vit. *Mosis.*

<sup>\*</sup> See before p. 225, & seq.

(17) *EUSEBIUS. ap. CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. lib. i. & ap. EUSEB. præp. lib. ix. cap. xxvi.*

shall not need wonder at his martial spirit shewing itself upon such an occasion as this; <sup>a</sup> but as we are not sure, that what this historian says is really fact, seeing *Pbilo*, who hath purposely wrote *Moses's* life, and had as great opportunities of being informed of all the particulars of it as *Josephus* had, is altogether silent about it, and *Moses* himself is so far from mentioning any such warlike prowess, that he rather describes himself as a man of the utmost meekness and patience; we shall be forced to suppose, that he was stirred up to this bold deed by some divine impulse, as being the person chosen by heaven to be the deliverer of *Israel*. This seems to be hinted at by *St. Stephen*, and we may probably suppose that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of such a nature, that it either deserved death; or that it could not be prevented but by killing the *Egyptian*. However that be, *Moses* was not so safe as he thought himself, <sup>b</sup> for endeavouring soon after to compose a difference between two *Hebrews*, whose cruel slavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the most guilty of the two gave him a very saucy answer, asking him, whether he designed to kill him as he had done the *Egyptian* (P)? Finding therefore that the fact was known, and fearing least if it should come to *Pharaoh's* knowledge, he would suspect him,

<sup>c</sup> Acts vii. 15.

away, the king no ways opposing it, and left the old prophet to rave at his leisure, who ceased not to contrive means to be rid of a person so dangerous to the kingdom.

After this *Moses*, being grown to man's estate, had an opportunity offered him of showing his courage and conduct. The *Ethiopians*, who inhabited the upper lands, on the south side of *Egypt*, had made many dreadful incursions, plundered and ravaged all the neighbouring parts of the country, and beat the *Egyptian* army which *Pharaoh* had sent to oppose them in a set battle, and were become so proud of their success, that they began to march towards the capital of *Egypt*. In this distress the *Egyptians* had recourse to the oracle, which answered, that they must get an *Hebrew* general at their head. As none was more promising than *Moses*, the king desired his daughter to consent, that he should go and head his army; but she, after having first expostulated with her father, how unreasonable it was for the *Egyptians* to implore the assistance of a man whom they had been so long plotting against, did not give her consent, 'till she had his royal word and oath, that no attempt should be hatched against her son. *Moses's* first care, as soon as he was at the head of the *Egyptian* army, was to reach the enemy as soon as possible, and instead of going up the *Nile*, as was usual before, he chose to cross the country, and thereby shorten the way, and surprize the *Ethiopians*, who could not expect him to come by that way, because that whole country was infested by flying, and other poisonous serpents, which did even poison the very air. But *Moses* found out a method to rid his army of that danger, by carrying with them a vast number of birds, called *Ibis*, in iron-cages, whose nature is to devour all sorts of serpents, and to be friendly to all other creatures†. His project succeeded to admiration, and the birds, being once let loose, made a speedy end of all those venomous creatures, and opened to him a quick and safe passage to the enemy's army, which having taken at unawares, he cut it all in pieces. He afterward entered their country, took several of their cities, and obliged them to retire into the city of *Saba*, called afterwards *Meroë* by *Cambyfes*, where he closely besieged them. The place being strongly fortified, and situated in the middle of an island, kept him employed some considerable time, and the siege would in all probability have lasted much

longer, had not *Tharbis*, the king of *Æthiopia's* daughter, fallen in love with him, as she saw him fighting with the utmost gallantry and valour from the top of the city wall. She therefore sent privately to him, to let him know, that the city should be surrendered to him, upon condition that he should marry her immediately after. *Moses* consented to the conditions, and having taken possession of the place and of the princess, returned with his victorious army to *Egypt*, where, instead of reaping the fruits of his laurels, the ungrateful *Egyptians* accused him of murder to the king, who, having already taken some umbrage at his valour and great reputation, was resolving to rid himself of him. *Moses*, having some suspicion of it, made his escape, and not daring to go by the common roads, for fear of being stopped by the king's guards, was forced to go through a great desert to reach the land of *Midian*\*. Thus far *Josephus*, from whose account we may gather, that there were three motives why *Pharaoh* and his people sought *Moses's* death. Namely, 1. Their envy at his great success and consummate wisdom in this warlike expedition. 2. Their jealousy lest he should attempt to make some dangerous insurrection in *Egypt*. And lastly, the prophecies which that country was threatened with from an *Hebrew*. To which *Pbilo* (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the *Hebrews*, whom *Pharaoh* did already look upon as his most dangerous enemies.

(P) A jesuit, who has lately writ the history of the people of *GOD*, thinks it highly probable, that these two quarrelling *Hebrews* were that *Jannes* and *Jambres* mentioned by the apostle (19) to have withstood *Moses*, because they would not acknowledge him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel, though *GOD* had made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think so is, that their names are *Hebrew* ones; for which reason he thinks, that they could not be the *Egyptian* magicians, whom *Pharaoh* made use of in opposition to *Moses*. But in order to make these names *Hebrew*, he must with some *Jews* call them *Jochanan* and *Mambri*, or *Jonah* and *Jambri* (21); but we shall shew in the sequel of this history, that these two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians who mimicked several of *Moses's* miracles, though they could not follow him throughout.

† See before p. 182. b. \* *Ant. lib. ii. cap. x. & xi.* (18) *PHILO in vit. Mosi.* (19) 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. (20) *BERRUYER Histoir. du peuple de Dieu. Tom. ii. p. 25.* (21) *BUXTORF Lexic. Talmudic. FABRIC. de Apocriph. Vet. Test.*

- a of being too much in the interest of the *Israelites*, and punish him for the death of the *Egyptian*, he was forced to fly into the land of *Midian*; not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother, or having perhaps already disclaimed her adoption, as some are inclined to think. It is supposed however, that he had made use of that princess's interest long before, to get that bloody edict against the *Hebrew* male children recalled, since the sequel of the history shews, that that order had not been put in force for some time. It was well for him, however, he left *Egypt* so soon; for the news of the slain *Egyptian* was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackest circumstances by the courtiers, who could not but hate a man in so high esteem as he was; so that if
- b *Pharaoh* could have caught him, he would infallibly have put him to death: but *Moses* was out of his reach, having past those great deserts that lay between *Egypt* and *Midian* (Q), and being safely got near hospitable *Jethro's* habitation. At his arrival in that country he met with much such another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-Aram*\*, at the well where the damsels used to come to water their flocks. An account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the history of the *Midianites*\*.

and is forced to fly into Midian.

- How he spent his time in those forty years retirement, save that he kept *Jethro's* flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Those, who suppose that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly this strong
- c argument on their side, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*; otherwise it were absurd to suppose, that either *Job* or his friends, considering what kindred and country they were of, could be either so ignorant of the wonders which *God* had wrought in favour of that oppressed people, or so forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the strongest terms, during their long and intricate controversy about the various dispensations of providence. And indeed were not *Job* so often mentioned by *Ezekiel*†, with *Noah* and *Daniel*, much might be said for those who look upon this history as a parable, or rather a dramatick piece, written on purpose to comfort the afflicted *Israelites* under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of such a sup-
- d position.

We have already taken notice in the history of *Edom*†, how uncertain and unsatisfactory every thing is that relates to the genealogy of this holy man, or the author of his history; but as we there engaged to give our readers all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that subject, we shall beg leave to subjoin them here in few words.

\* Gen. xxix. 9. † Exod. ii. pass. • Vid. sup. p. 301. † Ezek. xiv. pass. \* Gen. xxxvi. p. tot. ‡ Vid. sup. p. 312. a, b, c, d.

(Q) We must remember not to confound this land of *Midian*, of which an account has been already given\*, with another of that name, whose chief city was also called *Midian*, and might be a colony of the other, which was situate by *Araon* and *Arzopolis*, according to *St. Jerom*, who tells us the ruins of it were still to be seen in his days (22). Whereas this, which *Moses* went to, was in *Arabia Petrea*, whose metropolis was called *Petra*, not far from mount *Horeb*, where he kept *Jethro's* flocks (23). This mountain was either near that of *Sinai*, or more probably *Sinai* and *Horeb* were two tops of the same mountain (24); the former of which *St. Paul* places in *Arabia* (25); though it is more probable that *Horeb* was the common name of the whole ridge of mountains, on which *Sinai* was situated; and that it was called *Horeb*, or as the original has it, *Choreb*, from the excessive driness of it (26). *Philo* adds (27), that it was full of bushes, and that at the bottom of the mountain grew that in which *God* appeared to *Moses*, which the original calls סִינַי *Sinab*, signifying properly a bush or shrub, that is

so full of thorns, that the birds cannot perch in it without being stripped of their feathers. The *Hebrews* add, that mount *Sinai* had that name from it (28). However that be, this mount is also called the Mount of *God*, not indeed from any religious worship that had been performed there before that time, as *Josephus* imagines (29), or because of its height and supereminency, as such things are frequently so called in scripture, as the cedars of *God*, &c. (30) but it seems to be named by anticipation, as it became famous upon many accounts, such as 1. *God* appearing to *Moses* in the bush. 2. His being afterwards worshipped there, and shewing himself by the most wonderful visible signs at the delivery of the law (31). 3. The striking the rock with *Moses's* rod (32). *Moses* lifting up his hands to make *Joshua* prevail against the *Amalekites* (33). 5. The law being given to *Moses* from it (34). 6. His fasting there twice forty days and nights (35). 7. Bringing the two tables of stone from thence (36). 8. The noble vision which the prophet *Elijah* had there (37), and some others of less consequence.

\* Vid. sup. p. 299 & seq. (22) Hieron. loc. Hæbraic. (23) Exod. iii. 1. (24) Jos. Antiq. l. ii. c. xii. (25) Galat. iv. 5. (26) Cajetan. Villet. Jun. in loc. & al. (27) Philo in vit. Moïsis. (28) Vid. Munst in loc. (29) Ant. lib. ii. c. xii. (30) Psal. civ. 16. (31) Exod. iii. 2. & cap. xix. & xx. pass. (32) Numb. xx. 11. (33) Exod. xvii. 11. (34) Exod. xxiv. & seq. pass. (35) Ibid. xxxiv. 28. Deut. ix. 9. (36) Exod. xxxii. 15, 16, & alib. (37) 1 Kings xix.

A digression  
concerning  
Job.

THE most ancient monument we have concerning the genealogy of *Job*, and which has been received and allowed by *Aristeus*, *Philo*, *Polybistor* <sup>a</sup>, as likewise by several ancient fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* church <sup>2</sup>, is an addition to that history, which is to be met with at the end of the *Greek*, *Arabick* and *Vulgate* versions, and is affirmed to have been taken from the ancient *Syriac* one, to this purpose; that *Job* dwelt upon the confines of *Idumea* and *Arabia*; that his first name was *Jobab*, and that he married an *Arabian*, by whom he had a son named *Ennon*. As for *Job* he was the son of *Zarab*, and the fifth in descent from *Abraham* by *Esau*, and reigned in *Idumæa*. The order of the kings, that reigned before and after him, is as follows; *Balac* the son of *Beor* reigned in the city of *Denabab*; after him reigned *Job*, called also *Jobab*; who was succeeded by *Asom* prince of *Teman*. <sup>b</sup> his successor *Adad*; the son of *Barad*, was he who overthrew the *Midianites* in the plains of *Moab*; the name of his city was *Jethem*. *Job's* friends, who came to visit him, were *Eliphaz* king of *Teman*, of *Esau's* posterity; *Bildad* king of the *Zeuchites*, and *Zophar* king of the *Mineans*. Thus far the additions, which have been preserved by *Theodotion*, in his version of the book of *Job* <sup>1</sup>. If this genealogy be admitted, and that *Job* is the same with *Jobab*, mentioned in *Genesis* <sup>2</sup> and *Chronicles* <sup>3</sup>, it will follow that he and *Moses* were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from *Isaac* thus;

Isaac,	
Jacob,	Esau,
Levi,	Reuel,
Amram,	Zerab,
Moses,	Jobab or Job.

IT will likewise be plain, that he reigned in the city of *Denaba* or *Dinbabab*; for so the author of the first book of the *Chronicles* expressly affirms <sup>b</sup>; but how to find such a city in the land of *Uz*, seeing *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* place *Dinbabab* in the land of *Moab*, between *Areopolis* and *Heshbon* <sup>c</sup>: whereas they affirm the land of *Uz*, or the place where *Job* dwelt, to have been according to the ancient tradition of the inhabitants of *Palestine*, the city of *Astaroth Kernaim* on the other side *Jordan*, upon the brook *Jabock*, between *Mabanaïm* and *Edras* <sup>d</sup>, is not so easy to determine. However that be, those who embrace the notion that *Job* is the *Jobab* mentioned in those two places of scripture above quoted, and consequently, that he was cotemporary with *Moses*, have with much straining pumped out two passages in his history, which, they pretend, do make express mention of *Pharaoh's* pride and overthrow, and of the *Israelites* passing through the red sea. The first is, where *Eliphaz* says of the wicked, that *trouble and anguish shall make him afraid, and prevail against him as a king ready to battle* <sup>e</sup>. Which words they apply to *Pharaoh's* pride and hardness of heart, though 'tis plain by what goes before and after those two verses, that *Job's* friend speaks only of the wicked in general, such as he supposed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where *Job* says, that *God divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding smiteth through the proud* <sup>f</sup>. And this they think to allude to the passing of the *Red Sea*, and to *Pharaoh's* overthrow in it. But here, besides that the word in the original doth more properly signify to *still* than to *divide*, it is plain from the tenour of the whole chapter, that *Job* speaks only of the wonderful power and providence of *God* in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable, as we observed a little before, that had this conference between *Job* and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the *Israelites*, a more ample and express mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider that *Job's* desire of vindicating his own integrity did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance of the *Israelites*, were a full confutation of what his friends alledged against him, that if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, *God* would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him <sup>2</sup>. Neither do we see any necessity for making *Job* to have lived since

<sup>a</sup> Apud EUSEB. præp. l. ix. c. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. FRED. SPANHEIM invit. Job c. iv. MERCER PINEDA DIER. de STUNICA & al. comm. in Job.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. i. 43. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. CALM. dissert. in Job.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. xxvi. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. xxvi. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. particularly exp. xxii. 24. & alib. pass.

<sup>9</sup> Job xvi. 24. 25.



- a this miraculous deliverance of the *Israelites*, in order to adjust the genealogy above-mentioned, since it will be sufficient to suppose that those four generations, on *Esau's* side, were by some few years shorter than those on *Jacob's*, which is not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives <sup>b</sup>, and then it will be possible enough for *Job* to have seen an end of all his sufferings, before *Moses* left the land of *Midian*; in which case, he being justly supposed to be the most ancient writer, he has been likewise thought the author of this history, by the majority of writers. That his poetick genius was equal to this excellent performance, those few canticles, which he has left us in the *Pentateuch* <sup>c</sup>, will not permit us to doubt of. However, there is one main objection against this notion,
- b which is, that if *Jobab* be the same with *Job*, and he cotemporary with *Moses*, it will be impossible for the latter to have outlived him by so many years as to be able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous posterity; for it is said that *Job* lived an hundred and forty years after his sufferings were ended, and that he saw his sons children to the fourth generation: Whereas *Moses* lived but forty years in the land of *Midian*, and forty more after he was come out of it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by supposing that the three or four last verses of the book were added afterwards by some inspired person, in order to make the history compleat; in the same manner as *Joshua*, or some other, added the account of *Moses's* death and burial at the end of *Deuteronomy*. How far this
- c supposition may be allowed, we shall have occasion to examine more particularly in the sequel of this history.

- BEFORE we close this digression, we shall beg leave to say something of the book itself. Though some learned men have thought it to have been writ originally in *Syriac* or *Arabic*, either by *Job* himself, or by one of his friends <sup>d</sup>; yet it is now universally allowed to have been written in *Hebrew*. What has given birth to the former notion, is its being so blended with *Syriac* and *Arabic* expressions and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly understood <sup>e</sup>. It is justly supposed to be written in verse, from the loftiness of the stile, the sublimeness of the thoughts, the liveliness and energy of expression, the grandeur of its imagery and variety of characters;
- d though the metre and cadence of it be altogether loose and unconfined. Those, who have been most conversant with it, will readily allow, that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetick and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold critick, indeed <sup>f</sup>, has not scrupled to tax him with ostentation, and with making a vain show of prophane learning and poetick fiction, and for putting such expressions in the mouth of that holy man, as are not only incompatible with his character, but even of a dangerous nature, being, in his opinion, more fitted to corrupt than to edify his readers. But it must be observed, that that learned author was only acquainted with the *Greek* version of it, which doth indeed abound with expressions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of
- e the poets. Had he been acquainted with the original, he would easily have acquitted it of such an unjust imputation. Besides, it must be remembered, that the eastern nations had a much more lively, strong, and passionate way of expressing their thoughts than we; so that is impossible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right judgment of those hyperbolical expressions, without lowering them very much from their literal signification. The *Jews* have added several particulars to the history of *Job*, such as that he was a king, and high-priest in *Idumæa*, and that he had married *Dinah*, *Jacob's* daughter <sup>g</sup>; which latter can hardly be credited, unless we suppose him to have been of much older date than *Moses*. The *Eastern*, especially the *Arabians*, have very much improved upon them, according to custom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them, those, who are desirous to be informed in that particular, may consult *Herbelot's Bibliotheca Orientalis* <sup>h</sup>.
- f

WE return now to our *Jewish* Law-giver in the land of *Midian*, whom we may reasonably suppose to have had such convincing reasons to look upon himself as the deliverer of his afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and think the time long 'till he saw that glorious promised deliverance happily accomplished. Nay, this long delay seems to have

<sup>a</sup> Vid. sup. p. 471, c.    <sup>b</sup> Vid. Exod. xv. p. tot. Deut. xxviii. 31.    <sup>c</sup> Vid. CALM. Diss. in Job.  
<sup>d</sup> Hieron. præfat. in Job.    <sup>e</sup> Theod. Mopsuest. Vid. Synod. V. Œcum. Collat. iv. art. 63.  
<sup>f</sup> Chald. paraphr. vid. & MAIMON. more Nevoch. & al.    <sup>g</sup> Bibl. orient. sub Art. Ajub.



God appears  
to him in the  
burning bush.

made him conceive quite other notions, such as that God had either made choice of a some other instrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their sins, to suspend it for some longer time. For when God was pleased to appear to to him at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, upon mount *Horeb*, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the bush not having one leaf consumed though all over in a bright flame (R), that it was the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, that spoke to him and commanded him to go into *Egypt*, and to execute his designs there; *Moses* did not leave one plea untried to be excused from the difficult task, whilst God was all that while graciously pleased to dispel his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him such promises of his miraculous assistance, as might have emboldened a more pusillanimous person than *Moses* seems in all other respects to have been.

Commands  
him to return  
into Egypt.

THE divine vision (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the *Israelites* groaned, were grown to such a height, and the cruelties of their enemies so enormous, that the time was now come both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that rich promised land, as a recompence for their long patience and sufferings; bidding him at the same time to go to *Pharaoh*, and in his name to demand their dismissal, and assuring him that those who sought his life were now all dead, and that he had now nothing to fear from the *Egyptians*. In vain did *Moses* plead his weakness and insufficiency for such a work, God told him that it was not to be performed by an arm of flesh, but by his own irresistible power, which should manifest itself by such miraculous deeds, that not only *Egypt*, but all the world, should be astonished at them. Here *Moses* objected further, that he very much doubted whether the *Israelites* had not so far forgot the God of their fathers, that when he came to acquaint them with his commission from him, they would be apt to ask what his name was, in which case he would be at a loss what answer to make to them (T). Here God was pleased to

(R) The word flame in this place is *לבת* *Labath*, and not *Labebab*, which is the common word for flame; and though some *Jews* do think with us, that it signifies the same thing, yet others will have it, that it is put for *לב* *Lev*, or *לבב* *Levaf*, which signifies the heart or middle of any thing, and that it is here used to express, that it was only the centre of the bush that appeared inflamed. The large comment on *Exodus* adds, that God was pleased to appear in that manner at this time, to convince *Moses* (who was afraid least the *Israelites* should one time or other be destroyed by the *Egyptians*, if they were not so already during his forty years absence) that as the bush remained unconsumed in the midst of the flames, so should *Israel* in the midst of all their fiery trials (38). As to the time when this vision was seen by *Moses*, St. *Stephen* (39) tells us, it was about forty years after his flight out of *Egypt*; that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for so old he was when he came and stood before *Pharaoh* (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age, that going to visit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go *ab aula ad caulam*, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is supposed to have wrote the books of *Job* and *Genesis*, for a comfort and support to his afflicted brethren (41).

(S) We need not repeat here what has been said before about these apparitions, whether they were angels speaking in the person of God, which we think we have sufficiently confuted, or God himself, or as the most received opinion is, CHRIST the SON of GOD. All that need be added here is, that this, which appears now in the bush, is

the same who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the *Israelites* in the desert; that is, not an angel, or GOD the FATHER, but CHRIST himself, as St. *Paul* affirms (42); for neither the FATHER nor HOLY GHOST are ever called by the name of angel, i. e. a messenger or person sent; whereas the SON is called the *Angel of the Covenant* by the prophet *Malachy* (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for those who think not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to guess that it was *Michael* that appeared here, as he did afterwards to *Joshua* (46), and to *Daniel* (47); it is plain their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apostle, but even absurd, if not impious. For can they prove that *Michael* was a created angel, seeing that name signifies *one like unto GOD*, and can only be applicable to CHRIST? Can a created angel be styled the captain of the LORD's hosts, as he is called in *Joshua*, or the prince of the people of GOD, as he is in *Daniel*, which office and title, the apostle tells us (48), belongs only to CHRIST, who is the captain or prince of our salvation? Did ever any angel suffer himself to be worshipped, as that which appeared to *Joshua* did? Supposing, therefore, that it was the same that appeared to *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Daniel*, as *Perrerus* thinks (49), yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel or ministering spirit; on the contrary it will be plain, that it was CHRIST the king of men and angels, blessed for ever (50).

(T) The Cabbalistical *Jews*, and after them *Josephus* (51), and some doctors of the church of *Rome* (52) think that *Moses* did not ask for the name of GOD,

(38) *Ellefbemotb-rab. in loc. PHILO loc. citat.* (39) *Act. vii. 23.* (40) *Exod. vii. 7.*  
(41) *PERRER. ex PHILON. VILLET. & al.* (42) *1. Cor. x. 4. & seq.* (43) *Malach. iii. 1.*  
(44) *THEODOR. OSIAND. SIMLER. & al.* (45) *AUG. de Trinit. lib. iii. c. xi. & Tractat. 3. in Jo-*  
*han. N. 17, 18. HIERON. epist. ad Galat. iii. GREG. moral. lib. xxviii. cap. 1.* (46) *Josh. v. pass.*  
(47) *Dan. x. pass.* (48) *Hebr. ii. 10.* (49) *PERRER. & al.* (50) *VILLET. in cap. iii. Exod.*  
*quæst. 6.* (51) *Ant. lib. ii. c. 12.* (52) *GENEBAUD. BELLARMIN. BERRUYER Hist. du prep. de*  
*Dieu, Tom. 2. p. 36. & al.*

a answer a question which he had formerly refused to Jacob \*, though in such terms as might easily convince him of the irregularity and unreasonableness of it;

\* Gen. xxxii. 29.

GOD but for the true pronunciation of it, which they think had been lost through the wickedness of mankind: for which reason the former affirm, that the word *חַלֵּם* *Holam*, used by GOD presently after (53), being written without a *Vau*, should not be rendered *for ever*, but *hid*, from the root *חַלֵּם* *balam*, *to hide*, not considering, that if that was the case, it should be written *חַלֵּם* *Halum* and not *Holam*. Upon this account the name *יהוה* is by all the Jews called *Schem Hamborash*, the unutterable name, which *Josephus*, in the place just now quoted says, was never known or heard of before GOD told it to *Moses*, and adds that he dares not so much as mention it: for the same reason the Jews never pronounce it, but use the word *Adonai* or *Elohim*, or plainly the word *Hahem*, the name to express it. Thus in their letters and common discourse, instead of saying the LORD bless or protect you, they say, *the Name bless you*, &c. and they think that the words used by *Daniel* in his prayer (54) *למען אדוני* *Lemagham Adonai*, do not mean, as we understand them, for the sake of the LORD or the MESSIAH, or, as we express it, for CHRIST's sake, but upon the account of the word *Adonai*, which they were obliged to use till the MESSIAH came and taught them the true pronunciation of the name *יהוה*: not but their high-priest did pronounce it *Jehovah* once a year, on the day of expiation from the time of their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, to the last destruction of the temple; but they had but few disciples near them that could learn its pronunciation, and during the time of the blessing in which this name was repeated, the priests and levites did sing louder than ordinary, that none else might hear it. But even then they were very far from thinking it the right pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton*; for they think, that any man, that could once attain it, might shake heaven and earth with it, work the greatest miracles, and dive into the deepest secrets of the Deity. They tell us, that *Moses* had it engraved upon his rod, and, by virtue of that ineffable word, wrought all those mighty wonders in favour of his people: that *Noah* could steer the ark which way he pleased by it, and that JESUS CHRIST having stolen it out of the temple, or as others affirm, brought it with him from Egypt, and clapped it between the skin and the flesh of his thigh, had obtained the power of working all his miracles, which they say any man else might do, that could pronounce that name right (55).

They add, that *Simon*, surnamed the *Just*, one of their high-priests, who flourished according to them, about the year of the world 3602, and died 3711, i. e. about 289 years before CHRIST, was the last that knew it; but that the number of prophane people encreasing, they thought it best to substitute another name to it, consisting of twelve letters, which the high-priest made use of when he blessed the people (56). *Tarpho*, a noted Rabbi, supposed to be the same with the *Trypho* of *Justin* martyr, tells us, that being got one day

near the high-priest, to hear this blessing, he found that he only muttered the name of GOD in an inarticulate manner, whilst the levites did drown his voice with their singing, that it might not be learned and abused by the wicked. But since *Simon Justus*, it has been wholly lost, not to be recovered again 'till the MESSIAH come. In the mean time the *Talmud* has left a most horrid curse against those that shall dare to utter it, because they think the very angels themselves are not allowed to pronounce it †.

The truth is, those, who think that *Jehovah* is the right pronunciation, are far enough from being sure of it. It is plain, that the ancients did write it very differently from them. *Sanchoniathon* spells it, *Jawo*, (1); *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Macrobius* (3), *Clement of Alexandria* (4), *St. Jerom* (5), and *Origen* (6) pronounced it *Jao*. The Samaritans, and after them *Epiphanius* (7) and *Theodoret* (8), *Jave* or *Jabe*. Others of the ancients write it, *Jahob*, *Jawo*, *Jaen*, *Jabo*, and *Jahod*. Among the moderns, *Capellus* is for pronouncing it *Jawo*; *Drusus*, *Jave*; *Hottinger*, *Jebwa*, *Merzer*, *Jehovab*; *Cassalius*, *Jovab*, and *Le Clerc*, *Jawob* or *Jarob*. Something like these the Romans had in their *Jovis*, to which *Varro* seems to allude when he says, *Deum Judæorum esse Jovem*: That *Jove* was the God of the Jews, as *St. Austin* alledges out of him in the first book of his defence of the gospel, c. xxii. The Moors likewise call GOD *Juba* or *Jubab*, and the Mohammedans, *Hou*, which with them signifies the same as *Jehovah*, i. e. he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their patents, passes, and the like, and do often repeat in their prayers. Some of their devotees will sometimes repeat that word so often, and with such quickness and vehemence, that they drop down with giddiness (9). Upon the whole it is plain, that the four letters, of which that great name consists, may be pronounced in all the above-mentioned ways, and several others according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of *יהוה*.

As to the uttering of it, besides what we have already observed out of the *Talmud* and *Josephus*, we have still another witness of the Jewish excessive and even superstitious respect for that word, viz. *Philo*, who affirms (10), that after the stoning of the blasphemer to death in the wilderness (11) GOD commanded *Moses* to publish a new law, that *whoever should curse the LORD should be guilty of sin, and whoever should pronounce the name of GOD should be put to death*. This is indeed the version which the *Septuagint* and *Theodoret* have given us of the 15th and 16th verses of the above-quoted chapter: but in the original it is, *whoever curseth his GOD or gods, shall bear his own sin; and whoever shall blaspheme the name of יהוה the LORD shall surely be put to death*. This law, continues *Philo*, is full of the profoundest wisdom, the first part of which forbids the cursing or blaspheming even the false gods of the Gentiles; and

(53) *Exod. iii. 17.* (54) *Dan. ix. 17.* (55) *Vid. Midrash Tehillim in Psal. xii. DRUS. de nomine Tetragrammat.* (56) *MAIMONID. More Nevochim. Part. I. c. lxii.* † *LIGHTFOOT ex Barva joma & Exod. & Gemar. tr. Sota.* (1) *SANCHONIAT. ap. EUSEB. prep. lib. x. c. ix.* (2) *DIOD. SIC. Bibliot. lib. ii.* (3) *MACROB. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xviii.* (4) *CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. lib. v.* (5) *HIERON. or some other under his name, in Psal. viii.* (6) *ORIG. contr. Cels. lib. vi.* (7) *EPIPH. Hæres. 40.* (8) *THEODORET in Exod. quæst. 15.* (9) *HERBELOT Bibliot. Orient. p. 460. sub voc. Hou, & p. 326. sub Esma.* (10) *PHILO in vit. Mosi.* (11) *Levit. xxiv. 11, & seq. Vid. & MAIMON. Hilkoth Birk. haeban. c. 14. § 10.*

for as *Justin Martyr* rightly observes, names are given only to shew the difference of things: whereas God being one, and there being none other but him, there

and the second the uttering of the name of God in a vain or loose manner, or by way of ornament to our speech; which he thinks deserves the worst of punishments. But as to the first part of this law, according to *Philo's* exposition, that author seems to have forgot that *Jeremiah* commands the *Jews* (12), a little before they were carried into the *Babylonish* captivity, that when they came thither, they should not only speak against the gods of *Babylon*, but even denounce death and destruction against them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native *Hebrew*, which was not understood there, but in plain downright *Chaldee*, the language of that country. And it is observable, that this verse is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the *Chaldee*, all the rest being in *Hebrew*. But to return from this digression, it is not easy to determine whether the *seventy* had lost the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purposely concealed it under the name of Κύριος, or whether, they did make use of that *Greek* word at all. For first, they could not but be sensible that the word יהוה was no relative word as Κύριος or Λόγος is; for though we can properly say, Κύριος μου, Κύριος, &c. i. e. my Lord, our Lord, &c. yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it: whereas *Elohim* and *Adonai* have, as *Elohai*, *Eloheini*, &c. for which reason, even *St. Jerom* chooses to render it by *Adonai*, in *Exod. vi. 3.* and *nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis*, where it is in the *Hebrew* וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לֹא יָדַעְתִּי לְדָם, but by my name *Jehovah* was I not known to them. Those versions therefore which have rendered that word by *Dominus*, as the *Vulgate*, or Λόγος, as our own, don't seem to have sufficiently attended to what we have just now observed; for יהוה not being a relative one, ought not to have been rendered by one that is so. The *French Geneva* translation has made use of a much better word to express it, viz. *L' Eternel*, the eternal Being; which name in the first place is not relative (for we cannot properly say, *Mon Eternel*, *votre Eternel*, &c.) and secondly, expresses the etymon of *Jehovah* far better than Κύριος, *Dominus*, or Λόγος, as we shall shew by and by. But secondly, it is very probable, that the *Septuagint* left this as well as some other names of God, such as *Jab*, *Sadai*, *Zabaoth*, &c. untranslated, 'till the second revision of that version; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the *Samaritan* characters (as being less understood by the rest of the world than the *Hebrew* or *Affyrian* ones were) or under the *Greek* capitals ΘΙΟΥ which bore a resemblance to the four letters of יהוה, and yet had a sound so different from it, that they would never lead the *Heathen* reader to the true pronunciation of it. *St. Jerom* (13), *Origen* (14), and *Eusebius* (15), assure us, that they had seen copies of the *Septuagint*, written in the two above mentioned ways, and that even in their time, the *Jews* chote to write that name as often as it occurred, in the old *Samaritan* letters; their

reason for which was, lest that venerable name should be used by the *Heathen* to ill purposes. Though *Origen* adds, that these precautions did not prove so effectual; but that they made use of it in their exorcisms, in their charms against diseases, and other superstitious rites (16). And *Clement of Alexandria* informs us (17), that those *Egyptians*, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the *Sun*, did wear the name *Jaou* about their middle. We find likewise, in some magick verses against the gout mentioned by *Trallian*, the names *Jai* or *Jaath*. Something like this we meet with in *Pythagoras's* golden verses, where there is an oath by *Tetragloss*, i. e. by him whose name is spelt with four letters (18); as also the inscription *Tu es*, in that famous frontispiece of the temple of *Delphos*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (19), which alludes to the *Hebrew* name of God. Such was also that of the *Egyptians*, I AM, written over one of theirs (20). *Cicero* gives an instance (21) of some names of the heathen gods, which they did not dare to pronounce, to which *Lucan* adds that the very naming of them would have shook the earth (22).

There remains, that we enquire into the signification of the name יהוה, in which we shall not find such a dissimilarity among expositors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For first, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root היה *bajah*, he has been, and denotes God's self-existence and eternal nature. Accordingly in this place we are annotating upon, he calls himself אֲשֶׁר אֵהְיֶה *Ehjeheh*, *Asher*, *Ehjeheh*, I am that I am, or rather I am because I am. Where the verb, though it be in the future, yet according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, is applicable to the present or perfect tense, and implies his immutability and his continuing the same that he has been, and is to all eternity (23). It is likewise more than probable that God chooses to express himself in the future tense, to shew that he is the only Being that can truly say, I shall or will be what I am, &c. (24). *Aretius* makes the two words *Ehjeheh* to be proper names (25); but it seems to be only in the first *Ehjeheh*, in the sense in which it is taken in the latter part of the verse. I am, *Ehjeheh*, has sent me, and the second *Ehjeheh* to be assigned as the cause of the first; namely, I am because I am (26). Neither was this name unknown to the wiser sort of heathens, as we have seen by some of their inscriptions, to which we shall add one more mentioned by *Egubinus*, written on the doors of the *Egyptian* temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of God, viz. *I am ubatsoever was, is, and shall be*. According to which *Thales of Miletum*, being asked what God was, replied, *that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end*. Thus *Plato* truly says (27), that nothing really exists but that which is immutable; for which, and some other of his wise sayings, he is supposed to have read *Moses's* books, or conversed with some of his disciples when he was in *Egypt*; which is not improbable,

(12) *Jerem. x. 11.* (13) *JEROM. præfat. in lib. Reg. & in Ezek. ix.* (14) *ORIG. Fragm. in palæograph. Græc. lib. ii. c. i.* (15) *EUSEB. in Chronic. ad an. 4740.* (16) *ORIG. cont. Celsum lib. i.* (17) *CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. lib. v.* (18) *VID. SELDEN. de Diis Syr. Synagog. ii. c. i.* (19) *EUSEB. præpar. lib. xi. c. x.* (20) *PLUTARCH. Tract. de his inscript. forib. Temp. Delph. cap. ii.* (21) *CIC. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.* (22) *LUCAN l. vi. v. 744. 745. Vid. CALMET. sub voc. Jehovah. VILLET. c. vi. in Exod. Vid. & GUSTAV. PERINGER. dissertat. de Tetragramm. Upsal. 1682.* (23) *GREG. NAZIANZ. Homil. in loc. S. AUGUST. in loc. Revel. i. 8.* (24) *SIMLER. VILLET. & al.* (25) *ARET. in loc.* (26) *SIMLER. JUN. PINED, MUNST. & al.* (27) *PLATO in Timæo.*

a needs no name to distinguish him\*. God therefore said to him I AM THAT I AM, and bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had sent him to them, that he was the God of their fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (V) and that he

\* Dyal. cont. Tryph.

ble, seeing *Aristobulus*, who flourished in the *Maccabees's* time, writes to *Ptolemy Philometor*, that *Moses's* books having been translated into Greek in *Alexander's* time, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had taken many things from them (28). Some divines, and in particular our learned *Ainsworth*, think that *Jehovah* is the participle of *hajah* in *piel*, and that it doth not only signify to be, but to cause to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewise his faithfulness and truth, are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and sure to make good his promises (29). Upon all these accounts therefore *Jehovah* is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of God, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all applied in any of these senses; whereas those of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, *Gibbor*, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

We shall not trouble our readers with all the mythical notions which cabbalists have raised from the letters that compose this awful name, nor with the preference they give to it, above all the other names of God, as being as it were, a Monarch upon his throne, and the others only as guards or officers under him (31); but conclude this note with a short enquiry why the word *Jehovah* is thought ineffable, not only by the *Jews*, but also by some Christians. First, *Genebrard* confidently affirms, it is neither a *Hebrew* nor Christian word or name; that it is neither received by the fathers, nor by the rabbies, nor ever known or used by *CHRIST* or his apostles. But to this it may be answered, that they all were forced to use the *Septuagint* version then in vogue, which every where translates that word by *Kyrie* or *Lord*, as has been already observed. Secondly, *Bellarmin* pretends, that because *St. Jerom* and *Origen* in his *Hexapla* after him read it *Adonai*, and that the vowel points are the same in both; therefore it ought to be read and pronounced *Adonai*, and not *Jehovah*. But had these gentlemen considered, that these two words are of different originals and significations, and written with different letters, that the one is relative, and the other not; that the one is communicable, and the other incommunicable; that the points or vowels, being almost universally acknowledged to be of human invention, can be of no authority here, and that their likeness, though not sameness, in both these names, was owing to a superstitious respect which the *Masorites* had for one of them; that *St. Jerom* might be too much influenced by his *Jewish* master, in this, as well as in many other cases; and that both he and *Origen* have not scrupled to pronounce it *Jao*, as we have hinted above; that their writing it by *Adonai* might be more owing to a superstitious fear, than to any judgment or conviction of the unlawfulness of pronouncing that name; and lastly, that they have no where said that it was ineffable; had they I say considered these things, they could never have fallen into that *Jewish* superstition. As for the general reason that is given on all hands by those of that side of the question, viz. that the

right pronunciation having been lost, whether during the captivity, or at any other time or place, it is unlawful to substitute any other instead of it, it may be safely answered, that the design of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind, of those things of which they are but types, the differences will be very small, whether the pronunciation be right or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much mistaken, whatever these gentlemen say, if in this case the pronouncing the word *Jehovah*, which conveys the most perfect idea we can have of the Godhead, let the pronunciation be never so wrong, is not much safer than their pronouncing it *Adonai*, which being a word of a vastly inferior signification, and applicable to every man that has any mastery or superiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore very liable to be uttered with less awe and respect. This is so true in fact, that one may observe those scrupulous gentlemen, especially among the *Jews*, who would be ready to swoon at the hearing of the name *Jehovah*, pronounce that of *Adonai*, though carrying the same idea, with less seeming reverence, than they would that of a king or lord-mayor; as for the name of God in any modern language, they pay it no more respect than to any common word. But by us Christians though all the names of God ought to be uttered with the utmost awe; yet this, if possible, with a greater, and we ought to be cautious not to use it without a warrantable occasion. And when we converse with *Jews*, or with such Christians as are against pronouncing of that name, if we make use of the word *Adonai* in compliance to them, it will be much better than to make them uneasy, or break off conversation by pronouncing it in our own way. The main text which terrifies the *Jews* against uttering this sacred name is that of *Leviticus* (32), where it is said, *he that blasphemeth* (which they read *nameth*) *the name of God, shall be stoned*: Where the word *נָקַב* *Nakab*, which in its primitive meaning signifies to pierce, and is therefore often used for writing, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the speaking it: For *Nakab* never signifies to utter, unless it be in a bad sense, as *curfing* or *blaspheming*; and therefore if the prohibition is to be stretched beyond that, it must be only against doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a lower degree of prophaning; but as they allow that the name may be lawfully writ, though the word *Nakab* do signify also to write; nay, since they allow that the high priest may, and doth actually use it in that publick blessing, which is prescribed by God himself (33), *Jehovah blefs thee and keep thee*, it is plain the prohibition is not against naming, but against blaspheming or using it with contempt or disdain, or to an ill purpose, as to curse our neighbours and the like; all which the verb *קָלַל* *Kallal* used in the foregoing part of this prohibition sufficiently shews (34).

(V) It is asked here why God calls himself so particularly the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,

(28) *Ap. PERRER. VILLET. & al.* (29) *SIMLER. OUTRAM. BURRATIUS. AINSWORTH. & al.*  
(30) *PERRER. JUN. MUNST. &c.* (31) *PERRER. & al.* (32) *Levit. xxiv. 16.* (33) *Numb.*  
*vi. 24.* (34) *SIMLER. VILLET. MUNST. & al. in loc. Vid. & GUSTAV. PERINGER. ubi sup.*

would

and to bring  
his people out  
of bondage.

would be remembered and acknowledged by that name throughout all generations <sup>a</sup> as their great redeemer and deliverer : Not, continued he, that *Pharaoh* will let you go at your first or second asking, nor indeed at all, 'till I have convinced him both of my justice and power, by the terrible punishment I shall send upon him and his land, for their oppression to my people ; neither shall the *Hebrews* come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel servitude ; for I will inspire the *Egyptians* with such sentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they shall part with their sumptuous raiments, and choicest jewels to them, and make them thus far amends for their past labours and hardships \* (X).

AFTER such ample assurances, one would hardly expect that *Moses* would have started any new difficulties, at least without receiving some severe rebuke <sup>b</sup> for it ; nevertheless, he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly dispelled ; he knew the temper of the *Israelites* too well, not to foresee that they would most likely call his mission in question. He therefore begged to be informed what he must do in such a case, and God was pleased to clear this doubt also by two miracles which he wrought in his presence. The first was by turning his rod into a frightful serpent, and then into a rod again. The second was by smiting

\* Exod. iii. p. tot.

*Jacob*, seeing he was the God of all the *Israelites*, as well as of those three : For first, it could not be upon the account of their sanctity, or excellent virtues, seeing *Abel*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*, whose God he likewise was, were at least as holy as they ; nor secondly, to hint unto *Moses* the mystery of the Trinity, as *Perrerus* imagines (1), because the word God is there thrice repeated ; for it is rather repeated four times ; viz. the God of thy father, that is, of *Amram*, the God of *Abraham*, and so on. It is more probable therefore, that they are particularly mentioned ; because it was to them that the promise of a numerous posterity, of their being strangers in *Egypt*, and brought out of it, of their inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and especially that of the MESSIAH, had been made.

And now we are upon the text, it will not be improper to enquire why our SAVIOUR chooses to alledge it against the *Sadduces*, rather than some others in the Old Testament, which do more fully prove the resurrection of the body ; to this it may be answered, that the objection, being made out of the *Pentateuch*, was more fitly answered by it, especially to the *Sadduces*, who as *St. Jerom* tells us (3), admitted of no other books of the old testament. The main question therefore will be, how these words, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* which seem at most to prove only the immortality of the soul, can be urged here to prove the resurrection of the body ? To which some ancient fathers answer (4), that these names being given to them, whilst they consisted of soul and body, and the former of them being here plainly affirmed to be living with God, it follows, that the latter cannot be dead, but asleep for a time, and that they will be re-united and live again, and both together enjoy the reward of their labour. Others say, that if the immortality of the soul be granted, the resurrection of the body must follow of consequence, by reason of the natural desire which the former has to the latter, without which it cannot be said to be perfectly happy ; that this induced *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other philosophers, who held the immortality of the soul, to provide her with a constant supply of bodies, either by remigration or returning into its own body again, or transmigra-

tion or passing into some other body (5). But the best solution seems to be that of *St. Jerom* (6), that the *Sadduces* believing neither the immortality of the soul, nor resurrection of the body, both which were received by all the rest of the *Jews*, the most effectual way to remove the ground of their error was, to prove by this text the being and living of the soul after death (7).

As to those places where God commands *Moses* to put off his shoes, and of *Moses* covering his face, we hope we need not acquaint the reader that they were both marks of reverence used then, and since by all the eastern nations. The first of these, viz. putting off the shoes, has a threefold signification in scripture ; viz. first, it was common and usual to put them off in token of mourning and grief, as *David* is said to have gone from *Jerusalem* barefoot, when he fled from *Abshalom* ; whilst his retinue went with their faces covered, in token of respect (8). Secondly, it signified the yielding of one's right to another, and is so prescribed in *Deuteronomy* (9), and practised by *Boaz* (10) ; the third was in token of respect and reverence, as appears by this command of God to *Moses*, and the reasons assigned for it ; viz. that the ground whereon he stood was holy, or sanctified by God's immediate presence.

(X) That some retaliation was due in strict justice from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great services they had done to them, is what can hardly be here denied ; however, we do not pretend here to answer all the objections which have been raised against this action. We think it sufficient to say, that the former were spoiled with the same justice for their unheard of oppression to the latter, as the *Canaanites*, and other nations were destroyed for their abominable wickedness. God indeed could alone appoint those punishments, and make use of what instruments he pleased to inflict them ; but since *Moses* gave sufficient proof of his being authorized by God, we cannot see where the injustice is in either case, nor the pretended ill tendency of such a precedent, since it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no case to be followed, unless it be incontestably enjoined by the same divine authority.

(1) PERRER. in loc. (2) *Matth. xxii. 31. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 37.* (3) *HIERON. in Job. xix. & alib.* (4) *IREN. lib. iv. cap. xi. CHRYSOST. in Mat. xxii. & al.* (5) *TH. AQUIN. cont. Gent. cap. lxxix.* (6) *HIERON. Com. in Mat. xxii.* (7) *CAJET. VILLET. & al.* (8) *2 Sam. xvi. 30.* (9) *Deut. xxv. 9.* (10) *Ruth. iv. 3.*



a one of his hands with leprosy, upon his pulling it out of his bosom, and then healing it again by the same way; adding moreover, that if the working of these two miracles, before the *Israelites*, did not give a sufficient sanction to his message, he should then have liberty to try the success of a third, by taking some water out of the *Nile* and spilling it upon the ground, which would immediately turn that river into blood<sup>1</sup>.

MOSES had still, he thought, one material objection to make; namely an impediment in his speech, which he said rendered him unfit to speak either before *Pharaoh* and his court, or even to the *Israelites*. He had probably raised many more, had not God removed this difficulty also by telling, that his brother *Aaron*,  
b who was now by his appointment to meet him, should be his interpreter both to *Pharaoh* and to the *Hebrews*, and commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey, and not spend any more time in raising new scruples and objections<sup>2</sup>. There was certainly something very surprising in this reluctance of *Moses*, as well as in the patience with which God heard him; yet when he found that he had removed all the obstacles which his diffidence had suggested to him, he could not forbear having recourse to prayers, earnestly begging of God, who certainly knew many among the *Hebrews* more fit for the work than himself, to make choice of some other to execute his command, and leave him to spend the remainder of his days in solitude and obscurity. Had *Moses* been less sincere, he  
c would hardly have recorded this extreme weakness of his, so little to his credit; and which nothing could excuse or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confession of it. Being therefore afraid, lest he should incur the divine displeasure by a further refusal, he made the best of his way towards *Midian*, resolved for the future to be as ready, as he had before been backward, to obey the divine command. *Moses begs to be excused.* *Obeys at last, and leaves Midian.*

WHETHER he acquainted *Jethro* with his commission, or, as he tells us<sup>3</sup>, only expressed a desire to go and visit his brethren in *Egypt*, he easily obtained his dismissal from him, and taking his wife *Ziphorah* (Y) and his two sons with him, the least of which, being too young to walk, he set upon an ass; with this  
d mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he began his journey towards *Egypt*.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. iv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 13 ad 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. v. 18.

(Y) This *Ziphorah*, having afterwards a squabble with her sister-in-law *Miriam*, in which *Aaron* took the latter's part, is by them called a *Cushite* or *Ethiopian* (11), though it is plain she was a *Midianite*, being one of *Jethro's* daughters. To reconcile which, some have affirmed that *Midian* was in the land of *Cush*, or at least very near it, from the words of the prophet (12), *I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction, and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble*. Others think that it was not *Ziphorah*, but *Tharbis* the *Ethiopian* princess, whom *Moses* is affirmed by *Josephus* to have married, and whom he would now have forsaken (13). But it seems more probable that *Cushite* was a term of reproach or contempt, as *Gipsy* is with us; and that they called her by that name with no other view. The words therefore might be properly rendered thus; and *Miriam* and *Aaron* reflected upon *Moses*, upon the score of his *Cushite*, because he had taken a *Cushite* to wife, there being nothing more frequent than such repetitions in the Old Testament. As for the reason of this quarrel, 'tis likely that *Ziphorah* had spoken, as they thought, too much in praise of her husband, upon the account of his having conversed so often with God, which made them reply, *has God spoken to him alone, has he not spoken to us also?* Upon this God called them to the tabernacle, sharply reprov'd *Miriam* and *Aaron*, and highly extoll'd *Moses's* merit, but not a word is mentioned about his wife.

(Z) Concerning this staff, from which *Ziphorah* is said to have had her name, the *Jews* tell us a wonderful story; viz. that it grew in *Jethro's* garden, was called *Zaphir*, and had the *Tetragrammaton* written upon it: that it had been created in paradise on the sixth day, and brought away by *Adam*, and had passed from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and from him to *Pharaoh*. That *Jethro* had been one of his mildest counsellors, and daily advised him to lighten the burthen of the *Israelites*, whilst *Balaam*, courtier like, pestered him with contrary councils: that being forced to fly the court, and retire into the land of *Midian*, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and stuck it in his garden, where it took such deep root, that no force could pluck it up. That *Moses* at his first coming having acquainted him with what happened to him in *Egypt*, *Jethro* caused him to be closely confined, intending to send him back to the king of *Egypt*. In the mean time *Ziphorah* being fallen in love with him, and having discovered her passion to her father, he consented that he should be set at liberty and marry her, if he could pluck up the *Zaphir* rod which grew in his garden, and at the same time issued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant should have his daughter in marriage. That immediately a great number of lusty men came and tried their strength in vain; for *Moses* proved the only man that could perform the feat, which he did with wonderful ease, by virtue of the name

(11) Numb. xii. 1.

(12) Habak. iii. 7.

(13) Hieron. PERRER. JUN. & al.



Aaron's children during his brother's absence.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

Moses smitten by the angel in the inn.

DURING *Moses's* retreat in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Elizabeth*,<sup>a</sup> the sister of *Naasson*, both descended from *Judab* by their father *Aminadab*, the son of *Ezron*. He had already had four sons by her, viz. *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Jibamar*<sup>1</sup>, the first of whom had likewise a son named *Phineas*, by a daughter of *Phutiel*<sup>2</sup>. This was the state of *Aaron's* family, when *God* commanded him to go to meet his brother<sup>3</sup>; but before he could reach to the mount of *God* (*Horeb*) a dreadful accident was like to have happened to *Moses*, the particular occasion and circumstances of which we are left to guess at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it, being but darkly expressed in the original, and having been misunderstood and mistranslated in most versions, and particularly our own, we shall venture to depart from it, where the original and the authority of those, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out, not forgetting to make our explication good by proper marginal notes.

*MOSES* was upon his first day's journey, as is probably supposed by the small distance between *Midian* and *Horeb*, where he afterwards met his brother; when *God* appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all those wonders which he had shewed him, before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand of him the dismissal of his people *Israel*, whom he calls here by way of excellency his first-born, assuring him that he would be with him, and that in case of an obstinate refusal, which he foresaw he would certainly meet with, he would slay all the first-born of *Egypt*. *Moses* was by this time got to the end of his first day's journey, and arrived at the inn, when *God* appeared to him again, but with an angry look, and struck him with a terrible disease (*A*). *Moses* doth not tell us,

<sup>1</sup> Exod. vi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. cap. iv. 27.

name of *God*, with the true pronunciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and so obtained *Jethro's* daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in *Egypt* (14). These absurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to shew into what monstrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plainest truths. Were those reverend gentlemen's heads as long as their beards, they could never think that such stories can be of any credit either to their great law-giver, or to the inventors of them. Neither have the *Arabians* been more sparing of their curious, though fabulous, conceits of *Jethro* and his rod. As for *Jethro*, he was, they say, the son of *Tafkir*, the son of *Midian*, whom they make the immediate son of *Ishmael* (15), though *Moses* mentions no *Midian* among the sons of that patriarch (16). They tell us that he made a present of this wonderful rod to his son-in-law: that he had the gift of prophecy, and was sent by *God* to preach the Unity of the Godhead to the *Midianites*, which, as *Mohammed* tells us (17), he confirmed to them by miracles, and that when he went up to the top of a mountain to pray, it lowered its head to receive him (18). Another of his commentators adds, that *Jethro* made it his chief business to reprove the *Midianites* for their horrid robberies, false weights and measures; but that those incorrigible wretches, instead of taking his wholesome counsels, threatened to drive him and his disciples out of the country; that *God*, provoked at their wickedness, sent the angel *Gabriel* to destroy them by an earthquake, in which none were saved but *Jethro* and his disciples, who went afterwards to meet his son-in-law in the wilderness, as we have it in the book of *Exodus* (19). They add, that the advice, which he gave to *Moses*

there, got him the name of preacher to the prophets (20).

(A) The reader may remember that we have already hinted something concerning this adventure, in the history of *Midian*<sup>4</sup>, but reserved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greatest part of commentators and expositors have supposed that *Moses* was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the case of many a meek man, and that she had conceived such an aversion to the ceremony of circumcision, that he had been forced for peace and quietness to neglect the performing it upon his youngest son, till the danger she saw her husband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctance and ill language, to perform the operation. We shall therefore endeavour to set this matter in a clearer light, and shew that they have quite mistaken the sense of the original, and that there was neither quarrel nor ill language in the case, but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum that the solemnity of it and their imminent danger could possibly require.

First then, as to the words, *the Lord met him at the inn and sought to slay him*, which the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and some other versions render (21) *the angel of the Lord*, &c. it is plain that they relate to *Moses*, and not to the child, as *Tertullian* thinks, because if it had been the latter, *Moses*, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This shews likewise that the words import no more than that *God* smote him with some grievous disease, which so disabled him from circumcising the child, that *Ziphorah* was forced to do it herself, though otherwise unfit. Those who are acquainted with the genius of the Hebrew tongue

(14) R. R. TANCHUM. MEHAR. & SCIP. SOAMBAT. L. ii. Arch. Vet. Test. (15) HERBLOT's Bibli. Orient. sub voc. SCHOAIB. p. 790. Vid. Gen. xxv. pass. (16) Ex lib. Arab. LEX TARIK. (17) KORAN ARAF. (18) Comment. in supradict. cap. (19) Exod. xviii. 1, & seq. (20) Vid. CALM. sub. voc. Jethro. \* Vid. sup. pag. 301. (21) PELICAN, JUN. & al.

a whether the divine anger was occasioned by his incumbering himself with a wife

tongue know, that the phrase here used signifies no more. Some ancient interpreters have indeed understood it in a different sense, some thinking that the angel appeared with a drawn sword ready to kill *Moses* (22). Others, among the *Jews*, telling us (23), that the vision was a monstrous large serpent which swallowed up *Moses's* body מרושו ועד חמילה from the head to (the place of) circumcision, where he stuck, by which she guessed at the cause of his danger, and having forthwith circumcised the child with the usual form of חתן רמים לי אתה (which words we mistranslate a bloody husband thou art to me); she observed with joy her husband spewed up again unhurt; upon which she began to exclaim in praise of circumcision, which she saw accompanied with such virtue. All that is worth observing from this *Jewish* comment is, that *Ziphorah* expressed no passion against her husband during the whole action, much less in the words she spoke, seeing they were part of a form used in circumcision, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, as for the cause of God's anger against *Moses*, St. *Austin* and some others (24) supposed it to have been, because he had taken his wife and children with him, the encumbrance of whom did not suit with the business he was sent about; for which reason, say they, he dismissed her as soon as he was delivered from his danger. But unless there had been some indication of God's forbidding it, it is plain it was his duty to take her and them with him, since man is to forsake all other relations to cleave to his wife (25). *Theodoret* thinks (26), that *Moses* was afraid to go on, for fear of *Pharaoh*, but that doth not appear, seeing he was on his journey thither. The true reason therefore seems to be the neglect of circumcising the child, since *Moses* was delivered from the danger as soon as *Ziphorah* had performed the ceremony (27).

Thirdly, it is not easy to guess how long, or why *Moses* deferred the circumcising of the child. Those who follow the *Jerusalem Targum*, which says that *Jethro* and *Ziphorah* took offence at it (28), seem to forget that *Jethro* was a *Midianite*, descended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*, and consequently that circumcision was most probably adopted by them, as it was by the *Ismaelites*, and all other descendants of that patriarch. Besides, what has led them into this notion, is their mistaking the words and action of *Ziphorah*, and thinking that there was a sharp dispute between *Moses* and her about it, which we shall presently shew not to have been the case. Some think that *Moses* did not suppose circumcision so necessary in a strange land, especially his children, being only *Israelites* by the father's side (29). But the most learned of the *Jews* rather think most probably, that the child was not above eight days old, if so much, and that *Moses*, being in haste to fulfil God's commands, would not stay to circumcise the child (30), lest he should be forced to wait 'till the wound was healed, which in that hot country and after a journey, might have took up too much of his time. For it is observed, that a fever generally follows on the second or third day after the operation, which must

therefore be removed, before the infant could be capable of continuing such a journey. Accordingly we shall find in the sequel, that this same reason is assigned for the *Israelites* refusing that ceremony, during their 40 years wandering in the wilderness; seeing their frequent journeyings and sudden decampments would have endangered the lives of as many children as were newly circumcised.

Fourthly, We come now to enquire into her behaviour and words after she had performed the ceremony, which have proved the main stumbling-block of most translations. For first they have understood it, that she flung the child's fore-skin at his (*Moses's*) feet, though the text doth not say whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet, and the words be so far from signifying flinging, especially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepice down in a decent or humble manner: For the literal sense is, she made it touch his feet. This has made *Lud. Brugensis* and some others think that she humbly laid it at the angel's feet, beseeching him that, for the sake of that circumcision-blood she had now drawn, her husband's life might be spared: And that her prayer having been heard, and she seeing *Moses* free from the danger, congratulated him and herself with the words in the text, which he renders, *thou art now become, as it were, a new husband or bridegroom to me by this child's blood* (31). But we are going to shew, that the words were neither spoken to *Moses* nor to the angel; but to the child. Only let it be observed here by the by, that is unreasonable to suppose, that she should fling the child's fore-skin in anger at her husband, who could not be blamed for the misfortune that had happened to him; much less likely is it, that she would have dared to have flung it at the angel, if any such had appeared to him at the inn; whereas, as we hinted before, the words do not imply an apparition, but *Moses* benignly smitten with a deadly disease.

Fifthly, as to the words, *A bloody husband art thou to me, &c.* one of our learned divines has fully proved them not to have been spoken to *Moses*, but to the child (32). He very judiciously observes, first, that the word חתן *Chatan*, which we translate husband, signifies only a bridegroom, and it is not likely that *Ziphorah* should call him by that name after having been married so long, and having had two children by him, that appellation ceasing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial solemnity were over. Another observation he makes is, that this word *Chatan* doth properly signify a son-in-law, and so expresses not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reason it never has any affixed pronoun, unless it be with relation to the latter. The same may likewise be said of the word כלה *Calah*, bride, or rather daughter-in-law; it being used only with relation to the husband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman כלתי *Calathi*, my daughter-in-law, but the bridegroom never calls her by that name to signify his bride; it being certain, that the *Hebrew* language has no word to express a bridegroom or bride, with respect to the relation they bear to one another. It would therefore have been nonsense in *Ziphorah* to have called him by the name of *Chatan*, which neither expressed an old nor a new husband; the question

(22) *THEODORET. in loc.* (23) *Ellefbemotb-rab. R. SAL. & al.* (24) *AUGUST. Serm. de temp.* (25) *Genes. ii. 24.* (26) *THEODORET. in loc.* (27) *D. KIMCHI RUPERT. TOSTAT. PERRER. MUNST. VILLET. & al.* (28) *Targ. Jerof. in loc.* (29) *JUN. SIMLER. PELICAN. PISCAT. & al.* (30) *FERR. & al.* (31) *ABEN. EZRA R. TANCHUM. MAIMON. & al.* (32) *LUD. BRUG. in loc. & in Oper. Criticor. Tom. ix.* (33) *JOS. MED. sermon on the words.*

Ziphorah  
circumcises  
her son, and  
Moses is re-  
joiced.

and two children when he was sent upon so glorious and important a message, or a because he had deferred to circumcise his youngest son, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaisance to his wife, who might fear lest such an operation should make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. Ziphorah however, taking it in the latter sense, made what haste she could to get a sharp stone, with which she cut off the child's prepuce, laying it at his feet, telling him at the same time, that *he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumcision*. The ceremony was no sooner over, but Moses was restored again, and able to pursue his journey towards mount Horeb, whilst his wife took the two children back to her father Jethro, resolving to wait there 'till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her husband.

Joins his brother at mount Horeb.

In the mean time Moses and Aaron met at the foot of mount Horeb, and after the first embraces of two brothers who had not seen, or perhaps heard from one another during the space of forty years, Moses acquainted him with the commission he had received from God, Aaron expressed a sensible joy at the news, and was so far from conceiving the least uneasiness to see his younger brother thus preferred before him, that he promised to be obedient in all things to the divine will. After this they continued their journey towards Egypt, and being happily arrived at the land of Goshen, their first care was to assemble the elders or heads of the Israelites and to impart to them the joyful news of their speedy deliverance; whilst Moses, to confirm their hesitating belief, failed not to work those miracles before them, by which God had commanded him to establish his credit and authority among them. These first essays were received with incredible joy by the whole assembly, every one of them bowing themselves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodness, which had at length taken pity of their miserable thralldom<sup>b</sup>. But this docile disposition lasted no longer than they thought their deliverance would cost nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon Moses and Aaron; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became so resty and desponding, that Moses found them as hard to be persuaded to embrace their freedom, as Pharaoh was to grant it to them (B).

Declares his commission to the Israelites.

Delivers his message to the king of the Egypt.

Moses and Aaron, however, did not delay to open their commission before the Egyptian king, but the preamble of it, *Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews*, sounded so strangely in his ears, unused to such an expression, and perhaps to the naming of any other God besides himself, that he could not forbear wondering at their boldness, telling them that he knew no such God, and that as to

<sup>b</sup> Excd. iv. p. tot.

question then will be, how it could be applied to the child? And herein the Hebrew doctors are best able to help us out, who tell us that it was the custom of the women to call the circumcised child *Chatan*, חתן, *קרא לבן כאשר ימול* (33). Kimchi says, that it signifies originally one that gives joy, and is therefore used to express the joy that attends a wedding or the circumcision of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the Arabians called the circumcised *Marbutun*, or one that is made a *Chatan*, in the same manner as we call a baptized child, christened. The words then, used by Ziphorah, ought to have been translated *thou art (now) to me a joyful circumcised son*. To which if we add the last observation of the same learned author, that that the word *Li*, which we translate *to me*, doth more properly signify here *by me*, as it doth in a great many other places of scripture, the sense will be still more plainly this; *thou art now by me made a circumcised child*, which was the form of words used in the circumcision, and might be more properly rendered, *I do pronounce thee circumcised*. Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally used in this form, not only to express the usual joy of a child's circumcision, but likewise his admission

into the alliance made by God with Abraham and his posterity, or his espousal with the church of God; in both which senses that word is very fitly applied; from which it is most probable, that it was at the child's feet that she laid the fore skin, when she spake the words above-mentioned. This is so far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. Mede, that we find several ancient versions expounding it after the very same manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any squabble between Moses and his wife, nor any indecency or ill language used by her.

(B) Some historians have ventured to give us the name of this Pharaoh. Apion calls him *Amasis* or *Amasis*; Eusebius, *Cbrencris*; but archbishop Usher thinks after Manetho, that it was *Amenophis* the son of *Rameses Miamun*, and father of *Sesbosis*, called also after his grand-father *Ramesis*. He is also of opinion, that this *Amenophis* is the same monarch whom the Greeks call *Belus* the father of *Egyptus* and *Danaus*, though the fable writers have confounded him with *Belus* the *Assyrian* and father of *Ninus* (36): The truth is, that we have so little light from history as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it<sup>c</sup>.

(33) *Idem ibid.*  
UssER. AN. p. 13.

(34) D. KIMCHI in Radic.  
\* *Vid. sup. p. 236. & seq.*

(35) *Chald. Septuagint &c. al.*

(36)

- a the *Israelites*, they should not find him so easy to part with them. This was indeed what they were bid to expect; nevertheless they ventured to tell him, that they knew that great God of whom they spoke, though he did not; and that he had charged them, that they should all go three days journey to celebrate a festival to him, and that if they should omit complying with his command, he would soon punish their disobedience, either by pestilence or by the sword. *Moses* could not expect that *Pharaoh* should concern himself about their danger upon that account; but he was not perhaps as yet commissioned to make use of more urgent motives. He was therefore dismissed with his brother *Aaron*, with a severe reprimand, for putting such idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them
- b from their work, bidding them to return to their own tasks, and they should soon know the success of this wise embassy. As this proved the beginning of that famous contest between *Moses*, or rather the God of *Israel* and the king of *Egypt*, so it did likewise the fatal source of new sorrows and complaints to the *Israelites*. For *Pharaoh* fearing their excessive numbers, and thinking, or at least pretending that *The Israelites* idleness and wantonness were the cause of this rambling fit of religion; ordered *burthens increased*. their task-masters to harden their work still more, and instead of giving them straw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, since they had such an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themselves stubble instead of it, without diminishing one tittle of their work. This was indeed expecting impossibilities from them, but their merciless task-masters, not regarding it, failed not to punish their overseers, whenever they found them come short of their appointed task. These therefore, not thinking perhaps that *Pharaoh* could be the author of such a cruel and unreasonable order, went in a body to make their grievances known to him; but he, instead of minding their piteous complaints, only accused them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and dismissed them with the utmost unconcern. They were scarce got out of *Pharaoh's* palace before *Moses* and *Aaron* met them, probably to enquire of their success; but if they had not read it in their dejected looks, they could not fail of hearing of it, for the poor overseers had no sooner cast their eyes on them, but they began to inveigh
- d against them in the bitterest terms, as the authors of this new addition of misery, which could terminate in nothing but death and despair. It would have been in vain for *Moses* to have offered any thing either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more advisable to apply himself to God, and in the humblest terms to expostulate with him for the ill success of this first message.

- Moses had no sooner made an end of his complaint, but God gave him fresh assurances of his love and compassion for his groaning people. He bid *Moses is bid* him go to them, and assure them from him, that he would speedily let all *Egypt* to go again see that he was their God, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that *to Pharaoh*.
- c land which he had promised to their fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared and been known heretofore by the name of *El Shaddai*, God Almighty or All-sufficient, though never 'till now by his great name *Jehovah* (C). But, continued he, I will signalize their deliverance, by such tokens of my justice on that obstinate monarch and his cruel people, that they shall be forced at last to acknowledge the divine hand that smiteth them, and dismiss my people, though ever so much against their will. This was more than enough to give a new life to *Moses*,

<sup>c</sup> Exod. v. p. tot.

(C) Those who conclude from this passage, that the name *Jehovah* (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or lastly the true pronunciation of it (39), had been unknown to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, &c. and that *Moses* used it by way of anticipation, and spoke according to the time in which he wrote, when God had made it fully known to his people, seem to forget that *Abraham* called the mountain, on which he went to sacrifice his son, *Jehovah jired*. However, it must be owned, that there is a great obscurity in the words of *Moses*, out of which many *Hebrew* and *Christian* commentators † have en-

deavoured to bring out some mysteries, which we should be loath to vend after them. The most natural exposition is that which renders the *Hebrew* word *Shem* by character instead of name, and then the sense will be this; In my character of *El Shaddai* or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my all-sufficient power for the fulfilling my promises to them; but now I'll be known by the character of *Jehovah*, or performer of those promises (40). *Vid.* our notes under the word *Jehovah*, pag. 484. not. T.

(37) KIMCHI, ABENEZRA, OLEASTER, &c. (38) PAUL. BURG. RUPERT. LYRA. CA-  
JE. AN. TOSTAT. (39) OLEAST. GLOSS. BERRUYER, &c. † *Vid.* MAIMON. *Mora Novech*.  
*Petirath Moshe cum not.* Gualmin. &c. al. GERARD de nat. Dei. § 23. SIXT. SINENS. *Biblist.* GEIER  
de lucif. Hæbr. &c. al. (40) SIMLER, JUNIUS, AINSWORTH, &c. al.

though all too little and insufficient to administer the least comfort to his unhappy people, who, sinking under the weight of their oppression, did hardly give an ear to what he said to them. *Moses* was going away from them, grieved at his heart to behold their misery and despair, when God commanded him to go immediately to *Pharaoh*, and to renew his demand in his name, not to detain his people any longer at his peril. But *Moses* was so disheartened at his ill success, that he could not forbear shewing an excessive reluctance to obey. Alas, said he, if my words can find so little credit with thy own people, how can I expect that they will be regarded by that haughty monarch, especially considering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them. To which God was pleased to answer, behold *Moses* I give thee a miraculous, divine power, over *Pharaoh*, and thy brother shall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him. And though I suffer his heart to continue hardened (D) 'till thou hast wrought all the miracles I have charged thee with ; yet be assured, that I will bring *Israel* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, and the *Egyptians* shall know that I am the LORD. *Pharaoh*, indeed, will not consent 'till he is forced to it. For since he refused to acknowledge me, and hardeneth himself against my commands, it is but just I should so far forsake him, that though my wonders are multiplied before him, and the whole land is astonished at them, he alone shall continue obdurate and insensible of them. Go then, let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at least, that your message is from a greater and more powerful monarch than he<sup>4</sup>. *Moses* and *Aaron* did forthwith obey, and, having presented themselves before *Pharaoh*, confirmed their message by the first miracle, and *Moses* threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a serpent. *Pharaoh*, though somewhat surprized at it, yet failed not to try what his magicians could do, who were no sooner come but their rods were likewise turned into serpents, so that all the superiority which *Moses* shewed over them at this time was, that whilst the king and court were applauding their skill, his rod swallowed up those of the *Egyptians* (E). However,

First Miracle.  
Moses's rod  
turned into a  
serpent.  
The Magicians  
do the  
same by  
theirs.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. vi. p. tot.

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almost all other versions, which seem to make God the chief hardener of *Pharaoh's* heart, that he might inflict the more severe punishments on him. A notion which, however embraced by the Predestinarians, seems so shocking to reason, that one would sooner choose to say with the fool there is no God, than to believe him capable of such manifest injustice. We shall have occasion to resume this subject in the sequel of this history, upon another occasion, and to shew, that the *Jews* have been the first breachers of this monstrous doctrine, and by their versions and paraphrases have led the way to others to render these and many other texts of the old testament, in a sense in which neither the original, nor the whole tenour of scripture, nor the notion of a Deity, nor even the context in this particular case could bear them out. For who can deny, but what God did to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, was much more proper to soften than to harden their hearts, especially if we consider that it was not 'till after seeing the miracles, and after the ceasing of the plagues that his heart is said to be hardened? we think ourselves therefore obliged to do justice to those learned criticks, who have been at the pains of clearing the scriptures from charging the great judge of heaven and earth with such foul injustice, by proving, even against the *Jews*, that the verbs here used are in the conjugations *Piel* and *Hiphil*, as they are called by the grammarians, and signify often a bare permission, of which they have given us

very many unquestionable instances, which we shall not trouble our reader with here, seeing he may consult the authors themselves, whose names he will find in the margin (41). From all these, and many more, authorities, it is plain that the words ought to have been translated, as we have, that God suffered the heart of *Pharaoh* to be hardened, as all those who are but ever so little versed in the Hebrew will readily own. As for those places where it is said, for this cause have I set thee up, that I might shew my power, &c. they should more properly have been rendered ; for this cause have I suffered thee to subsist or to stand, &c. that is, I have forbore to cut thee off, or spared thee from the common ruin, &c. which bear quite another sense, and only shew, that though he had long ago deserved to be destroyed, yet God thought fit to let him subsist, 'till he had, by his many wonders, delivered his people in spite of all his opposition.

(E) The *Talmud* has preserved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the *Egyptians* flouted *Moses*, when he began to work his miracles among them ; thou bringest straw to Affra, a place in *Egypt* where straw abounded ; meaning that he had mistaken the place when he came to play tricks in a country that was so well stocked with conjurers. *Origen* says, that they (the *Egyptians*) did not absolutely deny the miracles of *Moses*, but only pretended that they were done by some fascination rather than by a divine power (1). And *Philo* introduces the *Egyptian* magicians speaking to *Pharaoh* and his court to this

(41) ARR. MONTAN. de Idiom. Hebr. N. 42. PINED. Can. Theol. Cent. 2. GERHARD de Provid. CALOV. & RUNC. in Exod. HUNNIN. qu. de Provid. 57, 91. MEITZER. disp. Gieff. Tom. p. 745. MESNER Anthropol. dec. 1. PFEIFER dubia V. T. Cent. 1. l. 87. PELLING & WHITBY against Predest. LECLERC in loc. GROT. LE SCENE Essay & al.

(1) ORIG. cont. Cels. lib. iii.



a this advantage made no great impresson on *Pharaoh*, who might attribute it only

this purpose; *why are you frightened, we are not ignorant of such things, seeing we profess the same ourselves* (2)?

And here since we are entering into a long scene of *Moses's* miracles, the greatest part of which were imitated by the magicians of *Pharaoh*, it will not be amiss to enquire who the latter were, by what power they did perform those wonders, and why they came short of some of those of *Moses*. As to the first, we promised in a former place to prove that they were *Jannes* and *Jambres* \* mentioned by *St. Paul* to have withstood *Moses*, (3), or as *Pliny* calls them *Janne*, and *Jotapha* (4), when speaking of the sect of the magicians, he says, that *Moses*, *Jannes*, and *Jotapha*, were the heads and founders of it. They are celebrated in the *Talmud* † under the names of יוחנני ומרי *Jochani* and *Mamri*. The targum of *Jonathan* (5) affirms them to have been *Balaam's* sons, and that they went along with him to *Baalac* king of *Moab*. Some *Jewish* authors call them *Janes* and *Jambres*, others *Jochanan* and *Mamre*, and others *Jonah* and *Jombres* (6), and pretend that they were drowned in the red-sea with the *Egyptians*, though others think that they were not destroyed 'till the war which *Phineas* waged against the *Midianites* (7). The apocryphal book entituled *Jannes* and *Mambres*, quoted by *Origen* (8), and by *Hilary* the deacon (9), affirm them to have been two brothers; and *Numerius* quoted by *Eusebius* (10) gives us this account of them: "*Jannes* and *Jambres*, interpreters of the mysteries of *Egypt*, were in great repute, at the time when the *Hebrews* were driven out of *Egypt*, being in the opinion of all men inferior to none in the art of magick. For by the general voice of the *Egyptians*, they two were chosen to oppose *Moses* ring-leader of the *Jews*, whose prayers were of all others the most prevalent with *God*; and they only were able to frustrate and undo all those most grievous plagues which *Moses* brought upon *Egypt*, in the open view and sight of all the *Egyptians*." Thus much for the names and characters of those magicians.

The *Mohammedans*, however, have not failed, according to custom, to stuff this part of *Moses's* history with some of their fables. We shall just give a short sketch of what they have writ of it. They tell us, that *Moses* having wrought some miracles before the king of *Egypt*, and very much surpris'd him with them, he was advised by his council to amuse him with fair hopes 'till he had sent for some of the most expert magicians from *Thebaide*. Accordingly *Sabour* and *Gadour*, two brothers renowned for their magick skill, were sent for; but before they repaired to *Pharaoh's* court, they went to consult the *Manes* of their father about the success of their journey, acquainting him withal, that the two magicians whom they were sent to oppose had a rod which they turned into a serpent, and devoured all that made head against it. Their father's ghost answered, that

if that rod turned itself into a serpent, whilst they were asleep, they must never expect to prevail against them. Upon their arrival at *Memphis*, their first care was to inform themselves about this material circumstance, and found that their rod did guard them in the shape of a serpent, whilst they slept, and let none come near them. However, this did not discourage them from appearing before *Pharaoh*, at the head of his other magicians, to the number, as some make it, of 70,000. Besides these, there were two other excellent ones with their disciples, and lastly, the *Egyptian* high-priest at the head of all the magicians of that country. All these had prepared rods, and cords filled with quick-silver, which, being heated by the sun, imitated the winding of a serpent, but they were soon destroyed by that of *Moses*, to the great surprize of all the beholders, but especially of *Sabour* and *Gadour*, who thereupon renounc'd their profession and embraced *Moses's* religion, and were put to death for it by order of the *Egyptian* king, as holding secret correspondence with the *Jewish* law-giver (11).

From this account it is plain that the *Mohammedans* looked upon the wonders wrought by the *Egyptians* rather as a *leger-de-main* tricks, than supernatural works. However, though this opinion has been likewise maintained by several eminent persons both *Jews* and *Christians* (12); yet that of *St. Austin* (13), that they were done by the power of the devil, has been more universally received, and that for the two following reasons; first, because the scriptures of the old and new testament seem to attribute some such power to evil spirits; and secondly, because *Moses* expresses himself in such terms as manifestly shew that they really imitated him in all those wonders they wrought. For in this case of their rods being turned into serpents, he doth not say, that they made them appear to be such by a *deceptio visus*; but that ישריכו איש מסהו ויהי לתנינא *they slung down every man his rod, and that they became serpents*. And in all the other cases wherein they imitated him, he expresses it thus; ויעשו גם הם and *the magicians did so likewise*; or, and the magicians, even they, did so likewise. If it be asked why *God* did suffer them to borrow this power from the devil, to invalidate, if possible, those miracles which his servant wrought by his divine power, the following reasons may be given for it, namely, first, it was necessary that these magicians should be suffered to exert the utmost of their power against *Moses*, in order to clear him from the imputation of magick or forcery; for as the notion of such an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the *Egyptians*, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this strenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* would have been apter to have attributed all his miracles to his skill in magick, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was necessary in order

(2) PHIL. in vit. Mos. vid. WARREN cont. BURNET, p. 40. \* Vid. sup. p. 220 e. (3) 2 Tim. iii. 8. (4) Lib. xxx. c. 1. † Targ. מנחות cap. ix. (5) Targ. in Numb. xxii. 22. (6) BUXTORP. Lexic. Talmud. FABRIC. de Apocr. Vet. Test. (7) Numb. xxv. 17, 18. (8) ORIG. in Matth. Targ. xxxv. (9) AMBROSIAST. in 2 Tim. iii. 8. (10) In ARISTOT. ap. EUSEB. præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. viii. (11) HERBELOT. Bibliot. Orient. p. 648, & seq. MONOSAH ap. CALMET. sub voc. JANNES. (12) JOS. Ant. lib. ii. c. xiii. JUSTIN. MART. quæst. Orthod. xvi. TERTUL. lib. de animâ. GREG. NYSSEN. AMBROS. HIERON. cont. Jovin. lib. ii. & al. (13) AUGUST. lib. xxxviii. quæst. 79, 98, & lib. iii. de Trinitate cap. vii. THEODORET. in Exod. lib. xviii. AQUIN. TOSTAT. LYRA. BURG. CAJET. USSER. sub. An. M. 2513.



Second Miracle, the waters turned into blood.

to his superior skill in magick. This miracle therefore was soon followed by another, which was turning all the running and standing waters of *Egypt* into blood; so that there was not a drop of water left in the whole land for the *Egyptians* to drink: How long they continued so *Moses* has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the last verse of this chapter, that seven days were compleated after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the space between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For as the division of the bible into chapters was of later invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the last verse of the seventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And seven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the LORD spake, and so on,* which is the same as if he had said, and seven days after the turning of the waters into blood, God spake to *Moses*. However, this change continued long enough to kill all the fish, and to oblige the *Egyptians* to dig round about the river for fresh water to drink, none of the rest being fit for that or any other use. This miracle was likewise imitated by the magicians, but whether upon sea-water brought on purpose, or some fresh water fetched from the land of *Goshen*, or some of that which they had drawn out of their new digged wells, is not easy to guess; though it is more probable that they staid 'till the waters of the *Nile* and other places were restored to their former colour and taste. However that be, *Pharaoh* was not one jot the nearer being convinced; wherefore *Moses* was again sent to him to threaten him, that if he did not let *Israel* go, his whole kingdom should be so filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds and tables should swarm with them; but *Pharaoh* still despising their threats, and bidding them defiance, was soon made sensible of his rashness. His magicians, indeed, went on to persuade him that *Moses* was only such another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating also this miracle, and bringing a fresh swarm of frogs. They might indeed have shewed their skill to a better purpose, if they had tried to have removed those insects, of which the *Egyptians* did not want this fresh supply, but it seems they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore *Pharaoh* was reduced to send for *Moses*, and to promise him that he would let *Israel* go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that plaguy vermin. Whether there was any sincerity in this promise, or whether it was only forced from him by the present calamity, *Moses* took him at his word, and desiring him to name the time, when he should rid the land of those creatures, did precisely perform his part; so that by the next day the time appointed by the king, there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilst his subjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their stench being like to breed an infection, *Pharaoh* was thinking how to elude his promise, not considering that he only made way for another plague.

Third miracle, of frogs.

Fourth miracle, of the lice.

For when *Moses* found himself baffled, he touched the dust with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or as some think into gnats, which small insect, they say, is more common, and their sting more tormenting in *Egypt* than any where else. But our version seems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of ancient and modern translations and expositors. These infected man and beast in such quantities, that one would have imagined that all the dust of *Egypt* had been turned into lice. *Pharaoh* sent for his magicians, and bid them try their skill in vain, for either their power proved too short, or was curtailed by a superior hand, so that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of God did plainly display itself in this miracle (F). However, *Pharaoh*, not

\* Exod. vii. p. tot.

† Chald. Targ. JOSEPH. ANT. l. ii. xiv. Rabin. fer omni. MONTAN. MUNSTER. VATABL. JUN. BOCHART. GAULMIN. vit Mos. & al. mult.

der to confirm the faith of the wavering and desponding *Israelites*, by making them see the difference between *Moses's* acting by the power of God, and the sorcerers by that of Satan. And lastly, in order to preserve them afterwards from being seduced by any false miracles from the true worship of God (14).

(F) What has been said under this head in the last note, will easily lead us to an answer to the next question, why the magicians could not go thorough-stitch with all the miracles of

*Moses*, and in particular in not being able to bring forth lice, when they had been able to bring swarms of frogs and other insects. For without having recourse to the common solution, that this was a creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, and for which we have no warrant from the text, which expressly calls them lice, it will be sufficient to say, that herein *Moses* shewed his superior power in tying their hands from working a miracle in all respects as easy

(14) RUPERT. PERRER. SIMLER. FERUS. VILLET. TRENEL. & al. in loc.

regarding

- a regarding their words, *Moses* and *Aaron* met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him that his obstinacy would only bring more and worse plagues upon him, the next of which would be such mixed swarms of flies as would darken the air; that God, however, would put a difference between his people and the *Egyptians*, and that there should none be found in all the land of *Goshen*, though the rest of the kingdom did swarm with them; adding, that the next day should bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning the air was filled with those insects, whose bite was so venomous and painful, that the mischief which they did to *Egypt* became intolerable\*, and forced the king to send for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to sacrifice to their God, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they answered, they could not comply with his command, without imminent danger of their lives, seeing they should be obliged to sacrifice such creatures as the *Egyptians* worshipped, who would therefore be ready to stone them, as guilty of the most horrid and abominable sacrilege. They therefore insisted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might safely perform their God's command. This answer, which gave the king just reason to suspect that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible nonplus. On the one hand he was very unwilling to hazard the losing the *Israelites*, and on the other the flies did such an incredible deal of harm, that he heard nothing but complaints on all sides. At length, being become more seemingly flexible, he promised that they should go, provided it was at no great distance from *Egypt*, and they promised him faithfully to return again in a little time, and, which was still more surprising, begged of them to pray for him. He could not indeed have chosen a more powerful or a more ready intercessor, had not the tokens of God's clemency, as well as those of his severity been equally lost upon him. However, *Moses* assured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the Lord for him, desiring him at the same time to remember his promise to them; but no sooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from the plague of those venomous insects, than the king drew on another by his obstinacy and breach of promise<sup>b</sup>.
- d THIS next judgment fell, according to *Moses's* word, on all the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greatest part of which died by the next day, whilst that of the *Israelites* remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boil which brake out upon man and beast, by *Aaron's* throwing a handful of the ashes of the furnace into the air. *Pharaoh*, according to custom, had recourse to his magicians, who being themselves smitten with the boils, and being perhaps afraid of something worse, dared not appear before *Moses*. Notwithstanding this, *Pharaoh* continued obstinate, and chose rather to endure the smart of his boils, than the loss of *Israel*. However, it was not long before *Moses* was sent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the God of *Israel* should be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in such dreadful storms of hail, as had not been known since the foundation of *Egypt*. He advised him likewise not to exalt himself against the *Israelites*, seeing their God hath hitherto preserved him from ruin, only to convince him of his almighty power by all the signs and wonders, and to persuade him to confess and adore him, and prevent thereby the future effects of his wrath; for, added he, if all these judgments will not humble thee, know that God has a great many in store against thee, which shall force thee at last to submit, tho' never so much against thy will. He, who alone did set thee on the throne, might indeed have cut thee off from thy first refusal, but since he hath spared thee hitherto, remember it is either to force thee to glorify him by thy submission, or to be glorified by this and future ages, by the punishment which thy pride and obstinacy do force from him after so many gracious invitations and miraculous warnings (G). He gave him but that one day to consider of it, assuring him that the next day would prove a dismal one to the *Egyptians*, unless he resolved to dismiss the *Israelites*

*Fifth miracle, of swarms of flies.*

*Sixth miracle; the cattle of the Egyptians killed by murrain.*

*Seventh miracle, boils upon men and beasts.*

*Eighth miracle, hail, storms and thunders.*

\* Vid. Psal. lxxviii. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. viii. p. tot.

easy as any they had done 'till then. For this was more than sufficient to extort this confession from them, that he acted by a superior power, and that the finger of God was in it (15).

(G) This version, wherein we have departed from all others, and kept close to the original, the reader may see justified in a former note †.

(15) Exod. viii. 19. \* Vid. LESLEY's easy Method with the Deists. † Vid. supra, p. 194, Not. D.

before that time, between whom and the *Egyptians* God would put such a difference, a that the land of *Goshen* should be entirely free from the terrible punishment with which *Egypt* would be half undone. However, finding the king still too hardened and incredulous to prevent this new judgment, he forewarn'd him and his court to send for such cattle as they had left out in the fields, since all that was not under some strong shelter would certainly be killed by the hail. *Moses* was no sooner gone from him, but those, who gave credit to his words, sent to have their servants and cattle safely lodged, whilst the rest, lightly regarding it, left them to perish in the field. For no sooner had *Moses* lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning, but the thunders, lightnings, and hail followed one another so thick, that *Egypt* was half destroy'd by them. The hail that then fell was of such prodigious bigness, b that it killed man and beast, broke all the trees, and destroy'd all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye escaped, because they were not sufficiently grown, for the barley harvest in *Egypt* begins about the middle or latter end of *March*, whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin 'till six or seven weeks after. As for the land of *Goshen*, it was found, upon enquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

The great mischief done by it.

THESE thunders and lightnings, but especially the hail, which was the more extraordinary, because it seldom or never rains in that part of *Egypt*, so frightened the proud king, that he sent for *Moses* and *Aaron* out of hand, and express'd himself in such terms to them, as might have pass'd for sure tokens of a real conversion : he own'd c himself an obstinate sinner, justly punished for his disobedience, and begged that they would but deliver him from the noise of those dreadful thunders, after which he promised not to detain them one moment longer. *Moses* was too well acquainted with him by this time, to depend upon this promise, which he saw was only extorted from him by his present dread. He made no scruple to tell him so. However, he promised him to obtain a speedy cessation of them as soon as they were gone out, which he accordingly did, and gave the *Egyptians* an opportunity to examine the mischief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inspired many of them with a real fear of the God of *Israel* ; but made a quite different impression upon *Pharaoh* and his council, who no d sooner perceived that the storm was over, but they returned to their old way. *Moses* therefore was sent to signify to them what judgment they were to expect next, which was to be such an infinite number of locusts, as should cover the face of the earth, and eat up all that the hail had left undestroy'd. There were some about the king then, who took the liberty to represent to him the unconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received ; that *Egypt* was already destroy'd, and that it was high time the *Hebrews* were sent away to serve their God. *Pharaoh* was almost persuaded to let them go, but having sent for *Moses* and *Aaron* back, to enquire who of them were to go, and who were to stay, he was so highly provoked at their insisting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could e not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which though concealed with so much art, and cloak'd with the specious pretence of religion, and the service of God, yet did but too plainly shew that they had no design ever to return into *Egypt* again. He warn'd them of the danger they ran themselves into, and advised them to content themselves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind ; and, having threatened them severely, caused them to be turned out of doors.

Ninth miracle, of locusts.

*MOSES* was no sooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of *Egypt*. This was quickly followed by an east-wind, which blow'd all the night, and brought f such numerous swarms of locusts by the next morning as had never been seen before ; and these, spreading themselves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. *Pharaoh* did not fail to send for *Moses*, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more ; but having obtain'd it by means of a west-wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as inflexible as ever. This new provocation did not go long unpunished, and *Egypt* was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that *Moses* chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt \*. During the three days it lasted, the *Egyptians* did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their place, but continued fix'd and immoveable, as if they had been thunder-struck, whilst the land of *Goshen* enjoy'd its usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the g

Tenth miracle, great darkness during three days.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. ix. & x. p. tot.

\* Ibid. ver. 21.

- a common methods then used to supply the absence of the sun, caused such dreadful apprehensions in the king and all his subjects, and was so heightened by the dismal outcries of men, women, and children, that their consternation may be much easier imagined than described. However, it made so deep an impression upon them, that as soon as the light was restored to them, *Moses* and *Aaron* were immediately sent for, to prevent, if possible, some further and more terrible punishment. The king, according to custom, told them that he was willing to grant their request, and that they might go with their wives and children, but insisted that their flocks should be left behind. *Moses* after having represented to him the unreasonableness of such a demand, seeing they only knew that they were to offer up a solemn sacrifice to God, but were not yet acquainted what kind of beasts he would choose to have sacrificed to him; observing *Pharaoh's* unwillingness to consent, told him in express terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a single hoof should remain in *Egypt*. We need not to wonder if so proud a king, as *Pharaoh* was, could not hear so bold a demand without the highest resentment. He caused him to be thrust from his presence with the utmost indignation, threatening him that if he dared to come before him any more, it should certainly cost him his life. Such impotent threatenings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moses*; who therefore contented himself with saying *Amen* to his never seeing him more<sup>a</sup>. However, it is reasonably supposed, that it was in this last interview that he foretold the king the finishing stroke of the divine vengeance upon all the first-born of men and cattle throughout all *Egypt*, which should cause such a consternation among all his subjects, that they should come with bended knees to the *Israelites*, and beg of them in the most submissive terms to depart out of their country<sup>b</sup>; whilst God would still shew such regard to the latter, that they should enjoy their usual calmness and tranquility, not a dog daring to open his mouth against any of them. *Moses* had no sooner finished this last prediction, and promised him that, according to his word, he would see his face no more, than he retired to his people into the land of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* celebrated the passover that very night<sup>c</sup>, according to God's command. In this night also *Moses* reminded them to borrow what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could from their *Egyptian* neighbours, assuring them from God, that they should find them very willing and forward to accommodate them with the best things they had<sup>d</sup> (H).

<sup>a</sup> Exod. x. p. tot.<sup>b</sup> Exod. xi. 8 & seq. Vid. USSER. Annal. p. 14.<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. VILLET,

&amp; al.

<sup>d</sup> Exod. xi & xii. p. tot.

(H) Before we enter into the institution of the passover, which was attended with the last and most dreadful plague, the death of all the first-born, it will not be amiss to enquire how long a time *Moses* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, especially because some chronologists have spun it out to ten (16), and others to twelve months (17). But besides, that their reasons are very jejune, and unwarranted by scripture, it is more likely that they happened all within the space of one month; first, because their following so closely one upon another would both more visibly display the power of God, and more effectually work upon *Pharaoh* to dismiss the *Israelites*; and this seems to be hinted at by *Moses* in a former chapter (18). 2. These plagues were so grievous that if they had lasted much longer the *Egyptians* must have been undone by them; but, 3. we read that the *Israelites* continued full forty years in the wilderness (19), that *Moses* was eighty years old before he appeared the first time before *Pharaoh* (20) and that he was 120 years old when he died, that is, at the end of their forty years travel (21), so that there could not be much time spent in bringing all these plagues. However, archbishop *Usher* has included them all within the space of one month, from *Moses's* own account, as follows (22).

About the 18th day of the sixth month, which in

the year following, and thence forward, was reckoned the twelfth month; was sent the plague of turning the waters into blood, which ended seven days after (23). About the twenty-fifth day came on the second plague of the frogs, which was removed the day following (24), and about the twenty-seventh day came on the third plague of lice (25).

About the 28th day *Moses* threaten'd them with a fourth plague, viz. a mixture of flies, and other vermin, which came on the 29th day, and were all taken away on the 30th (26).

About the first day of the next month, which was afterwards made the first month of the year, *Moses* having forewarned them of another plague to come, the murrain upon the cattle, brought it upon them the day following (27). About the 3d day the sixth plague of boils brake out upon man and beasts, and upon the magicians (28).

About the 4th day *Moses* foretold them a seventh plague, which he brought upon them on the 5th; which was that of thunder, rain, and grievous hail mix'd with fire, with which their flax and barley were smitten (29), but their wheat and rye remained unhurt, not being yet out of the ground. Whence a judicious author † rightly observes, that this plague happened in the month *Abif*.

About the 7th day *Moses* threaten'd them with an eighth plague, and accordingly sent it the day following; this was that of the locusts to devour

(16) BOORN. ap. VILLET. (17) *Judei fere omnes*. Vid. USSER. An. p. 13. GENEBRARD, & al. (18) Exod. vi. 1. (19) *Josb. v. 6*. (20) Exod. vii. 7. (21) *Dent. xxxiv. 7*. (22) *Annal. p. 14*. Vid. etiam PERRER. & VILLET. in loc. (23) Exod. vii. 25. (24) *ib. viii. 10*. (25) *ib. ix. 17*. (26) *ib. v. 24* & 29. (27) Exod. ix. 3, 5, 6. (28) *ib. v. 8*, & seq. (29) *ib. v. 18 ad 32*. † N. FULLER *Misael. l. 3. p. 389*.

*Its first institution.*

*The order and manner of it.*

*Unleavened bread.*

*The Israelites obey, and kill the passover.*

HOWEVER, it must be observed that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been prescrib'd by God to *Moses*, and by him communicated to the *Israelites*, during the time in which these transactions pass'd between him and the king of *Egypt*, though they are postpon'd to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking the series of those wonders which God had wrought by him. The account, which he has given us of this institution, is prefaced with a command from God, that that month, which was then the sixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, should from thenceforth be the first month in the year in the sacred calendar (K); and that all the other feasts of the year, which were afterwards to be instituted, should be regulated by that of the passover, the celebration of which was to be as follows. Upon the 10th of the month, which was four days before *Moses's* last message to *Pharaoh*, every master of a family was to take a lamb or a kid, of the first year, a male without blemish, and keep it 'till the 14th of the same month. And in case his family was too small for the lamb, he was to call in one or more families to the eating of it. It was to be kill'd and roasted on the 14th day at evening, and eat with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; at the eating of it they were to stand with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand. They were to eat it in haste, as people who are ready and impatient to be gone. The head and the feet were not to be sever'd from it, nor a bone of it to be broken: if any of it was left, it was not to be kept 'till the next day, though the eating of unleaven'd bread was to last seven days, but it was to be thrown into the fire and consumed bones and all. This injunction about the passover was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to save the blood of the lamb in a basin, and sprinkle the two side-posts and cross-post of their doors with it, that the destroying angel might leave their houses untouch'd when he pass'd by to destroy the first-born of *Egypt*, and execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who in the language of scripture are often called gods, or those animals which that superstitious nation did worship. This blood upon their door-posts was to be their safe-guard, seeing all those, which were found unsprinkled with it, were to be liable to the common calamity, as well as those who should be caught stragling out of their houses during that whole night. In memory of that great deliverance, they were to keep this feast of unleavened bread seven days, that is, from the 14th day at even, until the 21st day at even; during which, whosoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an *Israelite* or a stranger, was to be cut off from *Israel*, that is, was either to be put to immediate death, or be cut off by the hand of providence; or lastly, be excommunicated, and thereby rescinded from all the promises made to the seed of *Abraham*. The first and last of these seven days were to be kept holy, and free from all manner of work. Lastly, no stranger was to be admitted to eat of the passover, unless he first consented to be circumcised. As for the *Israelites*, they were strictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to instruct their children in the meaning of this institution, that they might likewise perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

THE people, whom so many dire judgments on the *Egyptians* had render'd more tractable, received *Moses's* orders with the utmost respect; and, having paid their adoration to God, went to put themselves in readiness to execute them. These com-

your all the rest of the fruit, and which he removed about the 9th day (30).

The month *Abib*, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of *Egypt*; from the beginning of which month the *Epocha* of the *Jewish* calendar is from thence forward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month.

Upon the 10th day of the seventh, and now first month, which was the 30th of April according to the Julian calendar upon Thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover, and unleavened bread, the paschal lamb was then chosen and killed the fourth day after (33).

*Moses* now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkness (34); and upon the 14th day,

which was May the 4th, upon Monday with us, and was the last time he spoke with *Pharaoh*, *Moses* foretold him the tenth plague which should come upon him, namely, the destruction of all the first-born, which came to pass the night following, and then, turning him about in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the passover celebrated (36).

(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew* *Abib*, and had been 'till then the seventh month, and continued so to be in the secular year, because from that day forward the first month of the sacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37); and from the beginning of this month the *Epocha* of the *Jewish* or sacred calendar was from thence forward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(30) *Exod. x. 4 ad 19.*

(33) *Exod. xii. 3 ad 21.*

(36) *Ibid. xii. ad v. 28.*

*Vid. Uss. Ann. p. 14.*

(31) *Exod. xii. 2. & xiii. 4.*

(34) *Ibid. x. 21, & seq.*

(37) *Exod. xii. 2. with xiii. 4.*

(32) *Numb. ix. 1, 2. Coll. c. Exod. xl. 17.*

(35) *Ibid. v. 25 ad 29, & c. xi. 1, 4, 8.*

(38) *Numb. ix. 1, 2. with Exod. xl. 17.*



- a mands may be properly reduced to three heads, viz. First, to gather themselves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of *Goshen*; it being unreasonable to suppose that such a vast multitude, amounting to upwards of two millions and a half of souls, as we have elsewhere shewn \*, could be all contained in that little spot of ground; so that it required no small dispatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the *Egyptians*; and this required secrecy, since it is not probable that the *Egyptians* would have prov'd so generous, if they had suspected that this journey was any other than a religious one, that was to last but a few days. Thirdly, to eat the passover at the time, and with all the ceremonies that had been prescribed; and this was to
- b take up some time, four days at least. However, providence so ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the *Psalmist* tells us †, that, notwithstanding the great number of their old men, women and children, there was not one feeble person among all their tribes.

- THE night, which was to prove so joyful to them, and so fatal to their enemies, being come, and God's commands being punctually obeyed, whilst both sides were in the extremest tranquillity, the *Egyptians* thinking now all the plagues past, and *Pharaoh* flattering himself that *Moses's* threatening against the first-born had proved abortive, because four days were elapsed since it was denounced, whereas he used to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and on the
- c other hand the *Israelites* keeping themselves in the profoundest silence, knowing what horrid slaughter was to be made among the *Egyptians*; in the middle I say of that very night, God sent his destroying ministers, who suddenly dispersed them-  
The first-born of the Egyptians slain by the destroying angel.  
 selves all over the kingdom, and smote all the first-born with immediate death, from the first-born who sat on *Pharaoh's* throne, to the first-born of the imprisoned captive, and even to that of the meanest animal in the land. What tongue or pen can describe the horror and amazement, the dreadful outcries, and mournful groans of that unhappy nation, where every house, none excepted, had one or more dead, and, which was still worse, a first-born, the stay and hope of the family (L). How much more dismal must the proud monarch's condition be, who not only
- d shar'd in the common affliction, but saw his palace besieged by crowds of his unhappy subjects, who upbraided him with being the cause of all these dire calamities! The first expedient he could think of, was to send immediately for *Moses* and *Aaron*,  
Moses and Aaron sent for and ordered to depart.  
 who being settled at *Rameses*, not far from his capital city, were soon brought to him, and found the frightened king, instead of his usual threatening and upbraidings, urgent and pressing for their departure out of his dominions with their children, cattle, and all they had, and to have them go and sacrifice to their God, and implore his mercy for him in their prayers. The *Egyptians* likewise were no less impatient to see their backs, fearing lest every minute of their stay should prove the last of their own lives. The *Israelites* found them as ready to lend them the most va-
- e luable things they had, as themselves were to borrow them, and *Moses*, who was too well acquainted with *Pharaoh's* changeable temper to stay 'till he relaxed, made all the haste he could to get out of his reach, and having settled the best order he could among that vast multitude, and in the general confusion that then reign'd, he gave the signal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the *Egyptians* to mourn for their dead, and loaden with their spoils, they began their march under the conduct of providence, and of his servant *Moses*, being to the number of six hun-  
The number of the Israelites that went out of Egypt.  
 dred thousand men able to bear arms, besides old men, women and children, servants
- f first coming thither, to this very day, which was the same day of the same month

\* Vid. sup. p. 473. Not. B.

† Pl. cv. 36.

(L) This at least seems to have been the case, as well from *Moses's* own words, who tells us that there was not one house in which there was not one dead (39), as from his command to all the families of the *Israelites* to sprinkle their door-posts with the blood of the paschal lamb; but if it be asked how it can be supposed that every house had a first-born, we answer that the Hebrew בכור *Behor* being often used to imply some excellency in per-

sons who were not really first-born, as in *Ephraim*, it will be more reasonable to suppose that, where a family had no first-born, the principal person was smitten with death (40), than to suppose with some *Jews* and *Christians*, that *Moses's* words are only applicable to every house that had a first-born (41), or with *St. Austin*, that providence did so order it at this time, that every house had a first-born (42).

(39) *Exod. xii. 30.*

(40) CAJET. JUN. WILLET, & al. in loc.

(41) ABEN EZRA, HUG. S.

VICTOR.

(42) *Quest. 44. in Exod.*



and week, viz. *Monday*\*, the space of two hundred and fifteen years, though *Moses*'s<sup>a</sup> computing it, from the first coming of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, as has been already shewn\*. There was yet one main thing wanting, viz. the securing of a sufficient quantity of provisions for all that multitude, and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march, but the *Egyptians* drove them away with such desperate eagerness, that the people were forced to carry their paste with them unleavened, with which they baked themselves cakes upon the coals; and what other provision they could get, they took with them undressed, and marched from *Rameses*, *Moses*'s dwelling place, to their first encampment at *Succoth*†. *Josephus* tells us‡, that their dough and other victuals, which they carried from *Egypt*, lasted them a whole month; but it is not likely that they would load themselves with a whole month's provision, which in all probability they knew not how to preserve so long from stinking, when they had so much better things to carry out of the spoils of the *Egyptians*. As soon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moses* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewise the order in which they had been directed to march, and of which we shall give a fuller account in the sequel. It is to be observed here, that the distance from *Rameses* to the utmost borders of *Egypt*, on the side of the land of *Canaan*, was not much above threescore miles, so that *Moses* could in a few days march have brought them out of *Pharaoh*'s territories, yet God did so order it, that they were full forty years before they set their foot upon the borders of the promised land.

Their first encampment.

The first-born of Israel consecrated.

The law concerning it.

Joseph's bones carried out of Egypt.

WHILST they continued at *Succoth*, *Moses* was commanded by God to consecrate unto him all the first-born of men and beasts, as of right belonging to him. The first-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, namely, that of the sanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two shillings and six-pence; so that the whole sum amounted to about twelve shillings and six-pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the priests. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which God has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having spared the first-born of the *Israelites*, when he smote those of the *Egyptians*, which was as it were the seal and finishing stroke of his wonderful judgments on that tyrannic nation. This law, concerning the first-born of men, did not at all regard the women; for if the first-fruits of a marriage prov'd a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beasts, it extended only to the clean, the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an ass by a lamb, or to be killed and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reason of this law of redemption to their children and grand-children, that their posterity might never be at a loss to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the other cares which *Moses* and *Aaron* had, they did not forget to bring *Joseph*'s coffin and bones with them, pursuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The *Jews* tell us, they placed them in a new sumptuous cart, or open hearse, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* his two children‡. They likewise affirm, that every tribe did bring the bones of the heads of their family with them; but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature (M), and *Josephus* doth not seem to have remember'd any such an act of filial piety, or else he would in all probability have recorded it, yet *St. Stephen* seems to allude to some such tradition among them, when he said, that *Jacob* and the fathers went down and died in *Egypt*, and were car-

\* *USHER*'s Ann. p. 14.    \* Vid. *supra* p. 425. (K.)    \* *Exod.* xii. p. tot.    \* *Antiq.* lib. ii. c. 15.    † Vid. *Elle Shemoth Rabbab*. Sect. וְאֵת הַבְּרִיחַ & *Rabbim.* mult.

(M) We have already given an account out of the *Elle Shemoth Rabbab*, of the extraordinary care which the *Egyptians* took, by the advice of their magicians, to bury *Joseph*'s coffin, where the *Israelites* should never be able to come at it †. The same comment adds, that whilst these were taken up with spoiling the *Egyptians*, *Moses* had been three or four days seeking for it, and that at length, when he began to despair of finding it, an old woman, whom he met by the *Nile*'s side, told him that it was in the bottom of that river, near the place where they stood; but, that the

heavy coffin was sunk so deep by that time, that it would be absolutely impossible for him to fish it out. Whereupon *Moses* having addressed himself to God in a short prayer, and then called aloud to the patriarch *Joseph*, reminding him of his prophecy, and the oath which he had exacted from them about his bones, the coffin swam to the shore, and *Moses* having tied a rope round the middle of it, and put his staff through, threw it across his shoulder, and marched away to *Rameses* with it.

† Vid. *supra* p. 467. Not. W.

- a ried over into *Sychem*, and laid in the sepulchre which *Abraham* bought of the sons of *Emmor* \*. However that were, *Moses* had still another care, which was to settle the order of their march in so regular a method, that there might be no confusion or squabble among that vast and mix'd multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and stand in their own defence, in case of a pursuit (N), or of their meeting with any difficulty or obstruction from the nations through whose territories they were to pass. To prevent therefore these, or any other accidents which might make the people run resty, and take it into their heads to return to *Egypt*, God was pleased to forbid *Moses* to take the nearest way to the land of *Canaan*, which was through that of the *Philistines*, and ordered him to wheel about  
b along the coasts of the red-sea towards *Arabia-petrea*. He likewise made them march not like runaways in confusion and disorder, but like a regular army in battle-array, in which order they went from *Succoth* to *Etham*, towards *Arabia-deserta*, which is therefore called in the original the wilderness, near the borders of which *Etham* was situate, where they arrived on the second day after their departure out of *Egypt*. This rout *Moses* seems to have chosen, designing probably to get to mount *Sinai* by the point of the red-sea<sup>1</sup>; but God made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards *Pi-habiroth*, which lies between the red-sea and *Migdol* and *Baal-zephon* (O). And here God was pleased to shew his care for them in a new miraculous manner ;

Orders of their march.  
Second encampment.

\* Acts vii. 15, 16.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xiii. p. tot.

(N) The word, which our version renders *harnessed* in the text, and by *five in a rank* in the margin, is in the original חֲמִשָּׁה בְּרֶגֶל Chamushim, which cannot well be rendered literally in English, it signifying properly five or fifty, or disposed in a fifth order or manner, or in some way that has relation to the number five, and has puzzled most expositors, both Jewish and Christians. Some understanding it of their going חֲמִשָּׁה צֻרִים, or five in a rank (43), which would have made it such a defile in that numerous army, as would have taken up near an hundred miles in length, according to *Oleaster's* computation; others of their being armed with five different sorts of weapons (44); which is monstrous, since that were enough to have made them sink under the weight of them. Besides, it is not at all probable that the Egyptians would have suffered them to carry any arms with them, except what they took by stealth, and therefore the vulgar version, which translates it *armed*, cannot be maintained, much less that of the septuagint, which renders it by חֲמִשָּׁה יָמִים, the fifth generation, it neither being agreeable to the Hebrew, nor indeed true in fact. Those who render it that they marched in five columns, four of which consisted of three tribes, whilst *Moses* and the elders marched in the fifth, and in the center of all the rest (45), are still more out of the way, the thing being impracticable in those mountainous parts. As for those who translate it in battle array (46) they must confine the word to the six hundred thousand fighting men, for as for the women, children, and mix'd multitude that went with them, which was at least three times as numerous, they cannot be supposed to have marched in that regular military way. The best reading therefore seems to be that of *Kimebi* and *Pagninus*, that they went accincti, girded or trussed up. The word *Chamushim* being most likely derived from *elemesh*, the fifth rib, which is the place of girding, and is often used in that sense. But be the meaning of the word what it will, it is certain from *Moses's* account that their march was more

like that of a disciplined army, than that of a band of fugitive slaves.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all these places. As for the *Succoth* here mentioned, we must not confound it with that which *Jacob* called by that name when he came out of *Mesopotamia* (47), tho' the former may have been so called in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the *Israelites* set up there. *Josephus* calls it *Latopolis*, where he says *Babylon* was afterwards built, when *Cambyfes* invaded *Egypt* (48). It is thought by many to be that region which was called *Trogloditis*, by the red-sea (49). As for *Rameses*, though there seems to be mention made of two, and they differently pointed, yet if they differ at all, it is only that the one was a province and the other the chief city of it (50). *Etham* is supposed to be *Buthe* of *Herodotus*. And *Pi-habiroth*, the city of *Heron* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis* placed by *Strabo* (51) near the same place. All that we know of *Migdol* is only that it signifies a tower, *Baal-zephon* seems wholly unknown to the ancient geographers. The Jewish Rabbies, and after them *Grotius*, believe it to have been an idol set up to guard the confines of *Egypt*. The former add, that it was a brazen dog, and that it discovered the flight of the *Israelites* by its barking. The truth is, they are too apt to give into etymologies, though they are known to be the most uncertain and fallacious helps; for according to them *Baal-zephon* signifies either the Hidden Lord, the Northern Lord, the Centinel Lord, or in a more figurative way, the Lord, or keeper of secrets. But who can depend upon such wild fancies? *Eusebius* takes it, not for a statue, but a town, and places it (52) near *Chysma*, though *St. Jerom* has omitted it in his translation. It stood, according to him, on the most northern point of the red-sea, where the ancients, especially the Jews, think the *Israelites* passed it, and where there stands to this day a Christian monastery (53).

(43) THEODORE. A. MONTAN. & al.

(44) Rabbin. aliquot ap. MUNST in loc.

(45) R. AB.

SEPHARAD.

(46) JUN. SIMLER, & al.

(47) Gen. xxxiii. 17.

(48) Ant. lib. ii. 15.

(49) Vid. SIMLER, WILLET.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) Lib. xiv. ap. CALM. Dissert. in loc. & WIL-

LET in loc. (52) Loc. Hebr.

(53) Vid. CALM. Hist. V. T. Comm. in Exod. xiv. & Dissert.

on the passage of the red-sea. RADZIVIL RHELAND & al.

The mirac-  
ulous pillar of  
fire and  
smoke.

They are led  
by the mira-  
culous pillar.

GOD makes  
them wheel  
about to-  
wards Pi-  
hahiroth.

Pharaoh pur-  
sues after,

and over-  
takes them.

Moses com-  
forts the de-  
spairing Isra-  
elites.

for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of *Moses* and *Aaron*, yet considering the untractableness of the people's temper, and how apt they would be to murmur against them at every supposed wrong step, he condescended to conduct them himself by a more visible way, namely, by a pillar of light in the night-season, and by a column of smoke in the day-time. This column of fire, which served to them instead of the light of the sun, as well as that of smoke, which directed them in the day-time, never forsook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderness; but was their constant conductor throughout their forty-two encampments, and directed them when and whither to march, according as they saw it move before them, or when and where to halt when they perceived it to stop. But whether it was given to them at their first, second, or third march, at *Succoth* or *Etham*, is not easy to guess at by the text.

It was natural for them, as we hinted before, to have gone from *Etham* round the cape of the red-sea, and marching a-cross the wilderness, to have gained the east-border of *Jordan*, and so to have reached to mount *Sinai*; and this seems to have been what *Moses* aimed at, probably with an intention to have offered up some sacrifices there, agreeably to what God had formerly told him, when he was sending him into *Egypt*; but God, who knew what was transacting at *Pharaoh's* court, and what measures that monarch, and his no less infatuated subjects, were taking to pursue, and bring them back by main force, commanded them to wheel about, and to march from *Etham* towards *Pi-hahiroth*; which is between the sea and *Migdol*, over-against *Baalzephon*; and to encamp before it. For by this time the *Egyptians* began to repent of their too great easiness in parting with the *Israelites*, and losing the benefit of their servitude, and in hopes that they might easily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a considerable army, together with six hundred of their choicest chariots, besides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and a vast multitude of officers and soldiers, who were all in full march after them. *Moses* has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but *Josephus* who seldom fails to improve the text, whenever it makes for the honour of his nation, makes it amount to six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot<sup>a</sup>, and *Ezekiel*, the poet quoted by *Eusebius*, hath increased the whole to a million of men. But whatever the army was, *Pharaoh* put himself at the head of it, and led it with such speed, that he overtook them at *Pi-hahiroth*, and incamped there in full sight of the *Israelites*; but whether it were that his army was too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himself sure of them, there being no visible way for them to escape him, unless they flung themselves into the sea; or lastly, that providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; *Moses* assures us, that nothing hostile was undertaken against them that night. It is however most likely that seeing them hemmed as it were by sea on one hand, by impassable mountains, and his own army on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting, as they were of flying, *Pharaoh* might think it more advisable to force them to yield themselves prisoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might easily have done, since by the one he reduced them to their former slavery, but by the other he ran the risque of losing a considerable part of them.

On the other hand, the pusillanimous *Israelites*, inured to bondage, and strangers to the valuable blessings of freedom, could not behold the *Egyptian* army incamped so near, without the utmost consternation and dread; so that instead of having recourse to that mighty arm, that had so visibly stretched itself in their favour, they ran in a tumultuous manner to *Moses's* tent, and asked him, whether he thought that there were not graves enough in *Egypt*, seeing he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderness? and whether it would not have been much better for them to have continued under their *Egyptian* slavery, which how cruel soever, they had often told him, was preferable to the danger of falling into the hands of their cruel tyrants after such a flight, since it was plain now that they had nothing to expect but the most cruel death, in that dismal place. However, this ungrateful language, to which *Moses* had already been used, tho' nothing so much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger. He consider'd it as the effect of their extreme danger and cowardly temper, and, instead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the assurance that this would be the last time of their seeing the *Egyptians*. He exhorted them to stand still, and see the hand of God fight for them, instead of provoking him to withdraw it by their unreasonable murmurings and despair.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. v. ult.

<sup>b</sup> Ant. I. ii. c. 15.

- a He had no sooner dismissed them, than he went and made his application to God, who was immediately pleased to order the people to begin their march towards the sea, directing him at the same time to stretch out his rod over it, and assuring him that the waters of it would forthwith divide themselves, and make way for them to go through it as on dry land; whilst Pharaoh and his whole army, venturing to pursue them, should be finally overwhelmed by its waves. Moses obeyed, and whilst a strong east-wind was dividing that arm of the sea, to open a passage to them, and the Israelites were beginning their march towards it, the angel of the Lord, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of their army, and stood between them and that of the Egyptians, that Pharaoh might not be sensible of their moving, and prevent it by falling upon them too suddenly. The column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the Israelites in their march, and casting a darkness over Pharaoh's camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the Hebrews. Whilst these were passing through the sea, the sacred historian tells us, that the waves arose in heaps and stood as a wall on each side of them (P). By this time the
- The red sea is divided.*
- b

(P) It will not doubtless be expected that we should here enter into a detail of all the various and endless questions with which the generality of commentators have amused themselves, with respect to this wonderful passage, concerning which Moses has left us wholly in the dark. But we cannot at the same time reasonably dispense ourselves from making a short enquiry into the main and most material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous or not; that is, whether the sea was really divided by a supernatural power, or whether Moses and his host did only coast some part of it, or, at best, cross only a small nook at low water, and timed it so well that Pharaoh, endeavouring to do the like, did perish in the attempt. This is so far from being a new question, that Artapanes, an antient writer (54) assures us, that both these opinions were held by the Egyptian priests; that is, the former by those of Heliopolis, and the latter by those of Memphis. The last of these has been also followed by many eminent men both Jews and Christians (55), who, without denying the main part of this transaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the Israelites not passing through the sea, but only coasting it along, and making it as it were a semicircle round the sea-shore at low ebb or crossing it only at one narrow point, whilst the sea was gone off, only to extricate themselves from some difficulties which appeared to them insurmountable: but which we shall forbear inserting here, because they would lead us too far, and swell this note to an unreasonable bulk. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that such an opinion cannot be maintained without a manifest deviation, 1<sup>st</sup>, from the express words of Moses, and several other places of holy writ, where this transaction is mentioned: 2. from reason and experience, founded upon the knowledge we have of the ebbing and flowing of the red-sea, and the impossibility of such a numerous host's performing such a coasting, or crossing, in so little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of Moses as a bare historian, and from some concurring testimonies of antiquity to his account: and lastly from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and some of them proved the contrary opinion. As to the first, nothing is plainer than that the whole tenor of Moses's account is point blank contrary to such a no-

tion. We need mention but some few passages of it; such as, *that upon his stretching out his rod by God's command over the waters, a mighty wind arose and divided them; that they stood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left; that the bottom of the sea was dried up, and that the Israelites marched through it as on dry land, and the like* (56). *That God divided the red-sea into parts, or divisions, and made Israel pass through the midst of it. That he led them by the right hand of Moses, dividing the waters before them, to make himself an everlasting name; and that he led them through the deep as an horse in the wilderness. That he did walk, or rather caused Israel to walk, through the sea* (57); and many more of the like nature, to say nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the same expressions. If it be objected, that the last quoted passages out of the psalms and prophets are poetical, and consequently not to be taken in their literal sense, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than Moses, whose style is far from being swollen, has done in his account of it; but it would be unreasonable to say, that they were only designed to express a transaction so purely natural and easy, as the other side supposes it to have been. Upon the whole, the scriptures representing this action, with all its circumstances, as altogether miraculous, men must either reject their authority, or else allow that this passage was more than a bare coasting along some part of the sea, or crossing it at some narrow nook, when the waters were retired.

Whether Josephus designed to lessen the miracle, or to make it appear more credible, when he tells us (58), that *the Pamphiliæ sea did open a way to Alexander in his expedition against the Persians*, is not very material; for though we should grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he might have met with that account in some book then extant; or even that Q. Curtius intimates something like it, when he says (59), that that conqueror *had opened a new way by the sea*; yet Strabo will soon set us right, who tells us, *that there is a hill upon the Pamphiliæ sea, called Chymar, by which there is a passage along the sea shore; the waters of it so abating, when the sea is calm and still, that the ground is left naked, which at the flowing of the waters is covered again; and that Alexander, coming* that

(54) Ap. EUSEB. l. iv. c. 27. (55) MAIMON. ARENEZ. & al. Rabbin. ap. FAGIUM. GREGOR. TURON. Hist. l. i. c. 10. T. AQUIN. in 1 Cor. i. TOSTAT. qu. in Exod. xiv. Ch. xix. LUD. BURGENSE in loc. GENEBR. in Chronic. ad ann. 2239. GROT. in ver. 19. Exod. xiv. VATAB. in loc. LE CLERC Differt. de trajeâ. Mar. Idum. & al. mult. (56) Exod. xiv. & xv. pass. Num. Deuteron. &c. (57) Ps. cxxxvi. 13, 14. & alib. Isa. lxiii. 12, 13. Habak. iii. 15. (58) Ant. l. ii. c. 16. (59) Lib. v.

*Egyptians*, perceiving that the *Israelites* were marching off, and that the cloud which a

\* that way, set forward before the waters returned; but that, it happening then to be winter, the waters recoiling before he had past it, he was forced to wade all that day through the waters up to his middle (60). 'Tis plain therefore, that there is no parity between the passage of the *Israelites*, and the coasting of *Alexander*, whatever the *Jewish* historian's design might be in mentioning them together.

2. We come now 2dly, to shew that the notion of *Moses* leading them along the sea-shore, or through a narrow point, is contrary to reason and experience. And here we do readily grant, that the red sea doth ebb and flow like other seas that have a communication with the ocean; that is, that the waters of it rise towards the shore during six hours, and after having continued about one quarter of an hour at high water, they ebb down again during another six hours. Those, who have examined it with the greatest exactness, do likewise assure us, that the greatest distance, that it falls from the place of high water, is about three hundred yards, and that during the time of low water one may safely travel it (61), as some have actually done (62). We purposely omit several other minute circumstances urged on both sides of this question, to avoid prolixity. But from what is here premised and allowed on all hands, it is evident that these three hundred paces, which the sea leaves uncovered, during the time of low water, can continue so but during the space of half an hour at most; for during the first six hours the sea doth only retire by degrees, and in less than half an hour it begins again to flow towards the shore. The most therefore that can be allowed both of time, and space of passable ground, in a moderate computation, is about two hundred paces during six hours, or one hundred and fifty paces during eight hours. Now it is plain, that a multitude consisting at least of upwards of two millions and half of men, women, children and slaves, as we have proved it before †, encumbered besides with great quantities of cattle, household-stuff, and the spoils of the *Egyptians*, could never perform such a march within so short, we may say, within even double that space, though we should allow them also double the breadth of ground to do it on. This argument will hold equally good against those who suppose that they only coasted along some part of the sea, and those who maintain that they crossed that small arm or point of it, which is towards the further end near the port of *Suez*, seeing that six or eight hours could not have sufficed for the passage of so immense a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much less for *Pharaoh's* entering so far into it with his whole host.

It will not be amiss here to observe, not only how improbable it is that the *Egyptians* should be all ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the sea; but how absurd it is to suppose, that they should all obstinately persist in pursuing the *Israelites* through it, when they perceived it, as they must have done, gradually returning upon them, till they were all swallowed up by it. Besides, who can suppose that the *Israelites* venturing into the sea was a premeditated thing? or even that *Moses* could entertain the least suspicion that the *Egyptians* would be so soon at their heels, they who had been so lately and so severely plagued for detaining them, and were so urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that if he had any such thought, he acted most impolitically, in bringing them into a place, where

they were hemmed in by the sea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; seeing, had *Pharaoh*, upon his arrival at *Pi-babirah*, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they must have been obliged to flounce into the sea long before the tide had opened a passage to them, if not at the very time of high water, in which case they must have been all either drowned or cut in pieces.

3. And this brings us to our third observation, that such a notion is repugnant to the known character of *Moses*, even as a bare historian; and that it calls in question, not only his avowed modesty and veracity, but even his sense, conduct, and experience. For on the one hand, who can imagine that the maintainers of it can pay any regard to his relation, when he tells them, that God alone, who knew what past in *Egypt*, did unexpectedly make them take this new rout? When he describes his own surprise and the people's consternation at the sight of the *Egyptian* army? When he assures them that God did interpose his miraculous power on their behalf, and in a word that he divided the sea to make a free passage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion must they have of his sincerity, when he makes all *Israel* resound the praises of God, as the sole author of a deliverance which was entirely owing to his own cunning and policy. On the other hand, what must they think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of such an oversight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extremest danger, and so weak as to betray it, though cloaked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We shall only add, that he must have been the most imprudent, and withal the most conceited man alive, that could take into his head, to make such a vast, and not over credulous multitude, believe that their passage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well assured of the contrary; much less appoint a solemn festival of seven days, and enjoin it to be observed by them and their posterity to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous passing through the sea; when the experience of a much shorter time, than they continued along that coast, could easily have convinced them that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. These absurd consequences, which naturally flow from that opinion, are so evident, and the system itself has been so fully confuted long ago by the learned *Diodorus Tarsensis*, *Chrysostom's* master, that it hath met with few more advocates, than these we have mentioned in the margin. And even among these, we have already observed, that the greatest part, especially *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, do acknowledge still, that a divine power interposed itself in raising and continuing that mighty wind, and causing thereby the waters to retire much further than usual, and to recoil with greater force upon the *Egyptians*.

We observed further on this head, that this opinion was contrary to several concurring testimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of *Josephus*, and of the *Heliopolites*, who acknowledged the miraculousness of this transaction, and whose authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the *Memphites*, because such an acknowledgment of the divine interposing power can be ascribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives

(60) STRAB. lib. xiv. vid. VILLET. in *Exod.* xiv. 17.  
(62) THEVEN. chap. 25. † Vid. *supr.* p. 473. a. b.

(61) BARNIER, MORIZON. & al.



- a conducted them was removed towards the sea, resolved upon a close pursuit after them; not considering, or perhaps dreaming, that they were launching into another element; much less could they suppose that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to those whom they so eagerly followed after. For it doth not appear by the text, that the *Egyptians* were sensible that they were entering into the sea, and it is more than probable that they were too eager after their pursuit, and had too little light to perceive the danger they were running into, unless we will suppose with the Jewish historian, \* that because they saw the *Israelites* march safely through the sea, they vainly hoped they might do so too, and were not undeceived till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain that
- b their insolent conduct, after so many warnings, did justly deserve the punishment they were shortly to undergo; for by the next morning-watch, that is, by break of day, which is about four in the morning with us, God, looking upon them through the pillar of fire, soon let them feel that such a miraculous way was not opened in their favour, but for their destruction. They began to find their chariots go more and more heavily, and had so many indications of God's fighting against them, as made them resolve upon turning about, and fleeing from those whom they so eagerly pursued. But all their haste could not save them, God com-  
They are all drowned.
- c manded *Moses* to stretch again his rod over the sea, and he had no sooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculously suspended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed *Pharaoh* and his host, so that not one of them escaped from the common ruin; whilst the *Israelites* beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcases and the rich spoils of their enemies thrown upon the sea-shore, began, at least for the present, to fear the Lord, and to believe his servant *Moses*.

We took notice in a former note, that the exact situation of the places, from which the *Israelites* set out at their entering into the sea, and at which they came out, are so much unknown to us, that it is next to impossible to describe their rout with any tolerable certainty \*. For should we so far depend upon *Eusebius*, as to believe *Baalzephon* to have been *Clyfma*, and that the ancient tradition  
The place where they crossed the red-sea uncertain.

d were true, that it was at this latter that they passed the sea; yet the generality of geographers differ so much in their placing it, that we are still to seek for the side on which it stood, whether on the north, on the east, or south, or west

\* Jos. Ant. lib. 2. c. 16.

\* Exod. xiv. per tot.

\* Vid. sup. p. 503. note (O).

tives their brethren of *Memphis* might have to disown it. We shall content ourselves with just mentioning one more. *Diodorus Siculus* (63) tells us, that the *Ichthyophagi*, who inhabited along the coasts of the red-sea, towards the further end of it, had a constant tradition, that that sea had formerly been divided by a strong wind; and that the waves being parted into two heaps, the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable to any thing but to this transaction we are upon.

4. We have dwelt so long upon the three first heads, that we hope we shall be easily excused from enlarging further on this last, by multiplying authorities on our side of the question, seeing what has been alledged against the other is so full and strong, that were the majority as much on their side, as it is on ours, yet would it not outweigh the arguments that have been brought to confute it.

We shall only add, that among those who acknowledge a divine power to have interposed in this signal transaction, some have endeavoured to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compass, whilst others, setting no bounds to their zeal, have multiplied it even beyond all measure.

Of the former sort are those who have attributed the dividing of the sea, and the standing up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as fast as it blew them up; after which a warmer one, being suffered to rise, did both thaw

and blow them into their former station. Of this sentiment were, 1. the seventy interpreters, who translated the words of *Moses's* song (64) *וַיִּפְּץ יְהוָה בְּרוּחַ קָדְשׁוֹ*, the waters were frozen, or, as our version words it, were congealed. 2. The *Chaldee* paraphrast. 3. The author of the book of *Judith* (65). 4. Some of the versions of the septuagint; and lastly, among the many moderns, father *Martianay*, in a specimen he has given us of some curious discoveries which he had made in the sacred text, mentions this as one of them, that the waters of the red-sea were frozen. A Jewish Rabbi has fancied that the sea was not divided but frozen hard enough for the *Israelites* to go over it, though it thawed under their pursuers (66). On the other hand, *Origen*, to magnify this great miracle, has preserved us an ancient tradition among the *Jews*, which affirms, that God opened the sea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might pass separately; in which he has been followed by several ancient and modern writers. This tradition seems to have been founded upon that verse of the psalm (67), which says, that God divided the sea into parts, or divisions; but we don't think such ill grounded fancies worth mentioning, much less that of *Sadulius*, who goes so far as to think that God did even overturn the rocks, and root up the plants that grew in the bottom of the sea, lest they should obstruct the quick passage of the *Israelites*.

(63) Lib. iii. c. 3.

(64) Exod. xv. 8.

(65) Judith v. 13.

(66) R. SAM. MAROC.

Lib. de Advent. Messiae, c. 15.

(67) Psalm. cxxxvi. 13.



shore of the *Arabick gulph*†. For which reason, we hope the reader will excuse us a from giving into uncertain conjectures. Those who can give credit to the report of several grave travellers, \* who affirm from their own knowledge, that the ruts of the chariot-wheels are still miraculously preserved, not only upon the sand, but even as far into the sea as the eye can see through it, notwithstanding all endeavours to deface them, which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the sea ; these, I say, need not be at a loss where to set the boundaries of that passage. As for us we are contented with having proved in the last note, that they passed it some where without troubling ourselves with what is of less moment, and can never be known with any probability. We return to the *Israelites*, whom we left rejoicing and praising God for their happy escape. b

Moses's song  
for this deli-  
verance.

HOWEVER *Moses* knew them too well, to hope that this religious fit would last longer than every thing went to their liking. He therefore took hold of this happy disposition he observed in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory, and to inspire them with the deepest sentiments of gratitude to their almighty deliverer. To this end he composed a hymn, in which he extols the greatness of God's power displayed in this signal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people: And having divided the *Israelites* into two great choirs, he placed himself and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his sister *Miriam* at the head of the women, and whilst the former did sing the canticle, the women answered alternately to each verse, with repeating the first words of it, *I will sing c to the Lord, for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horse and its rider into the sea.* Their musick was likewise accompanied with dances, and the sound of such instruments as they had brought with them from *Egypt*. Thus was the seven days festival, which had been ordained in memory of this signal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the first and last day of it, which were to be observed with more than usual solemnity, signalized the one by the death of the *Egyptian* first-born, and the last by their miraculous passage through the red-sea, and the total overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his host.

The *Israelites*  
murmur for  
want of wa-  
ter.

AND now the *Israelites* began to think themselves freed indeed, and on the eve of their compleat happiness ; a few days march would easily bring them into d the borders of the promised land, and the conquest of it could not but appear easy to them, who had God for their protector, and *Moses* for their guide. And indeed, had the latter had no other difficulties to surmount, than the ruggedness of the way, and the irreconcilable hatred, and vigorous opposition of those warlike nations that inhabited it, *Canaan* would soon have been in their possession. But their stubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions against their heaven-appointed chief, joined to an invincible fondness for idolatry and superstition, proved not only a constant obstacle to their hopes, but an endless source of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwise famed above all men for his meek and gentle disposi- e tion. It was not long before they began to give fresh marks of their untractableness. They had scarce travelled three days from the red-sea into the wilderness of *Shur*, before their excessive thirst, and want of water, put them out of all patience ; infomuch, that when they came to discover those of *Marab*, and found them too bitter to drink, instead of having recourse to God by prayer, they filled the air with their complaints against him and his servant *Moses*, who, fearing the ill consequence of this murmuring, addressed himself to him in the humblest manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinsic virtue, or by a new miracle, did sweeten the waters as soon as he had cast it in. The people indeed ceased to murmur as soon as they had quenched their thirst ; but as this f was neither a satisfaction for their late riot, nor a security against future relapses, God was pleased to make a further trial of their future obedience, by giving them here some new statutes, and to add a promise, that if they observed them with an upright mind, instead of those plagues which he had inflicted on the *Egyptians*, he would shower down continual blessings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters, the place was called *Marab* ; from which they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water and seventy palm-trees, and there continued about three weeks ; that is, from the twenty second

† Compare EUSEB. loc. Habr. ATHANAS. Hist. ARRIANOR. Tom. I. p. 385. PHILOSTORGO. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 3. c. 6. COSMAS, lib. 5. p. 194. TABUL. PUTINGER. Itiner. ANTONIN. THEVENOT's Voyages, part 2. c. 33. and others. \* PAUL OROS. GREG. TURON. & al. ap. CALM. Dissert. in loc.

- a day of the first month, on which they came thither from *Marah*, to the fourteenth of the second month, on which they decamped from it †.

FROM *Elim*, the whole camp marched towards the wilderness of *Sin*: by which rout they removed still farther from the frontiers of the promised land; but as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whithersoever that went. Here, their provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur A new murmur for want of provision. more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the flesh-pots and plenty of provision, which they enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a barren wilderness, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger.

- b This tumultuous carriage had something monstrously ungrateful, because it was levelled at God himself, whose directive column they had followed into that desert place. Nevertheless, he was pleased to pass it by, and to give them fresh assurances of his favour, by promising to rain down bread from heaven upon them; and, in order to make a further trial of their obedience, he commanded Manna promised. them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth, to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. Aaron, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings, which, he told them, did cast the greatest reflection upon God, seeing it was he, and not *Moses*, who had brought them out of *Egypt*. He had scarce made an end of speaking, c when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud, from which God confirmed again what Aaron had promised to the Quails promised. people, assuring them that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh, and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread which he had promised to send them.

If this glorious sight gave some weight to *Moses's* words, much more did the event add to it, when they saw them verified on that very evening, by whole And sent in abundance. clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of *Egypt*, and alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and on the mor-

- d row the manna, which rained down round about them by the break of the day. This last did not indeed fall close to the camp, but at some distance Manna falls at some distance from the camp. from it towards the wilderness. Before sun-rise therefore, the *Israelites* followed *Moses* towards the place, where he shewed them a kind of white dew, like unto a small hoary frost, which covered the face of the earth, and which he told them was the bread which God had promised to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an *Homer* for every head, which is about five pints, or forty three eggs †. The people no sooner saw this new bread, but they cried to one another, *what is this, and whence cometh it?* for they were surprized at the strangeness of it; and from thence they gave it the name of *Man*, e or *Manna* (R); they were however so eager for it, that they gathered it at ran-

† Exod. xv. per tot.

† LE SCEN. Essay on a new translat. pag. 179. R. SALOM.

(Q) It must be remembered here, that this was about the middle of *April*, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the red-sea in vast quantities; the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts, and incredible multitudes are caught there about this time. The miracle therefore consists not so much in the prodigious number that fell into *Israel's* camp, as in the directing them thither, and on that very evening, according to God's promise, and *Moses's* prediction. The same may be said also tho' we should render the Hebrew, שבלו, *Sbelaw*, locusts, as the learned *Ludolph* has done, who in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of *Abyssinia*, has offered some probable arguments, that these were such, and not quails. He adds, that they were in great plenty both in these parts, and all over *Africa*, and that they were esteemed a delicious food. We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of all the *Jews*, of very uncertain signi-

fication, and may as well signify a locust as a quail; but what inclines us to prefer the latter sense, is, that the psalmist, † speaking of them, calls them עוף כנף, *Hoph canaph*, winged, or feathered fowl, which, we apprehend, is not so applicable to those insects, much less the words שער, *Sbeer*, flesh, and צדד, *Tzedab*, which signifies all sorts of venison, as well of fowl as of beasts, which the same inspired poet makes use of there.

(R) We have ventured to depart from our own and several other versions, which make the *Israelites* call this new food *Manna*, because they knew not what it was; for tho' commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by their various etymologies of that word, yet that of the Septuagint, which renders it τί τούτο ἐστίν, *what is this?* seems to come nearer to the Hebrew, and to be most agreeable to the text, and is likewise followed by *Josephus*, and a great number of others (68) מן הוא, *Man hu*, in the original signifying *what*, or *whence is this?* Not so easy is it

† *Psal.* lxxviii. 25. & seq.

(68) *Antiq.* l. iii. c. i. *Rabbin.* fere omni. *St. JEROM.* FAG. MEER. PISCAT. GROTIUS, DRUSIUS, LE SCEN. & al.

dom, without stinting themselves to the quantity which *Moses* had prescribed, <sup>a</sup> but when every one came to measure what he had gathered, they found to their no small astonishment, that they were to carry home but one *Homer* for every head; whether it were, that they were made to gather it in heaps, and divide it afterwards at an equal rate, or that providence ordered it so, that the most greedy should have his quantity miraculously lessened, whilst the more moderate had theirs increased; or, which is more likely, that *Moses* made those that had gathered more than their measure, to refund the overplus to those who had gathered less; that so the same proportion might fall to every man's share.

Some is kept  
till next day  
and stinks.

A double quan-  
tity gathered  
against the  
sabbath.

As soon as they were got into their tents, they went about grinding it according to *Moses's* direction, some with mills, others in mortars, and made themselves a <sup>b</sup> sort of cakes, whose taste resembled that of wafers made with honey, or with fresh oyl, as it is said in another place <sup>c</sup>; from that they came to other ways of dressing it, by frying, stewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the sun did immediately dissolve it. In the mean time *Moses*, who had given them express charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear that some of the people, whether out of curiosity or precaution, had ventured to save some of it, and had found it stinking and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it, and to advise them to be more careful of his directions for the future, seeing they did but provoke their heavenly benefactor by their disobedience; but their stubbornness was not to be cured by threaten- <sup>c</sup> ings, and it was not many days before they made him sensible of it. The sixth day being come, they went according to order to gather a double quantity, to serve them for that day and the next, on which he had told them there would be none to be found, because it was to be a day of *Sabbath*, or of rest unto them. But they, as if they had given themselves up to mistrust every word that came out of his mouth, could not be at rest till they had gone into the wilderness, and satisfied themselves of the truth of it. This forced a fresh reprimand from him, in which, after some expostulations, he expressly forbid them to go out of the camp, during the whole seventh day, under pain of death. For a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), *Moses* was ordered to preserve an *Homer* full in a vessel, to be afterwards deposited in <sup>d</sup> the ark of the covenant, and to be preserved in it as a witness to future ages, which command was left to *Aaron* to execute as he accordingly did <sup>b</sup> soon after.

<sup>a</sup> Num. xi. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xiv.

to know the meaning of the word of *Gad*, which we translate *coriander-seed*, though, according to the literal sense of the original, it should be rendered, and it was white like the seed of *Gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some *Jeus* therefore translate it *mustard-seed*, because one sort of it is whitish (69), and *Abenezra* frankly owns, that he knows not what seed it is (70); but since it is said in another place, that it was of the colour of *Edellium* (71), which the learned *Bochart* and others have shewn to signify a kind of pearl, we may easily suppose, that the word *Gad* doth not signify coriander, but some other small white seed, and that the manna, shining like unto a hoary frost, did very much resemble a small pearl.

(S) We have ventured to give it that epithet, not that we believe, with the author of the book of wisdom (72), that it was prepared without labour, since they were forced to pound and dress it; or that it was capable of satisfying every stomach, by suiting itself to every particular taste, since, had that been the case, the *Israelites* could never have come to loath it, as they afterwards did (73); much less do we attribute all those wonderful qualities to it that the *Jeus* do; but we think

it was miraculous upon the following accounts; 1st, because it fell but six days in the week; 2. that it fell in such prodigious quantity, as sufficed near three millions of souls; 3. that there fell a double quantity every Friday to serve them for the next day; 4. what was gathered on the first five days stank and bred worms, if kept above one day, and that which was gathered on Friday lasted two days; lastly, it continued falling whilst the *Israelites* abode in the wilderness, but ceased as soon as they came out of it, and had eaten of the corn of the land of *Canaan* (74). *Abenezra* indeed says, that *Man* was an *Arabick* word, and that he had seen in the kingdom of *Ḥam*, whatever kingdom that be, something very like manna, that fell only during two summer months of the year †, but as he adds, that it is rather fit for physick than for food, it is plain it must be that which we know by the name of manna, which is a kind of honey condensed, and is to be seen to this day in the deserts of *Arabia*, during the heat of the summer, and is gathered in great quantities off the trees, rocks, grass, and even the sand: but it is plain, by what we observed of the miraculous sort, that this has nothing common with it but the name.

(69) *Vid. MURST. in loc.*  
(72) *Wisd. xvi. 20.*

(70) *ABENEZ in loc.*  
(73) *Numb. xi. 6.*

(71) *Vid. MURST. BOCH. & al.*  
(74) *Josb. v. 12.*  
† *Ub. sup.*

- a It is not easy to conceive how a nation, that had so long and so often experienced the miraculous care and goodness of God, could ever fall again into fresh murmuring and disobedience; and yet they had no sooner left this desert of *Sin*, and advanced a few days journey towards mount *Horeb*; but when they came to *Rephidim*, and found the place destitute of water, they began to fill the air with their complaints, and, surrounding the tents of *Moses* and *Aaron*, asked them in a tumultuous and threatening manner, where they must have waters to quench their thirst? *Moses* strove in vain to quell their fury, and to persuade them to wait God's leisure; his words did but enflame them the more, till at length, observing them to be grown desperate, and ready to stone him, he had recourse to God, who was soon pleased to dissipate his fears, by promising to signalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the last with a miraculous food. He commanded him to gather the elders of *Israel*, and all the people, and to take them up to mount *Horeb*, and assured him, that upon smiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters would immediately gush out of it in such plentiful streams, as would be more than sufficient to allay their thirst. *Moses* obeyed, and God vouchsafed to perform his promise, and to send them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring, and of the people's questioning whether God was really among them or not, the place was called *Massah*, (tempting) and *Meribah*, (contention.) †
- b and ready to stone him, he had recourse to God, who was soon pleased to dissipate his fears, by promising to signalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the last with a miraculous food. He commanded him to gather the elders of *Israel*, and all the people, and to take them up to mount *Horeb*, and assured him, that upon smiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters would immediately gush out of it in such plentiful streams, as would be more than sufficient to allay their thirst. *Moses* obeyed, and God vouchsafed to perform his promise, and to send them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring, and of the people's questioning whether God was really among them or not, the place was called *Massah*, (tempting) and *Meribah*, (contention.) †
- c ABOUT this time, the *Israelites* being attacked in their rear by the *Amalekites*, *Moses* was forced to depute his servant *Joshua*, at the head of a sufficient force, to make head against them, whilst himself went up to the mount to intreat God for his success. \* Accordingly, on the next morning he went up with his brother *Aaron* and *Hur*, of whom we shall speak by and by, to a neighbouring hill, when they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilst *Joshua* was fighting with the *Amalekites*. He held up likewise his own miraculous rod in his hand, and God was pleased to shew a singular regard to his intercession. For whilst he held his hands up, *Joshua* prevailed, but when he let them down to rest them, *Amalek* got the advantage. At length, when he found them grow so heavy, that he could hold them up no longer, *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to set him upon a stone, and to stay them up on each side, till the going down

A new murmuring for want of water.

They flew from a miraculous rock.

† Exod. xvii. 1. & seq.

\* Ibid. ver. 8. & seq.

(T) *St. Paul*, speaking of this miraculous rock, which he applies to Christ, says, that it followed them (75); from which some will have it, that it accompanied them, and served them upon all necessary occasions, to the very end of their wandering (76); and that either the waters, which gushed out of it, formed themselves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart wherever they went, and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79); but had any of these been the case, there would have been no occasion for smiting that rock in another place, as *Moses* did for the same purpose (80), for we shall shew by and by, that this was a quite different action; nor likewise for digging of wells for water soon after this last miracle, as we find they did (81). There was therefore no necessity of fetching a parallel from what *Ælian* says of the king of *Persia*, that the river *Cboaspi* did always follow him (82), because he always carried some of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable sense to the apostle's words, by supposing that the *Israelites* did the same by those of the rock. *St. Paul* here speaks of a spiritual rock; and the two instances, we have just now mentioned, will not permit us to suppose, that they were always supplied by the natural one.

However, seeing the two actions of smiting

the rock have been confounded by several commentators, it will not be amiss to shew the contrary; before we dismiss the subject. Now that *Moses* smote the rock at two different times, and in two different places, is plain; 1st, because the first happened at *Rephidim*, in their eleventh station, and the second in the desert of *Sin*, in the thirty third station: 2. the one happened in the first year after the *Exod*, and the other in the fortieth; for, in the very next station, *Aaron* died in the fifth month of the fortieth year (83). In the first, the rock was smitten with the rod with which *Moses* wrought his wonders in *Egypt*, and in the last with the rod of *Aaron*, that had budded, and had been layed up before the Lord in the ark, from whence *Moses* is said to have taken it (84). Lastly, the first happened before the extruction of the tabernacle, and the last after it; for it is said, that upon the people's murmuring for want of water, *Moses* and *Aaron* went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell upon their faces there at the sight of the glory of God (85). We might add, that the first was performed without any dissidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas, in the last, *Moses* smote the rock twice, and spoke some unbecoming words, which so displeased God, that he condemned him to die in the wilderness, without setting his foot into the land of *Canaan*. From all which it appears, that these were two different actions performed at great distance of time and place (86).

- (75) 1 Cor. x. 4. (76) CALM. com. in loc. BERRY. & al. (77) Itā Rabbī. mult.  
(78) CANTACUZEN. in sap. cap. 11. & Rabbī. aliquot. (79) TOSTAT. qu. 3. ap. VILLET. cap.  
17. qu. 10. (80) Numb. xx. 11. (81) Ibid. xxi. 16. & seq. (82) ÆLIAN. Hist.  
var. lib. xii. c. 40. vid. CALM. Hist. V. T. in loc. (83) Conf. Exod. xvii. 1. & seq. & Numb.  
xxxiii. 14. 36. & 38. (84) Numb. xx. 9. & seq. (85) Ibid. ver. 4. & seq. (86) Ibid.  
ver. 11, 12. Vid. SIMLER. JUN. VILLET. & al. in loc.

Amalek dis-  
comfited.

of the sun. The consequence was, that *Israel* gained the victory, and *Amalek* was a discomfited, as we have seen in a former chapter †. This *Hur* is thought to have been of the tribe of *Judah*, and the son of *Caleb* the son of *Efron*, different from *Caleb* the son of *Jephunneh*; and so to have been the grandfather of *Bezaleel*, so famed for his fine workmanship in the tabernacle, and other utensils for the service of God. *Josephus* thinks that *Hur* had married *Miriam*, *Moses*'s sister, others think that he was her son; but the generality of antient fathers think that she died unmarried. As for *Joshua*, he became famous from this time, both for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal for God and his people; upon all which accounts, *Moses* made choice of him for his successor, to lead the *Israelites* into the promised land. In the mean time *Moses* was ordered to record this signal victory, and to vow a lasting war against the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. He also reared up an altar unto God, and called it *Yehovah Nissi*, (the Lord is my banner;) to intimate, that God, who had made them denounce this war against *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with success (V)\*.

Jethro comes  
to Moses.

THE defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Israelites* to mount *Sinai*, where their abode proved not only the longest, but the most famous of any other by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to observe. But in the mean while, God, who foresaw what an addition this would be to *Moses*'s other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hospitable father-in-law, with *Ziphorah* and her two sons, to the camp of *Israel*, where, after their mutual embraces, and sacrifices offered to the God of *Israel*, *Jethro*, observing with what patience his son-in-law stood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing lest he should in time sink under it, gave him that excellent and salutary advice of chusing a competent number of elders, who should help him to bear such a part of the burthen, as must otherwise have proved too heavy for him; an account of which, we have already given in the history of *Midian*\*. *Moses* having thus eased himself of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of those inferior judges, some of which he set over thousands, others over hundreds, and others over tens; and reserving only the most momentous causes to come before him; did soon after take leave of his father-in-law (W), and gave the signal for their march from *Rephidim*, to the wilder-

† Vid. supr. p. 320. b.  
AMAR. exhort. ad virgin. & al.  
\* Vid. supr. p. 301, & seq.

c Ant. lib. iii. c. 2.  
Exod. xvii. ad fin.

d NISSEN. de virginitat. c. 6.  
Ibid. xviii. pass.

(V) We have seen, in a former chapter †, that *Amalek* was descended from *Eliphaz*, *Esau*'s first-born; as his descendants therefore were so nearly allied to the *Israelites*, it was inhuman in them to fall upon them, when they saw them reduced to so low a condition through the fatigue of their march, the vast heat of the season, and the excessive drought they laboured under, especially, since it doth not appear, that they had begun any hostilities against them. But though they did richly deserve the defeat which *Joshua* gave them for their barbarity, yet as for the anathema which God himself pronounced against them immediately after it, it seems to have been for some other crime which carried in it a greater degree of guilt, and may be justly supposed to have been an innate hatred against the *Israelites*, from the remembrance of *Jacob*'s depriving their progenitor both of his birth-right and blessing; upon which account they did not scruple to take this ungenerous advantage over them, in order to prevent if possible their getting possession of the land of *Canaan*, for the conquest of which they saw them now in full march. *Josephus* indeed (87) seems to attribute this action of theirs to a fear of being driven out of their country by the *Israelites*; but besides that it is not likely they should be ignorant of the land of *Canaan*

being promised to the sons of *Jacob*, and consequently that they should have any thing to fear upon that account; it is plain, that if that had been the only motive of their falling upon them, there could have been nothing so criminal in it as to entail the heavy curse, of a perpetual war against them and their posterity. But if they did it with a view of preventing their possessing the promised land, and consequently of frustrating the designs of providence towards them; as the same motive was like to last as long as they continued a nation, so there was the same necessity for entailing that anathema against them. And this seems implied in the last words of this chapter, in which *Moses* gives us a reason for vowing this war against them. They are indeed somewhat obscure, but in their literal sense may be rightly rendered thus; *because his* (that is, *Amalek*'s) *hand is against the throne of God, therefore the Lord will wage war with Amalek from one generation to another*, that is, till he ceases to be a nation. We shall only add, that this place is supposed by the *Jews*, to have been called *Rephidim*, that is, רפדימ, from *Rapba*, to loosen, and *jad manus*, alluding to the weak condition they were in, when the *Amalekites* fell upon them.

(W) We have already given our opinion concerning *Jethro*'s departure, and his leaving one of his sons with *Moses*, with some other particulars relating

† Vid. supr. p. 317. c.

\* Vid. ibid. p. 305. & seq. 439. & seq.

(87) Ant. lib. iii. c. 2.



a nels of *Sinai*. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt* <sup>a</sup>.

THEY were no sooner come within sight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their incampment so, that there might be a considerable space left between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the scene of the most glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence those laws were to be delivered to them with a suitable awfulness and majesty, which God, who knew the genius of that perverse people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wisely fixed their situation so, as that they might be all eye and ear witnesses of the divine presence; and at the same

*They encamp near mount Sinai.*

b time prescribed such limits to their curiosity, as should strike them with a suitable awe and reverence. Whilst they were pitching their tents according to his directions, *Moses* went up to the mountain, and God, who had called him thither, commanded him to remind the *Israelites* of all the wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to assure them, that as he had hitherto bore them as an eagle doth her young on her wings, so if they proved obedient to his laws, he would still look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal priesthood. <sup>a</sup> *Moses* was not long before he came and called the elders of *Israel*, to whom he repeated all these endearing expressions, charging them at the same time to go and acquaint the people with the gracious message,

c who no sooner heard it, but they promised all possible obedience to God's command. He returned immediately after to the mountain, where he was commanded to sanctify the people, and to prepare them for the glorious scene against the third day, by making them wash their cloaths, and abstain from all nuptial commerce, after which he promised to come down, in a conspicuous manner, and deliver his law in their hearing, with such a glorious and dreadful voice, as should at once convince them of both of his divine presence, and of his being the author of all those laws, which he was afterwards to deliver to them in his name. He likewise renewed his charge to him, to fix such bounds to the people as should keep them from approaching the mountain under the severest

d penalties, and to assure them, that if either man or beast offered to transgress them, they should be immediately stoned, or shot to death. The signal, for their coming out to this glorious sight, was to be when they heard the sound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the third day, the people having prepared themselves pursuant to the divine injunction, and being in the utmost expectation for this wonderful sight, they saw, by break of day, the mountain surrounded with the thickest cloud, out of which came forth such thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The sound of the trumpet being heard, *Moses* brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had set to them, and there they observed

e the top of *Sinai* covered with fire and smoke, whilst the foundations of it seemed to shake under their feet. In the midst of this dreadful scene, the trumpet being heard still louder and stronger, God called to *Moses*, who immediately went up, and was soon buried in the cloud. Here the divine voice commanded him to return and repeat his charge to the people, that none should presume to transgress their bounds, no not even the priests, who were afterwards to be consecrated to his service, since immediate death was to be the transgressor's portion, let him be who he would. *Moses* answered, that he had given them such strict charge, that there was no danger of their transgressing it; but he was ordered to go down immediately, to see that none ventur'd to disobey, and then commanded to bring his brother *Aaron* with him when he came up again. † He had no sooner obeyed, and

*The mountain covered with fire and smoke.*

<sup>a</sup> Vid. ann. *USSER*. in loc. *RIVERA* de Templ. lib. v. c. 7. & al.

† Ibid. ver. 9. ad fin.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xix. & seq.

lating to this history †; but though it seems by the text, that he left also *Ziphorah* and her two sons with him; yet, whether it were that *Moses* took more care of his people than he did of his children, or that he loved these too well to promote them to any pitch of power or grandeur, which himself had so long felt the heavy load of; sure it is, that we hear no more of them from this

time than if they had been no more; neither of them, that we can find, having been promoted to any charge worth taking notice of; and indeed the sequel of the history shews, that their father was so far from aiming at enriching or aggrandising his family, that he seems to have given himself up wholly to the service of God and his people.

† Vid. *supr.* p. 302. (I), (K).



The decalogue  
deliver'd.

repeated his orders to the people, than the thunders and trumpets ceased, and God a was distinctly heard from the midst of the fire and smoke, which continued all the while to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the rest, and which *Moses* was afterwards order'd to write upon two tables of stone. <sup>1</sup> (X) In the mean time the people, astonish'd at what they saw and heard,

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xix. per tot. c. xx. per tot.

(X) Concerning these ten commandments, which are so well known that we think it needless to insert them, several questions have been raised, which we shall but just touch upon, they being of such a nature, that nothing certain can be concluded about them. The first is, by whom they were deliver'd? whether by an angel deputed by God, who, consequently representing the godhead, assumes the name of the *Lord God who brought Israel out of bondage*? or whether by God himself? and if the latter, whether by God the father, or by Christ himself? Concerning all which we refer our readers to what has been said in another place upon the like occasion†.

The next is, whether in these, or any other of the Jewish laws, *Moses* was permitted to imitate those of the Egyptians, as some learned men have affirmed (1)? or, as the far greater part do think, the Egyptians have borrowed theirs from him? And here we need not repeat what has been said upon that head, when we were upon the subject of circumcision\*; as to what relates to the ceremonial injunctions, we shall have occasion to speak of them by and by. At present we shall content ourselves with saying, that admitting them, in some cases, to have borrow'd from each other, and in others, to have gone point blank counter to one another, out of a spirit of contradiction and antipathy, which is the most probable supposition, it will still follow, that such of the *Mosaic laws*, as are contrary to the idolatry and superstition of the Egyptians, such as the second commandment, and a vast many more, could be enjoined by God with no other view, than to cure the Israelites of those vicious habits and propensities which they had contracted in Egypt. As to judicial, or even ceremonial laws, tho' we should allow *Moses* to have been permitted to have used his discretion, and to have adopted such as he approved of, yet it will by no means follow, that all that bear any resemblance were first received from the Egyptians, seeing very many of them are so contrary to the main and constant design of the Jewish law-giver, to keep the Israelites from intermixing with other nations, that if the Egyptians had been the first inventors of them, he must certainly have thought it most advisable to give them such as were quite opposite to them.

Waving therefore all these fruitless disquisitions, how far the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans did frame their laws from those of the Jews, or how far the twelve tables of the Romans were a copy of the decalogue, we shall endeavour to render the remaining part of this note somewhat more useful and instructive, by reclusifying the sense of some words in the second commandment, which, for want of having been rightly understood, have led some into monstrous errors, and have made others chuse to reject the authority of holy writ, rather than adopt them. The place we mean is, where God is said to *punish the sins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation* (2); words, which convey such a derogatory idea of the Deity, that if the original could possibly be capable of another sense, it ought, by all means, to be prefer'd to this; which is not only contrary

to reason, and to the whole tenor of scripture, but is so fully confuted and condemn'd by the prophet *Ezekiel* (3), and by many other express places of scripture. We shall beg leave to mention but one of them, and that out of the same book of *Exodus*, which being parallel to this, it will follow, that, if this sense, we are now confuting, be admitted, *Moses* must have introduced God speaking absurdities and contradictions. The place is, where God vouchsafes to favour *Moses* with a sight of his glory in the mountain, by a visible delect in the cloud, and proclaiming the name, or rather the attributes of God, in the following terms; (4) *the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and children's children, unto the third and fourth generation.* For it is manifest, that if the latter words be understood in that sense, that is, if he *punishes the sins of the fathers upon the children, &c.* then the former part can hardly be admitted to be true; that he is the *Lord God, merciful, gracious, just and faithful.* How the Jews, therefore, came to understand them in a sense so absurd, so unreasonable and antisciptural, and so fully and expressly confuted and condemn'd by God himself, will be of small moment to enquire, since this is far from being the only instance, wherein they have done so; tho', if we may be allow'd to offer a conjecture, it is not unlikely, that the peculiar regard, which God, for reasons vastly disparate from their fond conceit, was pleas'd to shew for their nation, and the terrible punishments, which he inflict'd upon others, tho' scarce more wicked than they, might lead them into the notion, that the one was favour'd for the merit, and the other punish'd for the wickedness, of their progenitors: and this is so much the more probable, because, even to this day, they impute all their present sufferings, not to their manifest wickedness, which they are wholly blind to, but to the idolatries of their fore-fathers, both in the desert and in the promised land. However, as to them it is plain they extend'd these punishments no farther than to this world. The wonder is how Christians, who believed them to have a further reach than this short life, came to adopt a version even from the earliest ages of the church, which they were sensible could not be maintained, without having recourse to far fetched distinctions and subtilties. But the wonder will cease when we consider, 1st, their incapacity of drawing a better sense from the Hebrew text, for want of being acquainted with it; and 2dly, their great esteem for the septuagint version, whose authority they equalled even to the original. Its sense therefore of this and other such like texts being once received as authentic, they took different ways to justify it, and with it the divine justice and goodness. Some by confining those rewards and punishments to this life only. Whilst others, bolder and more uncharitable than the very Jews, have even dared to extend them beyond it, from a mistaken presumption of God's uncontrollable power over his creatures

† Vid. sup. p. 429. note (T).

(1) Vid. SPENCER de leg. rit. Hebr. l. iii. dissert. 1. & seq. MARSHAM. Canon Egypt. S. Secul. 2. ATHAN. KIRCHER, LE CLERC, & al. \* Vid. sup. p. 427. note (R). (2) Exod. xx. 5. (3) Ezek. xviii. pass. (4) Exod. xxxiv. 5, 6, & 7.

removed further off, and as soon as the divine voice had ceased speaking, his creatures. \*† But since the *Hebrew* has been better understood, and those texts been found capable of a much better sense, we hope our readers will be glad to have it proved to their satisfaction.

In the first place then, we beg leave to observe, after some eminent critics (5), that the prepositions, *by* *lamed* and *by* *hal*, which are here rendered *upon*, do also signify *by*, and *in favour of*; so that the words before us may be properly rendered *punishing the iniquities of the fathers by, or in favour of, the children, &c.* In the first of these senses *David's* murder and adultery was justly punish'd by his favourite, tho' wicked, son *Abraham* (6); and the latter doth perfectly answer the wise methods of providence, with respect to the wicked and innocent; the former of which he doth often punish for the benefit and determent of the latter. The reader may, if he pleases, see these versions justify'd by the authors just now quoted, and therefore we shall insist upon them no longer; but as those, which vindicate the divine justice, mercy, and goodness of God, ought by all means to be prefer'd to those, which give impressions that are derogatory or injurious to the godhead, we shall beg leave to offer one more, which seems to us still more natural and agreeable to the design of this second commandment, but which, not having as yet appear'd in print, we can quote no author for.

It is manifest, that the main end and design of the first and second commandment was, expressly to forbid all idolatry whatsoever, one kind of which, we find, had been very rise long before, namely, that of *Teraphims*, or household-gods \* of which we have already given some account †: Their shapes varied according to the fancy of those that made, or those that bespoke them, and to them they used to apply for good success, and preservation against all misfortunes, both for themselves and families. These, therefore, being look'd upon as the chief dispensers and preservers of lands, houses, and all other inheritances, what makes it more than probable, that this prohibition is in a special manner levell'd against this kind of idolatry, is, first, the reason that is immediately given, that the Lord is a jealous God, who cannot, consequently, suffer the glory of his benefits to be given to a senseless idol. Secondly, because the words, *לֹא יִשְׁכַּח לֵבָנוֹ* *poked* *haron*, as they are pointed, or *poked* *ben*, if read without the points, may be properly render'd *disposing*, or *dispensing the habitations, or estates of the fathers, &c.* And, lastly, because idolatry in general, or the worship of false gods, had been forbid in the first commandment; *thou shalt have no other gods but me*; and consequently, the second must have been design'd against some such particular sort as that we are speaking of.

It remains to prove, that the original will properly bear this version; and here we beg leave to observe, first, that the verb *פָּקַד* *pakad*, which is render'd *to visit*, is known to imply, in its proper sense, such a visitation as that of a monarch, chief magistrate, or prelate, who takes his progress thro' his territories, to rectify abuses, to administer justice, and to dispense rewards and punishments, as occasion requires. And secondly, that the word *לֵבָנוֹ* *ben* (which we venture to read without its points, because, they being now universally allowed to be of late and human invention, they may be safely set aside, whenever we see good reason for so doing) doth likewise signify an habitation,

or dwelling-place, it being an ancient, obsolete word, from which its derivative *מִבְּנוֹ* *Mabon*, by the addition of the letter *מ* *Mam*, one of the formatives of nouns substantive, is still used, and confin'd to that particular signification throughout the old testament. This being granted, the sense will run thus: *for I, the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God, disposing, or distributing the habitations, or estates of the fathers to the children, unto the third and fourth generation, even, of those that hate me, but showing mercy to thousands in them that love me, &c.* where we beg leave to observe further, that the word *generation* not being in the original, the words, *third* and *fourth*, which are here in the plural, may as well be understood of a distribution of estates into thirds or fourths, or, of their being multiply'd to a third or fourth degree, or increased to three or four times their bulk, or value. But, as for the mercies, which God keeps in store for those that love and obey him, they exceed them *לְעֹלָם לְעֹלָם* *Lealaphim*, by thousands of degrees; which is as much, as if he had said, they are numberless and endless.

But that our readers may be satisfy'd, that those places of scripture, which are urged as parallel to this, by those who maintain the unreasonable doctrine we are now opposing, are either misunderstood, or misapply'd by them, we shall beg leave to subjoin an instance of each, by which he will be able to judge of the rest. The first they urge is, where *Solomon* says, that God made all things for himself, and the wicked for the day of evil (7); from which they have infer'd this blasphemous doctrine, that God created the wicked on purpose to damn them. But, whoever will be at the trouble of consulting the original, will find, that the word *לִמְעַלְמָהּ* *Lamaghaem*, which is here render'd for himself, is not from the particle *לְ* *Lemaghan*, for, with its affix, for then it ought to have been differently pointed; but setting aside the points, it is equally capable of two other meanings, even according to the grammatical construction, and may signify *to answer*; and so the sense will be truly this; that God hath done or ordered all things to answer one another, even the wicked to the day of evil; by which is meant no more than, God has so order'd all things, that punishment shall be as much the natural consequence of wickedness, as reward is of virtue (8). The same word may also signify a furrow, or channel; and so the sense will be, God hath ordered every thing to run into its own channel (9), and the wicked to that of the evil day, or punishment.

The other place, which is rather misapply'd, is, where God says, that he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy (10). For, besides that the words are capable of another sense, \*† it is plain from the occasion of them, that they have nothing to do with the point in hand. *Moses* prays to God, that he will shew him his glory, and God promises, that he will grant him his request; and then adds, that he will be gracious to whom he will be gracious; which, therefore, can import no more, than that he will shew such singular favours to whom he pleases; but it neither follows, nor is it any where said, that he will punish whom he will, without any regard to their desert. Those, who think that *St. Paul* applies them in a quite different sense (11), we refer to those authors who have writ *ex professo* on that subject (12); some others of the like nature, such as what is said of the sons of *Eli* (13) &c. will be explained in the sequel of this history.

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\*† Vid. *sup.* p. 439. T. (5) LAURON de l'impie'te du peche. LE SCEN. *Essay on a new vers.* p. 107. LE CLERK in loc. WHITBY, PELLING, & al. (6) 2 Sam. xi. pass. xii. 10, & seq. xvi. xvii, & xviii. pass. \* Vid. Gen. xxxi. 19 & seq. Judg. xvii. xviii. pass. † Vid. *sup.* p. 443. note (b). (7) Prov. xvi. 4. (8) Vid. LE SCEN. *Essay on a N. Test.* p. 109. (9) Vid. *Plat.* cxxix. 3. (10) Exod. xxiii. 19. \*† See before p. 434 (D) (11) Rom. ix. 15. (12) Vid. PELLING, WHITBY, & al. *against predest.* (\*) 1 Sam. ii. 25.

Some ceremoni-  
al laws insti-  
tuted.

they approached *Moses*, in the height of their fear and surprise, and besought him a that he would for the future speak to them in God's stead, lest, if they should hear his dreadful voice again, they should die with horror and amazement; assuring him at the same time, that they were ready to receive and obey whatever laws or ordinances God should enjoin to them by his means, since they were now fully convinc'd of his divine commission. *Moses* readily approv'd of that awful regard which they express'd, as well for the miraculous presence of God, as for his commandments; and assur'd them that this wonderful scene was not exhibited to them with a design to create a slavish dread, but a filial confidence and submission to such laws as his providence should hereafter enjoin them, as a particular token of his care and benevolence towards them above all nations of the earth. He had no sooner dispell'd their fears b by these words, than he went up again to the mountain, where, for that time, God was pleased to add a few ceremonial laws to those moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as those which he received afterwards from time to time, we shall refer to another place in this history, where, to avoid prolixity and repetition, we shall give them all in one body. For the same reason we shall avoid following the divine historian too close in all the intercourses which he had with God; in all which the observance of the same laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, the same assurances of the divine favour and assistance upon their obedience, and severe threatenings in case of their disobeying, and the same promises of their possessing the lands of the *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgashites*, and *Jebusites*, are repeated almost upon every fresh occasion; and which, tho' penn'd by *Moses* exactly as they happen'd, need to be mention'd here but once for all. Besides, the laws themselves, whether they be consider'd with a moral, religious, ceremonial, or political view, are so blended and intermixt together under the names of laws, statutes, ordinances, judgments, testimonies, commandments, precepts, and the like; that unless they are reduc'd under their several heads, a common reader would be rather confounded, than inform'd in the design and injunction of them. What might induce providence to deliver them in that seemingly irregular method, is not easy to be guessed at, unless we suppose, that a more methodical manner would have favour'd too much of human wisdom. But as to the so frequent repetition of them, the reader will find sufficient occasion for it, since it is but too plain by the sequel, that neither that, nor the grievous punishments, that beset them almost upon every disobedience, prov'd powerful enough to bend their stubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable disposition. All that need be said here concerning those laws and ordinances is, that some related to the immediate worship of God; such as were, the building of the tabernacle, with all its grand apparatus of utensils for use and ornament, their sacrifices of all sorts, the consecration of their priests and *Levites*, the holy oyl to anoint them, their habit, office, privileges, revenue, and the like; the festivals, offerings, tithes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diseases, meats, and some others to the like purpose. Some of which are rightly look'd upon as typical (Y); others, as topical, or confined to that cli-

We shall close this note with observing that, tho' the *Jews* reckon'd the same number of commandments as we do, and call'd them by way of excellency the ten words, from which they had afterwards the name of decalogue; yet they join the first and second into one, and divide the last, which is against coveting, into two: as for that against stealing, they understand it of stealing of men, or kid-napping, alledging that the stealing of another's goods or property is forbid in the last commandment (13).

(Y) We could willingly excuse ourselves from entering any farther into this unpleasant controversy, after what has been said already at the beginning of the last note and elsewhere † upon this subject, there being so little likelihood of pleasing either of the opposite sides, much less of reconciling them. Each party is fond of their own extreme, and value themselves upon being direct antipodes to the other; little dreaming that truth lies in a middle between them. The reader may easily remember

what we have hinted, about the probability of the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* borrowing something from each other; all therefore that needs to be added is that those, who pretend that the former had all or most of their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, &c. from the latter, because they find that these did afterwards use the same kind of religious utensils\*, do entirely go counter to the express tenor of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, which mentions all these, and many more, as instituted on purpose by God himself, to typify those better things which he reserv'd for the times of the gospel (14). 'Tis plain from the tenor of the old and new testament, that the paschal lamb, passage over the red-sea, the lifting up of the serpent by *Moses*, the *Israelites* wandering in the wilderness, their entering into the land of *Canaan*, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as such by the writers of the latter. But on the other hand, those who scrupulously deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given such

(13) *Rabbin. ser. omni.* Vid. *MUNST. in loc.* † *Pag. 427* & *seq. sub not. (R)* \* *MAIM. SPENC. LECLERK ub. supr.* (14) *Vid. Hebr. pass. partic. ch. ix.*

a mate (Z), and others as political; but all of them, to all appearance calcu-

such an unmeasurable scope to their fancies, in order to prove the relation between those types and their pretended antitypes, that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in Aaron's garment, neither kettle, fork, or spoon, without one. This enthusiastic spirit of typifying every thing display'd itself more particularly, soon after the reformation. We shall beg leave to subjoin one instance of it, not so much for the singularity or brightness of it, as to shew how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent protestants, the one a *Lutheran*, and the other a *Calvinist*, had been wrangling a considerable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs without any seeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make *Luther* the antitype of *Aaron*, seeing he was the first that had set up and lighted the grand candlestick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to disprove the fact, had recourse to the same typical reasoning, and affirmed, that if *Luther* was *Aaron's* antitype upon that score, *Calvin* was much more so, since it was manifest, that if he had not taken the *snuffers* into his hand, the lamps would have given such a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it. We can easily join our wishes with the great critic, from whom we have this story (15), that, where people can feed their religion with such airy diet, it may do them much good; but we can by no means think with him, that the despicable figure, which the *Jews* then made, is an invincible objection against the proud *Egyptians*, who hated them above all nations, borrowing any of their ceremonies; seeing the same argument will equally hold against either side; and the superstition, common to them both, might easily get the better of their pride and hatred. What wild notions men had then, and long enough since, of the godhead, may easily be gathered from that saying of the *Syrians* (16), *their gods are gods of the hills, and there prove stronger than ours; but if we get them into the plain, ours will get the better of them*. Might it not therefore be natural for the *Egyptians*, as we hinted once before †, to enquire how such a poor slavish people, as that of the *Hebrews*, came to be in such high favour with their God, that he should fall thus severely upon their own, and so many other brave nations, on their behalf? They could scarcely attribute it to any merit or excellency in them, and therefore might easily conclude them to have found out some way of gaining his friendship by their sacrifices, and manner of worshipping him; which, if they but once attained to, could not fail of much greater success. Add to this, that if the priests were consulted about it, as it is most likely they were, they could not be against embracing such a sort of worship, which, however it proved to the laity, could not but be gainful to them: now if this be granted to be a natural supposition, the objection falls to the ground, and there is an end of our author's pretended impossibility. As for what is added on that side of the question, *viz.* that the *Egyptians* sacrificed horses and hogs to their gods, whilst the *Hebrews* offered nothing but sheep, or at best, oxen, this difference, allowing the case to be fact, might easily proceed from some remaining leaven of their old superstition, which could not suffer them to sacrifice such beasts as they had been used to worship. They might likewise probably enough attribute the *Hebrews* not sacrificing any thing above an ox to their fordidness, that creature being of far less value than horses, and

so be induced not only to imitate, but to out-do them, by offering a more valuable sacrifice than they. Upon the whole, the *Egyptians*, being generally allowed to have been the first introducers of idolatry, may be reasonably supposed to have been likewise the inventors of a great deal of superstitious trash, and the *Jews*, who had been as it were formed in their country, to have contracted such a particular fondness for it, as not to be easy without having something like it among them. We beg leave to anticipate so far upon their history as to bring one instance of this once for all, and with it to dismiss this intricate point. *Moses* promised the people, that God would send his angel to them to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. *Moses* goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, by which time they gave him over for lost: uncertain what to do, and fearful lest the *Amalekites*, or some other nation, should fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promised conductor, and, being ignorant what kind of one God designed for them, interpreted it in an *Egyptian* sense, and in a tumultuous manner gather about *Aaron*, and insist that he should make them such a one. *Aaron*, who guessed their meaning, calls a golden calf, no doubt in imitation of the *Egyptian* *apis*; for without the assistance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the last creatures that one would chuse to make a symbol of the deity ‡. He sets it up in the midst of the camp; and the people, highly pleased with it, begin to pay the usual worship of sacrifices, dancing, &c. to it: in the mean time *Moses* comes down, and surprises them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and them with their folly and ingratitude, and destroys the *Egyptian* idol. After this he returns immediately to the top of the mountain, complains of their idolatry and stubbornness, and intreats God to pity and forgive them, and God, who saw that their minds were bent upon some outward symbol, in compassion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark; which, though differing in the main from the *Egyptian* idols, yet should still retain something of a resemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at least the head of a calf, as shall be shewn in its proper place. Who doth not see by all this, that God did only comply so far with the carnal genius of that untoward people, as to give them a visible symbol, without condescending so low, at the same time, as to permit such a close imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wise prove a snare to them in process of time? If it be asked, how so polite a nation, as that of the *Egyptians*, came to chuse a cow, or a calf, to represent the deity? we can only add to what has been said before \* the conjecture of some ancient and modern authors, such as *Suidas* in his *Saxanis*, *Rufin* in his ecclesiastical history, *Perreius* and *Kercher* in their hieroglyphics, *Hottinger* and others, who all seem probably enough to think that it was in honour of *Joseph*, and in memory of the seven cows, which represented the plenty by which he preserved that country from perishing; and this seems the more probable, because several of the most ancient authors, besides those above quoted, agree, that this ox or cow was represented carrying a bushel upon its head, which might be designed to signify the plenty of corn, which that patriarch caused to be layed up; all which we willingly submit to our reader's judgment.

(Z) It cannot be denied, but several of the  
Mosaic

(15) I. E. CLERK'S *Bibl. A. & M.* tom. XII. p. 313.  
p. 427. note (K).

† *Vid. supr.* p. 398. note (H). & *alib. pass.*

(16) 1 *Kings* xx. 23.

\* *Ibid.* p. 206.

† *Vid. supr.*

lated with a wise design of preserving them, both in their obedience to God, <sup>a</sup> and from all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worship into their own. Besides these, *Moses* received a great number of political laws properly so called, which related to the welfare and preservation of their commonwealth: of this nature were those which ascertained every man's property, and appointed proportionate punishments to the invaders of it. Such were also those of the *Jubilee*, which restored every man, once in fifty years, to his paternal estate, however alienated during that time: the cities of refuge to secure the life of a man, who had innocently slain another: such were also the great court of judicature, known afterwards by the name of *Sanhedrin*; their other courts of judicature, choice of magistrates, and others to the <sup>b</sup> same end; all which were delivered at several times, and upon divers exigencies by God to *Moses*, and by him committed to writing in the same order in which he received them <sup>c</sup>. Neither were all these laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for after the setting up of the tabernacle, God was pleased to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing however is remarkable in that last intercourse we have been mentioning, namely, the promise which God made to *Israel* <sup>1</sup>, that he would send his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promised land; and that if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themselves from the pollutions of those nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a panicky fear upon <sup>c</sup> them, so that they should not be able to resist them; adding, that they should not make a complete conquest of them at once, lest the wild beasts should prove too strong for them; but that they should carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the red-sea unto the sea of the *Philistines*, and from the desert unto the river <sup>m</sup>.

The covenant  
between God  
and the people  
ratified.

IMMEDIATELY after this, *Moses* reared an altar to God, and offered burnt sacrifices and peace-offerings upon it, and having caused the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a solemn promise from them, that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by sprinkling the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims, and then ordered twelve pillars <sup>d</sup> to be erected, one for each tribe, as a standing monument of this alliance be-

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxiv. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. xxiii. 20. & seq.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. ver. 31.

*Mosaic* ordinances and prohibitions are of this nature, and were very necessary and beneficial, not only in *Canaan*, but in all hot countries. Such were those that related to all kind of cleanliness, that forbid the nuptial commerce at certain periods, and all intercourse with persons that had the leprosy, or any other infectious disease, and the like. But some learned men have gone further, and have fancied, that all forbidden meats, such as swine, hares, rabbits, ducks, &c. were, if not wholly, yet for the greatest part prohibited upon the same account, namely, as being unwholesome and detrimental to health in those hot climates. To prove this some have taken no small pains to shew that we have not a right understanding of all those creatures that are thus forbid: they instance out of *Berbar* (17), that the שפן, *Shaphan*, which we translate a rabbit, is a kind of rat that lives upon the rocks, and consequently, that the word should be translated a rock-rat, which animal he observes is of the bigness of a squirrel, and that *Palestine* and *Arabia* abound with it. We shall not trouble ourselves with enquiring how far we do misunderstand the names of those creatures, the eating of whose flesh *Moses* forbids, nor how far some or any of them be really unwholesome to eat. It is certain we are not mistaken in that of the swine, which, whatever be pretended to the contrary, is both commonly and safely eat in all hot countries, except by the *Turks*, whose law has copied this, among a great many

things from the *Jewish*. The Rabbies indeed will have it, that it was forbid by reason of its extreme nastiness, both in its eating and wallowing in all manner of filth (18); but yet it is plain, that it never was accounted unwholesome upon that account in the hottest country we know of. We shall therefore venture to offer what we think is a more probable reason, why swine, hares, geese, &c. were forbid by *Moses*, namely, to prevent thereby as much as possible the *Jews* having any intercourse with other nations, either by being present at their feasts or common festivals, or contracting affinities with them, by inspiring them with an abhorrence against their most common meats by this express prohibition, and allowing them at the same time the use of a sufficient quantity of others to live comfortably by. It is also worth observing, that of all the meats forbidden by the *Mosaic* law, the *Jews* had the swine in greatest detestation, inasmuch that they rather chose the most cruel deaths than to save their lives by eating it. † How they came to contract such an extreme aversion to it, above any other, can only be imputed to the inferring it more commonly eat by other nations, than any of the rest, it being justly looked upon as the most friendly and nourishing to our bodies of any other flesh, and to all appearance designed so by providence, since they are the most useless and offensive creatures in any shape or place, but in the dish.

(17) LE SCHEW. *Ess. on a N. Transl.* p. 124. (18) *Middrash Tanbura. Middrash Tebillim. supr. verb. Psal. cxlvi. 7. Vid. Ḥ MAIMONID. More Nevoch. part iii. cap. 48. MEYER, de tempor. sacr. Hebr. cap. xi. § 15 & 16. † Vid. Maccab. vi. 18. & seq. & alib. pass.*



- a between God and them. When he had made an end of this ceremony, he took with him Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, some part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the God of Israel in a kind of vision, with a pavement of sapphire-stone under him, exceeding the very sky in brightness, and after he had committed the care of the people unto them, he took Joshua up into the mountain with him, and stayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that God gave him the two tables of stone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expositors understand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate command and direction of God himself (A). With these he gave him also the whole plan of the Jewish religion, of the tabernacle, and all the utensils belonging to it, and several other laws concerning the priests, Levites, and laity, and lastly an order for exacting a free will-offering from all the children of Israel, according to their abilities, of gold, silver, brags, scarlet, silk, wool, oyl, spices, and all other necessary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, priestly robes, and all other things that were to be appointed for the public worship. The care of making all these things was to be committed to Bezaleel, of the tribe of Judah, and Aboliab, of the tribe of Dan, two persons whom God had endowed with an extraordinary skill and wisdom to contrive and execute all these grand designs, according to his directions.

Moses takes 70 of the elders up towards the mountain.

Goes himself into the cloud.

\* Exod. a cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx.

\* Ibid. xxxi. pass.

(A) What character these tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the Samaritan, or in the Assyrian, shall be considered when we come to speak of their writing; and therefore all we shall observe at present, concerning them, is, that Moses tells us, that they were writ, or engraved, מִצִּדּוֹ וּמִצִּדּוֹ, *Mize umine*, on this and on that side (19). From which their Talmud tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, so as to be seen and read on either side. And when the question is put, how it was possible for the middle part of the  $\square$  final mem and  $\square$  samech to support itself? the Talmudist answers, that it was kept suspended by a miraculous power: we are far enough from crediting such fables, against the plain meaning of the text, which, at most, imports only, either that they were written on both sides, that is, front and back-side, or more probably, that they were so on the two faces, like the two pages of an open book, in which sense Moses's words are generally taken; but what we would observe from it is, that the compilers of the talmud never could dream of the Samaritan being the ancient Hebrew character, because those two letters are of a quite different shape, and needed not such a miracle to support the middle, more than any other letter. It is therefore a wonder that those, who have embraced this notion, should quote the talmud for it (21); But such has been their prepossession in favour of that old character, that they have mistaken an objection for a positive text, and overlooked two or three express answers which immediately follow it. But of this we shall have a more proper occasion to speak in the sequel. As to other particulars relating to these tables, such as their number, which some eastern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to seventeen (22); though the Talmud, and all the Jewish rabbies do constantly call them the two tables of the covenant (23): their shape, bigness, what material they were made of? which some rabbies take to have

been some precious wood, others, some precious stone, as a ruby or carbuncle: in what order the ten commandments were writ? whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or some part upon one, and the rest upon the other? these, and other such nice enquiries we purposely forbear, because the scriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our sense of those expressions of Moses, that these tables were written by the finger of God, that they were the work of God, and that the writing was the writing of God, and the like. For though a great many expositors understand them literally, as writ by God himself, others by an angel, and others by the spirit of God, which is sometimes called the finger of God (24). Yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what Moses says in another place (25), that God commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the second tables, as they had been written in the first, which he had broken, and that he did so accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in Deuteronomy (26), that he (God) wrote on the second tables, according to the writing of the first, the ten commandments; it is plain, I say, that the words can imply no more, than that they were writ by the command and direction of God, and that Moses was the person that wrote the first, as well as the last; though the common opinion of antient and modern expositors is, that God wrote the first, and he the last (27).

The Mohammedans tell us, that God commanded the angel Gabriel to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of God, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables. And that after Moses had broke them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards deposited in the ark (28).

(19) Exod. xxxii. 15. (20) Talmud. Megillath. (21) MORIN. Dissert. in pensat. Samaritan. Walton. prolegom. Whiston. &c. al. (22) Vid. HERBELLOT's Bibliot. Orient. in loc. (23) Talm. tract. sanhedr. vid. etiam. מִצִּדּוֹ וּמִצִּדּוֹ, Cantic. מִצִּדּוֹ וּמִצִּדּוֹ. (24) Vid. Exod. viii. 19. Luke xi. 26. & alib. (25) Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28. (26) Ch. x. 4. (27) CYRIL. lib. de S. Spirit. AUGUST. quæst. in Exod. 186. JUN. VILLET. Rabbis. vid. MUNST. &c. al. in loc. (28) Vid. Bibliot. Orient. p. 649.



*Is given over  
by the people.*

*The golden  
calf set up.*

In the mean time, the people, who had seen *Moses* go up and enter into the cloud, whilst the top of the mountain was all in flames<sup>a</sup>, after they had waited above a month for him, began to give him over for lost. In this uncertain condition, they assembled themselves in a riotous manner about *Aaron's* tent, and told him that, as they wholly despaired of *Moses's* return, they expected that he should make them some gods to go before them; and such was his extreme weakness and cowardice, that he doth not seem to have hesitated one moment, whether he should refuse to comply with their request, but to have directed them immediately to bring him sufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf. † A learned *Romish* writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the *Jewish* high priest, in compliment to the Pope to whom he dedicates the work<sup>c</sup>, which was however universally condemned, even by those of his own church. And indeed the most that can be said in *Aaron's* defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people, especially the women and children, would be so ready to part, or as he expresses it to tear off from them their ear-rings and other ornaments, as they proved. However when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no scruple to be as quick as they in answering their request, so that in a little time the calf was finished and set up. The greatest part of the *Jews* throw the fault of this whole transaction upon the *Egyptians* that were come out with them, and who, they pretend, first put it into the people's head to ask for these gods: they add, that *Aaron* had no hand in the casting of it in that form, but that it was done by some *Egyptian* conjurer, by dint of magic, which they prove from the short time he took in making it, and from *Aaron's* words to *Moses*: *they gave me (their gold) and I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf*. But we may justly affirm, that they, who undertake to vindicate *Aaron's* weakness, whether *Jews* or *Christians*<sup>d</sup>, do act with less modesty than *Josephus*, who saw too plainly, how vain it was to offer any excuse for an action so severely reprov'd and condemned by *Moses* himself, and therefore hath chosen wholly to suppress it, rather than to record a deed so little to his predecessors credit, however gloss'd or palliated. Had not *Moses* had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we should have lost this, among many other pregnant testimonies of his faithfulness and sincerity. However, the people were so eager for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold ear-rings to *Aaron*, who lost no time to have it cast according to his promise (B); and having set it upon a pedestal, in full sight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, told them in their own dialect, that these were the gods which brought them out

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Exod. xxiv. 16, 17. † Ibid. 32. pass. <sup>c</sup> MONCEUS de Vitul. Aur. ap. Oper. Critic. vol. II. p. 4415. vid. etiam BAYL. Dict. sub. voc. Aaron. <sup>d</sup> BERRUYER's Hist. du peup. de Dieu. in loc. CALM. & al. Exod. xxxii. 21.

(B) Our version, and several others, have given us a very uncouth account of the casting of this golden calf, by making *Aaron* fashion it with a graving tool; after he had cast it in a mould (29): that of *Geneva* is still more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it first, and cast it afterwards. For to say nothing of the improbability of that kind of engraving being known so early, when we meet with nothing like it in all the fine works of *Solomon's* temple so long after, which was wrought with more art and greater deliberation, it is plain, that *Aaron* could not have time enough to get the mould ready, and metal melted, and the idol cast, and engraven, especially if, as the *Jews* affirm, he set it up on the very morrow after they had brought him the metal. The mistake is owing to their not attending to the various sense of the verb צור, *Tzur*, which signifies, *to tie up*, and *bind*, as well as *to shape*, and *form*, nor to that of the word חרש, *Cherret*, which though it may properly enough be rendered a graving tool in one or two places where it is used; yet in others signifies a bag: accordingly,

*Naaman*, the Syrian, is said to have tied up two talents of silver in two bags (30), in which place these two words צור, *Tzur*, and חרש, are used. We think them therefore in the right, who have rendered the verse now in question, *and Aaron received them (the gold ear-rings) and tied them in a bag, and got them cast into a molten calf* (31).

As for the calf itself, some ancient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the *Egyptian Isis* (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it. But however, the most general opinion is, that it was a whole calf in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. But whatever the shape of it was, it is plain from some of the prophets (34), and especially from St. *Stephen's* words, *in their hearts they returned into Egypt, and forced Aaron to make them a molten calf* (35); that they learned this kind of idolatry, and contracted their incorrigible propensity to it, during their abode in *Egypt*.

(29) Exod. xxxii. 4. (30) 2 Kings v. 23. (31) LE SCHE. Essay on a N. Verf. (32) Vid. Hieron. LACT. AUGUST. AMBROS. & al. (33) Vid. HERODOT. lib. ii. cap. 41. (34) Isai. Exek. Amos & al. pass. (35) Acts vii. 39. & seq.

a of Egypt, and appointed the next day as a solemn festival to their new made deity; which they began with offering burnt sacrifices and peace-offerings to it, and concluded with feasting and dancing.

In the mean time, God, who beheld what passed in their camp, and that the ungrateful *Israelites* were rendering themselves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed *Moses* of it, who by this time had spent full forty days in fasting and prayer; but with such threatening expressions against those idolaters, as made him fear that some heavy punishment, if not total destruction was going to fall upon them. But though God did all this while comfort him with promises of making him the father of as numerous a nation, as that of the *Israelites* then was, yet he  
b rather chose to intercede for them, and ceased not to sue for their pardon till he had obtained a kind of promise of it from him. After this taking the two tables, and his servant *Joshua* with him, he came down from the mountain. He was scarce got to the foot of it, before he was surprized with their strange shoutings, which, as he rightly guessed, were neither like those of a flying, or a pursuing army; but to his great grief he soon beheld the sad cause of it, the calf which his brother had set up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was so great, that he vented the first emotions of it by breaking the two tables, after which he went and upbraided his pusillanimous brother in the strongest terms, for having so easily yielded to the people's shameful desire, assuring him that he had not only brought a horrid sin upon them,  
c but had now made them naked to their shame in the midst of their enemies, meaning thereby, that he had publickly exposed their idolatrous and stubborn disposition to all the world, and layed them naked and open to the artifices, which their enemies would make use of to make them forfeit that divine protection, which alone could bring them safe into the promised land.

AARON failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people, which he said forced him to comply with their request; but *Moses*, instead of listening to his excuses, set himself immediately about the destruction of the idol, and the punishment of such of the delinquents, whom his presence had not yet driven away from the place where it was set up. He caused the calf to be taken down, to be  
d burnt and ground into powder, and cast into the water, of which he afterwards made all the people to drink (C). Whilst this was a doing, he cried aloud, who is on the Lord's side? and finding that the sons of *Levi* did immediately join themselves to him, he commanded them to gird on their swords, and to go and slay all, indifferently, whom they should still find at that idolatrous feast, without regard to age or quality, kindred, friendship, or acquaintance. These went forthwith from *Moses's* presence, and punished with immediate death about three thousand of those wretches, whom they caught straggling about in the midst of their mirth. Some copies of the

*Moses comes down from the mount.*

*Breaks the two tables.*

*The Levites kill 3000 delinquents.*

(C) This action of *Moses*, of melting, grinding, and powdering, the golden idol, in order to make the people drink it with the water into which he threw it, has been as strangely canvassed by several alchemists, as well as by our infidels, as it has been oddly defended by cabbalists and enthusiasts. The former have cried it down as unphilosophical and contrary to the known qualities of gold; the other have cried *Moses* up as having attained to the grand secret of transmutation †. These indeed are scarcely worth answering; but with respect to the former, it is plain, that gold may be reduced to a fine and almost impalpable powder, and it is no more than all our refiners know how to do. The *Egyptians* and other nations might likewise know some things concerning that metal, which have been since lost, by people's running into favourite hypotheses, perhaps upon some experiments not rightly understood, or not sufficiently bottomed. Nothing has been more commonly received than the notion, that gold cannot be destroyed; and yet the royal academy at *Paris* have a burning glass that will vitrify it in an instant, by evaporating all the sulphur of it, which crackles and flies up in a thick smoke, whilst the glass that remains can never be reduced into

any other form. And *Borrichius* assures us, that he has, by a constant trituration of that metal in some simple distilled water, during the space of thirty days, raised this sulphur up to the surface of the water, upon which it appeared like a fine red oyl, whilst all the rest that subsided was only a greyish powder, which could never be reduced into any other form, but appeared, in all respects, the same with that which he had got out of baser metals by the same method of trituration; though none of the latter, not even silver, ever afforded any thing like that beautiful oyl which gold did (36).

The rabbies, however, pretend, that the reason of *Moses's* making the people drink this gold-powder, was in order to know the idolaters from the rest, for that, as soon as they had drank it, the beards of the former turned red. The cabalists add, that the idol weighed 125 quintals, or hundreds, which they gather from the Hebrew word מַסֶּכֶת, *Masseket*, whose numerical letters make 125. But why quintals rather than pounds, ounces, or talents, they give no reason for (37).

† *Vid. Aur. tract. de lap. philosoph. SEN. ZADIK. de chemia. Arcan. Hermet. philosoph. & al.*  
(36) *Vid. B. SIGON. N. Method.* (37) *R. TAUCHUM in Elle Shem. Rab. fol. 42.*

Their zeal is rewarded.

Moses returns to the mount.

septuagint and the vulgate say twenty three, and others thirty three thousand; but besides that the original mentions no more than three thousand, and those versions are acknowledged by several eminent men of the church of Rome to be corrupt in this place †, it is hardly probable, that they could make so great a slaughter in so short a time. This timely zeal of the tribe of *Levi*, against those idolaters, did not go unrewarded: for it did not only wipe off that blemish which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody massacre of the *Shechemites*, but, in a very short time, procured them the *Levitical* priesthood; which, though subordinate to that of *Aaron* and his posterity, did entitle them to the tenths of all kinds of beasts, fruits, and grain in *Israel*; to the inferior ministry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town; to the property of thirty-five cities, with all their lands, some of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to several other privileges and immunities, of which a further account shall be given in its proper place. In the mean time the people, who were witnesses of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what severity *Moses* had reproved his brother, were under the greatest consternation; at the sight of which, it is probable, his anger was in a great measure disarmed, since he contented himself with upbraiding them with their ingratitude and extreme folly, comforting them moreover with a promise that he would go up to the mountain again, and try how far his prayers could prevail with the divine mercy, and avert the punishment which they had deserved. He went up accordingly, and interceded so powerfully for them, that he at length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of God's former promise of bringing them into the promised land under the conduct of his angel. However, both the pardon and promise were so far conditional, that the people were to make some atonement for their rebellion, by a solemn and publick act of humiliation, and a promise of being more obedient for the future; for in case they should, by a further relapse, bring down a fresh punishment upon themselves, this idolatry was likewise to be punished along with it (D)\*. One of these conditions the people immediately embraced, and a solemn day of humiliation was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they divested themselves of all their gaudy apparel and costly ornaments: and in memory of this sin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the *Jews* have observed that fast yearly to this day. At the same time God, to administer some comfort to *Moses*, whom he saw struggling under such a heavy load of grief and care, and, as a further mark of his particular favour, was pleased, at his request, to grant him a sight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it, a sight of that angel, or rather divine conductor, under whose direction and care they were to go and conquer the promised land (E).

† CAJET. VATABL. LIPPOMAN. A. MONTAN. & al. vid. 1 Cor. x. 8. \* Exod. xxxv. per tot. Ibid. ver. 12. & seq.

(D) The *Jews* have understood these words in so unlimited a sense, that they tell us upon the authority of one of their greatest rabbies, quoted by the *Talmud* (38), that God doth not inflict a punishment upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty-fourth part of this sin of the golden calf put into the scale with it: but another (39), afraid lest that proportion should have been long since exhausted, hath confined it to the *Israelites*, and allows but about one ounce of the golden calf to go into the dose of every such punishment; so that it can hardly fail of lasting a considerable while, especially if the calf weighed so many hundred weights as they tell us it did. However, it is plain by the text, that God did only design to deter them from relapsing into the like crime, by threatening that in such a case he would inflict a double punishment upon them.

(E) It must be owned, that the account, which *Moses* gives us of this divine vision, is none of the clearest, insomuch that some of the expressions he uses, such as that he should not see God's face,

but only his back, &c. have induced some free-thinkers to tax him, and all the *Jews* after him, with being *Anthropomorphites*, 'till they learned a more refined divinity from the *Babylonians* during their captivity. But it must be remembered, that *Moses* spoke to a gross and carnal people, in a language far from copious, especially in words or idioms suitable either to the deity, or to the dignity of the present glorious manifestation; and that it is therefore no wonder if he borrows his expressions from outward and sensible objects and actions. It is plain, that those who wrote in *Greek*, which is vastly more rich than the *Hebrew*, even the very writers of the new testament and the primitive fathers, who were the farthest from having any such absurd ideas of the godhead, have been forced to make use of the same figurative expressions in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and adequate ones, which were equally wanting in that as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear that the *Jews* themselves understood *Moses's* words in that gross sense; on the contrary it is plain, that

(38) R. ISAAC in *Talmud. Tract. Sanhedr.*

(39) MOS. GERUNDENS. vid. MUNST. in loc.

- a MOSSES stayed in the mount another forty days and nights, during which, he tells us, he neither eat nor drank (F), but spent his whole time in praying and making two other tables, like unto those which he had broken, and in receiving some further instructions from God; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little surprised to observe, that his face had contracted such a glorious lustre during his recess, that they could not intently behold it. This obliged him to cover it with a veil whenever he was to speak to them, which he took off whenever he went to receive God's commands\*. By this time the people were become a little more tractable, and he had no sooner acquainted them, among other things, that God expected they should every one bring a free-will-offering of all sorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utensils, priestly garments, and the like; but both men and women shewed the greatest eagerness and readiness to contribute their richest jewels, metals, and other precious things <sup>A general offering of all the people.</sup> which they had got out of the spoils of the Egyptians and Amalekites; so that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than sufficient quantity of precious stones, gold, silver, brass, shittim and cedar-wood, silk, cotton, linnen, and finest wool died in purple, scarlet, and other colours, a great number of skins of rams, badgers, and goats richly died, besides a large quantity of the richest oyls, spices, ointments and perfumes. All these he distributed to proper artists to be wrought in the richest manner, and made Bezaleel and Abolibama overseers of all the work\*. These two
- b shewed such diligence, and employed so many hands in the work, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture and costly apparatus, were finished, and set up at the foot of mount Sinai, in less than six months. Aaron and his sons, being solemnly consecrated priests, began to offer up all kinds of sacrifices upon the new altar, according to the law of Moses. Soon after this, the heads of each tribe appeared <sup>Aaron consecrated high-priest.</sup> before Moses and Aaron, and presented a very considerable offering to God, in six waggons drawn each by two oxen, all which were received by Moses, and set aside for the service of the tabernacle†. Thus was this pompous worship begun, in the framing and instituting of which God was pleased to comply with their gross and carnal minds, which he saw was incapable of being affected with a purer and more
- d spiritual one\*.

Aaron had not been long installed in his office of high-priest, before he had the mortification of seeing his two sons, Nadab and Abihu, struck dead by fire <sup>His sons killed by fire from heaven.</sup>

\* Exod. xxxiv. per tot. \* Ibid xxxv. 20, 21. & seq. † Numb. vii. 1. & seq. \* Exod. from Ch. xxxvi. to the end.

that they had a notion that this angel or divine appearance, which directed them through the wilderness, was the *Messiah*, who did then take a visible form which they called the *Shekinah*, from שִׁכְנָה, *Shakan*, to dwell, under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. By this *Shekinah*, some understand all the appearances which God took from the beginning, and others, only the *Shekinah* of fire and water, or the fiery and cloudy pillar spoken of a little higher. But they all agree, that it was the כֶּסֶד הַכְבוֹד, *Kisseh kahabod*, the throne of glory, one of the seven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

But, to disculpate at once the Jewish law-giver from such an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious descriptions he gives almost every where, especially in *Deuteronomy*, of the god-head; what pains he takes to deter the Jews from making any representation of it under any form whatsoever, by reminding them, that when God vouchsafed to display his glory upon mount Sinai at the delivering of the ten commands, they saw no shape nor likeness, but only heard his dreadful voice. These so frequent inculcations may therefore be reasonably looked upon as a key to them, how to understand all those other expressions which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal sense, but in such a one as was worthy of the deity, and the dignity of the subject.

(F) Buxtorf quotes a Jewish proverb out of the large comment on *Exodus*, with respect to this miraculous fasting of Moses, which is to this purpose: 'that above, where there is neither eating nor drinking, Moses stayed 80 days, and became like the angels; and below where men do eat and drink, ministering angels came down, and eat and drank like them (41). By this one would be apt to think they attributed both the one and the other, rather to a change of climate, than to a miracle. But without enquiring whether Moses, and afterwards Christ, were miraculously supported without any kind of sustenance or not, we beg leave to observe, that the words which Christ quotes from Moses, that *man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God* †, contains an *hebraism* which cannot be retained in a version, without conveying a wrong idea. *Word*, in the original, doth often signify *thing*, and is used in that sense by the writers of the new testament who, following their native idiom, make still use of that term to express any things or transactions. The text ought therefore to have been rendered, *Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every thing that God has appointed or ordained for his nourishment* †\*; since it is plain, that Moses speaks, in the place quoted, not of his fasting, but of the manna which God gave the *Israelites* instead of bread.

(40) *Vid. Chald. Paraph. in loc. & in Genes. i. 1. RAYM. MART. pag. 8d. DUPLESS. Cent. Jud. MUNT. not. in Gen. i. 1. & al.* (41) *Vid. BUXTORF. Lexic. sub. rad. DDJ.* † *Matth. iv. 4. out of Deut. viii. 3.* \* † *LE SCEN. Essay on a N. Verf.*

from heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with a strange fire, <sup>a</sup> contrary to God's command; whom *Moses* therefore ordered to be carried forth with out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp. Presently after this, he expressly forbade *Aaron*, and all his successors, to drink either wine or any intoxicating liquor, whenever they went into the tabernacle, lest they should incur the same fate with his two sons; from which the *Jews* do conclude, reasonably enough, that these two, being drunk when they went to burn incense, took some strange fire with them, instead of that holy one which God had ordered to be preserv'd in the tabernacle, and had been taken from that which fell miraculously on the first victims, that were offered upon the new altar, and had consumed them in the presence of all the people <sup>b</sup>.

The rebellion  
at Taberah.

*Moses* had not long after a fresh occasion to observe how short-liv'd their tractable disposition was, tho' it had so lately shewed itself and upon so extraordinary an occasion, and that they were just ready for another rebellion, because he had made them take too long a march at their departure from the wilderness of *Sinai*. He made therefore all the haste he could to intercede for them, and to appease the divine anger which was already kindled, and had shewed its effects in an extraordinary fire which began to consume the extremities of the camp. His prayer was heard, and the fire ceased, upon which account the place was called *Taberah*, or burning <sup>c</sup>. However, *Moses* began to find, by this fresh instance of their stubbornness, that the burthen of government was like to prove still too heavy for him, notwithstanding his having thrown off a great part of it upon those magistrates, which he had chosen at *Jethro's* advice. He went to present his complaint at the tabernacle, where God was now pleased to speak to him from the mercy-seat; and God, to ease him of this load of care, commanded him to make choice of seventy of the most considerable of the elders of *Israel*, both for wisdom and integrity, to whom he should impart a portion of his spirit (G), and erect them into a supreme court, that they might bear their share of the burthen with him. *Moses* made no delay to obey God's command, and it was not long before he found the advantage of it; for they were no sooner removed from *Taberah*, but their very next incampment was signalized with a fresh insurrection. A mixt multitude <sup>d</sup> of the dregs of *Egypt* and other nations, who had followed the *Israelites* hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forsaking the garlic, onions, and flesh-pots of *Egypt* for it, and soon infected the whole camp with a longing after some better food. *Moses's* tent was beset on all sides with crowds who came, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded that he should provide them flesh to eat instead of the manna, which their souls did now begin to loath. In this extremity *Moses* had recourse to God, complained of the unreasonableness of their demand, and that his tender care for them had only made them more rebellious and untractable; adding, that death in any shape was less terrible to him than the persecutions to which he was continually exposed.

The great  
council of seventy appointed.

A new murmuring for want of flesh.

THIS passionate expostulation shewed indeed something like despair in him, nevertheless God, who saw and weighed the many provocations which extorted it from him, instead of a rebuke, did immediately promise him a speedy remedy. He commanded him to call together the seventy elders to the door of the tabernacle, and whilst his glory drew the eyes of the whole camp towards it, he was pleased to promise them that he would send them such a present supply of flesh, as should serve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it be-

<sup>a</sup> Levit. x. 1, 2, & seq.  
ver. ult.

<sup>b</sup> Num. x. 1. & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Chald. paraph. Vajicra. Rab. & al.

<sup>d</sup> Levit. ix.

(G) This the *Jews*, judiciously enough, compare to a candle lighting a great number of others, without losing any of its light. For *Moses* had such a rebellious crew to deal with, as would not permit him to part with the least portion of his spirit, which he found all too little to govern them (42).

The *Talmudists* tell us moreover (43), that *Moses* was greatly puzzled how to chuse these seventy out of the twelve tribes. If he chose six out of each, there would be two too many; if

but five, there would be ten too few; and if he chose six out of some and five out of other tribes, he was sure of causing a fresh murmuring, if not a rebellion. At length he bethought himself of the following expedient; he chose six out of every tribe, then wrote upon seventy tickets the word *Elder*, the other two he left blank, after which he made them draw lots, assuring them, that those that drew the latter were set aside by the Lord. Concerning these two supernumerary ones, see the following note.

(42) *Banmidbar. Rabbab. & Targ. JONATH. in loc.* (43) *Talm. TraB. Sankidr. fol. 17. col. 1.*



- a came as loathsome to them as the manna was. At the same time, he imparted to the seventy elders such a share of his spirit, that they all began to prophesy (H); and the same gift continued with them as long as they lived. As for *Moses*, though his faith had hitherto been unshaken, yet the promise of such a surprizing supply of flesh appeared to him incredible, till he beheld the completion of it. The camp was at that time in *Arabia Petrea*, at a small distance from the red-sea; from the other side of which, a strong wind brought such infinite flocks of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for several miles. These birds being probably tired with their long flight, and not able to soar more than two cubits above the ground, were easily caught by the people, and in such quantities, that the least that any one of them gathered was ten *Homers* (I). Their first care was to glut themselves with them, after which they began to think how to preserve the rest from corrupting. But in the midst of their feasting, God was pleased to smite a great number of them with a sore disease, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this severe punishment for their unrea-

Year of the  
flood 1509.  
before Christ  
1490.

A supply of  
quails sent,  
which lasted  
30 days.

(H) *Moses* acquaints us in the same chapter (44), that there remained two in the camp, viz. *Eldad* and *Medad*, who were of the number of those that were written, but went not to the tabernacle, but prophesied in the camp; and that, when word was brought of it to him, *Joshua* proposed to have them silenced, but was highly blamed for envying them the gift of prophecy, instead of wishing that God would rather impart it to all the people. From which words St. *Jerom*, and others after him, have thought them to have been two of the seventy, who had forbore going to the tabernacle out of modesty (45): but had this been the case, there could have been no cause to wonder at their prophesying, nor for *Joshua* to have forbid them; so that it is more likely that these were the two that had been set aside by the lots, to whom nevertheless God imparted the spirit of prophecy, though they were not to have a seat in the great court of the seventy.

Some *Jews* affirm these two to have been brothers to *Moses* by the mother's side; others, that *Amram*, having repudiated *Moses*'s mother, took another wife, by whom he had these two sons (46). There is a fragment of a spurious book quoted in *Hermas* (47), entitled, *the prophecies of Eldad and Medad, or Eldam and Medal*. As for the Rabbies, they are divided about the purport of their prophecies, some thinking that they foretold the destruction of *Gog* and *Magog*; others, the prodigious flight of the quails; and lastly, others, *Moses*'s death in the wilderness, and *Joshua*'s succeeding him.

As to this assembly of the seventy elders, the *Jews*, and after them *Grotius*, and some other *Christians* (48), have affirmed, that it was the same that became afterwards so famous under the name of *Sanhedrin*, to which even their kings and high-priests were subject. The Rabbies have left no stone unturned to prove that this *Sanhedrin* had constantly subsisted ever since its first institution by *Moses*; and that the members of it always assembled themselves before the tabernacle, wherever that was set up, either in the wilderness, or in the promised land, till the building of the temple by *Salomon*, who, they say, built a stately room or hall in the form of an amphitheatre, one half of which, being within the temple, they were not permitted to sit down in, but only in the other half which was without. They add further, that this supreme court was

continued in *Babylon* during their captivity there, and that, at their return, it had the same place rebuilt in the second temple, and so continued till its total extinction under the *Romans*. However, as they bring no authority for all these and many other particularities relating to that assembly, except their bare traditions, they are justly rejected by the far greater part of *Christians*. Certain it is, that we do not find one word of such an high court, either in the times of *Joshua*, of the *Judges*, or of their *Kings*; nor indeed even after the *Babylonish* captivity, till the time of the *Maccabees*. And therefore we shall forbear giving any further account of this *Sanhedrin*, till we come to the time in which it is generally supposed to have been set up. As for these seventy elders, it is likely that they assisted *Moses* during their abode in the wilderness, and that there was an end of their assembly, as soon as they entered into the land of *Canaan*. Their other courts of judicature shall be mentioned in their proper place.

(I) *Homer*, or rather *Chomer*, is a measure which contains ten *Baths*, or five bushels; the *Jews* think *חומר*, *Chomer*, to be the same with *חומר*, *Chamor*, an ass, because the letters are the same, and consequently, that a *Chomer* is an ass's load (49). But this prodigious quantity of quails has appeared so incredible to some learned interpreters, that they have chosen to render the word *Chomer*, an heap; but even this version of ten heaps to each person, or even to each family, in a camp that consisted of near three millions of souls, will appear still too extraordinary, unless it be looked upon as altogether supernatural. To avoid, however, enlarging the miracle beyond what the text seems plainly to import, we have ventured to depart a little from our own and most other versions, which render the words of *Moses* as if the quails had lain two cubits, that is, above a yard thick upon the ground, which would be still more prodigious: whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, *that they flew no higher than two cubits from it*; and this quantity was more than sufficient to serve them a month, considering, that not only the camp, but all the ground for a day's journey round it was covered with it, and that flesh was not then eaten in such quantities as it is now, especially such as that of quails, which is too delicious and surfeiting to be eaten at any such rate.

(44) Numb. xi. 26. & seq.

(45) Ep. 127. *Mansion* 13.

(46) Vid. *Tradit. Hebr. in*

1 *Chronic. iv. 17.*

(47) *HERM. lib. i. Vision 2. c. 5.*

(48) *GROT. Comm. pass. & de*

*Jur. Bell. & Pac. c. 3. art. 20. Vid. SELD. de Synedr. vet. Hebror. lib. ii. c. 13. LIGHTFOOT Hor. Hebr. & al.*

(49) *Fid. MUSEV. in loc.*



*A fierce plague destroys a great number of the rebels.* *Miriam struck with leprosy.* Reasonable lust, the place was called *Kibroth-bataavab*, or the sepulchres of concupiscence; <sup>a</sup> from whence they removed to *Cadesh-barneab*, and thence to *Hazarath* <sup>b</sup>. In this encampment *Miriam*, *Moses's* sister, having been smitten with leprosy, as a punishment for some ill language she had given him, upon the account of his wife *Ziphorah*, of which we have given an account in a former note <sup>†</sup>; *Moses*, at her's and *Aaron's* request, obtained a cure for her, yet so that she was to remain without the camp, as a polluted person, seven days <sup>c</sup>; after which they removed again towards *Cadesh-barneab* in the wilderness of *Paran*. Here *Moses* was commanded to chuse twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to send them to search the land of *Canaan*; among whom were *Joshua* and *Caleb*. These twelve having received *Moses's* directions to view the whole land, to examine the strength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its soil and the like, set out upon their progress, which they performed in forty days.

*Twelve spies sent to view the land.*

AT their return from *Rebob*, which is at the foot of mount *Lebanus*, they past through the valley of *Eshcol*, so called, from the great quantity of the largest grapes with which it abounded, and is still to this day famed for, where they gathered a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes of a prodigious size, which they threw over one of their staves, and brought between two upon their shoulders by turns, to prevent the grapes being bruised.

*Ten of them bring an ill report.*

BEING at length happily arrived at their camp, they went and made their report to *Moses* and *Aaron*, in the presence of the elders and of all the people. They began indeed with extolling the richness of the land, and shewed them a specimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with some of their finest pomegranates, figs, and other fruits; but as soon as they observed, that this account had inspired them with a desire of becoming the happy possessors of it by a speedy conquest; ten of them immediately altered their note, and began to represent it as a thing impossible, by reason of the number and strength of their fortified towns, and the bravery and gigantic stature of its inhabitants <sup>d</sup>. *Joshua* and *Caleb* alone remained firm in their report, and the latter, who observed a kind of despair in the people's looks, endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by assuring them, that such a glorious enterprize was nothing less than impossible; the people gave such credit to the cowardly account of the other ten, that they cried out one and all, that they could never hope to overcome such powerful and gigantic nations, in comparison of whom, they looked upon themselves as meer grass-hoppers and reptiles. Their murmuring grew to such a height before the next morning, that a return into *Egypt* was again looked upon as vastly preferable to such an undertaking, wherein they could expect nothing but to perish by the swords of the sons of *Anach*, and their wives and children to become their slaves. In this imaginary extremity, they were already consulting how to chuse themselves a leader, who should bring them back to the land of their former thralldom, and this in the presence of *Moses* and *Aaron*, and of *Caleb* and *Joshua*. But whilst these were endeavouring to divert them from such a base design, <sup>e</sup> by representing to them how easy and cheap the conquest of that fertile land might be to them, whilst they had *God* on their side, they were like to have been stoned by the tumultuous populace, had not their fury been in some measure suppress'd by the appearance of the glory of *God* in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, from which *God* was heard to speak to *Moses* in such threatening terms, as gave them cause to fear that some speedy and terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude.

*And cause an insurrection.*

*All above 20 years of age excluded from entering into the promised land.*

HERE *Moses* was forced again to become their intercessor, and made use of such powerful arguments and expostulations, that he did in some measure avert the divine vengeance. However the ingratitude and infidelity of those miscreants, <sup>f</sup> who had beheld his glorious appearance upon mount *Sinai*, who had been eye-witnesses of those wonders which he wrought both in *Egypt* and in the desert, and of the punishments which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too crying a nature, not to exact some conspicuous mark of the divine displeasure, which might at least serve as a warning to the rest. Wherefore *God* did then swear, that none of those, that were above twenty years of age, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*,

<sup>a</sup> Numb. xi. per tot. xiii. per tot.

<sup>†</sup> Vid. supr. p. 489. note (Y).

<sup>c</sup> Numb. xii. per tot.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

a should ever enter into the promised land ; and that the rest should wander from place to place during the space of forty years (K), till all their carcases were rotted in the wilderness. As for the ten wretches, whose false report occasioned this rebellion, they were all destroyed by a sudden death, and became the first instances of the punishment denounced against the whole nation \* : in memory of which, the Jews do to this day keep a fast upon the seventh day of the sixth month, called *Elul*<sup>t</sup>, answering to our *August*.

THIS severe punishment, joined to the sentence of exclusion from entering into the promised land, did cause an universal mourning among the people ; however, as soon as they found themselves only condemned to this kind of lingering death, which  
b to base minds is nothing so terrible as the immediate one, which they had reason to expect, they took it into their heads, that their crime might be attoned for in some measure, by expressing as great a degree and eagerness for the conquest, as they had against it, and by shewing as brave resolution to attack their enemies out of hand, as they had before their fear and despair of succeeding in it. Being thus fired with an untimely courage, they presented themselves early in the morning before *Moses* ready armed, and having acknowledged their base cowardice in the humblest terms, they told him that they were now ready to retrieve their credit by some noble exploit, either against the *Amalekites*, or against some of the *Canaanitish* nations. *Moses* strove in vain to divert them from such a rash enterprize, by represent-

c ing to them, that it was contrary to God's express command, who would have them go back into the desert towards the red-sea, and by assuring them that they would certainly perish in the attempt, because they had now forfeited the divine assistance and protection, without which it was impossible for them to succeed ; his speech did but whet their mushroom-valour the more, ever indocile and deaf to good counsel, they resolve to try their fortune, and to gain the passes of the neighbouring hills. These they found so well kept to their cost, that the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* fell suddenly upon them, made a great slaughter of them, and pursued the rest as far as *Hormah*, and there discomfited them \*. All this while *Moses*, who foresaw what would be the consequence of this rash enterprize, did wisely keep himself, and  
d the ark of the covenant, in the camp. In memory of this sad disaster, and of the continual dwindling of the people, during the remainder of the forty years, he is supposed to have composed the 90th psalm, in which he gives us a most lively image of the shortness and frailty of life. After some longer stay in this camp, they continued moving from place to place, but still in the same wilderness of *Seir*, during which time *Moses* received many other laws, the time and occasion of which not being mentioned by him, we shall give an account of the most remarkable ones in its proper place. However it is to be observed, that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had formerly been, seeing that we read but of seventeen of them, during the remaining thirty seven years, whereas this removal from *Cadesh-barneab* was the fifteenth encampment from their coming out of *Egypt*. We shall  
e not trouble our readers with a further detail of them at present ; those, who are desirous to have a more particular account of them, may find it in the annals of the learned archbishop *Usher*<sup>h</sup>.

DURING this long interval, the divine providence displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner in the forming and polishing this new springing generation, for whom the conquest of *Canaan* was reserved. The miraculous pillar

\* Num. xiv. 36, 37. to the end.

<sup>t</sup> מנחת תענית. See liber de Jejun. part. ult. § 14.

<sup>h</sup> Numb. xiv. 40.

<sup>a</sup> Ann. USHER, p. 19, 20.

(K) *Moses* here makes use of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the spies searching the land, though it is plain, that their children did enter it, thirty nine years after this sentence was pronounced against their fathers (50). It is further to be observed, that though this exclusion excepts none but *Joshua* and *Caleb*,

yet there were certainly some others that cannot properly be said to have been included in it; such were *Moses* and *Aaron*, who had no part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account ; together with *Eltazar*, who died in the land of promise †, and a few more, especially of the tribe of *Levi*.

(50) Compare Numb. xxxii. 13. with Deut. ii. 14. Vid. USHER's Ann. p. 19. † Vid. Josh. xxiv. ver. ult.

God's wonderful care of this new generation.

continued still to direct them, and the manna to nourish them. *Moses* continued a still his intercourses with God, and, as if this had been too little, to assure them of his paternal care, the people's raiments, particularly their shoes, whether of men, women, or children, continued sound and whole<sup>1</sup>; and their feet unhurt, notwithstanding their long and frequent marches (L). If at any time the people relapsed into their usual murmurs and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so close, so severely, and so universally, that their disobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, nor flatter itself with hopes of impunity. However, it is plain by the sequel, that their behaviour was far from being answerable to that excess of care and tenderness which God shewed to them; for which reason the divine historian has thought fit to leave us but an imperfect account of the transactions of these remaining years, if we except some few rebellions and chastisements, which he committed to writing without order of time and place. And, indeed, they are so little to the honour of his nation, that he seemeth to mention them with regret, and to have been much more willing to have suppressed them, had not the glory of their great deliverer, as well as the stubbornness of the people obliged him to record them.

The sabbath-breaker accused, and put to death.

THE next transaction, indeed, we read of, would make one hope that some extraordinary change had been wrought in them, and that they would begin to fear God in good earnest, by the zeal which they shewed against a poor delinquent, whom they caught gathering a few sticks on the sabbath. Their fear lest his breach of a precept so esteemed, so solemnly inculcated, should bring some new judgment upon them, if they let him go unpunished, made them bring him before *Moses*, who ordered him to be put into custody till he had enquired of God, what was to be the punishment against sabbath-breakers; and on the next day, when he acquainted them that such a transgression should be punished with death, they immediately led him out of the camp, and there stoned and buried him<sup>2</sup>.

THOUGH *Moses's* sweet and tender disposition might, perhaps, make him look upon this as a very severe punishment, especially on the first transgressor, yet could he not chuse but be pleased with this new instance of their religious zeal, and to esteem it as an earnest of their future obedience; but this short-liv'd joy was soon imbittered by one of the most audacious conspiracies that was ever hatched against him (M). It was not like the former, occasioned through want of flesh or water, or the folly of a giddy and ungovernable mob, that thought themselves bereaved of their leader, or at the point of falling into the hands of their enemies; but this was a treason hatched with the utmost deliberation and secrecy in the breast of one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Levi*, and countenanced by some

<sup>1</sup> Deuter. viii. 4. xxix. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Numb. xv. 32, & seq.

(L) A certain bold critic of a neighbouring church † has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that there was nothing miraculous in all these and many other things, which are looked upon as such by all that are not endowed with the same perspicacity with himself. According to him, the meaning of those places, where the divine historian tells the *Israelites*, that their cloaths and shoes did not wear out during those forty years, is only this, that they were not drove to the necessity of going naked or barefoot, because they had the wool of their cattle to supply them with cloaths, and the skins of those beasts that were either killed or died a natural death, to make shoes of; so that it was no wonder that their feet never swelled by so many marches, when they could be so well shod. He is not the only one, by many, that has thus burlesqued the sacred scriptures, under pretence of vindicating them. For were *Moses's* words capable of this sense, as they are not, it would be plain either that he trifled with his people and his readers, or that he purposely couched these transactions in

such terms, to make them appear miraculous to all but such sagacious heads as our critic; in which case we shall be at a loss to whom to ascribe the largest share of modesty, to the historian or to his interpreter. But the latter has been sufficiently censured for his boldness, and more fully confuted than we think he deserved\*.

(M) It is not easy to guess in what year and place this sedition happened (51.) Some think it was in the desert of *Sinai*, others at *Cadesh-barneah*, and others at *Jothbath* (52). This last seems the most probable, because, where that encampment is mentioned, *Moses* tells us, that the Lord separated the tribe of *Levi* to be priests to administer unto him, and to bless the people in his name (53); but wherever it happened, it is plain, that the conspirators were far from giving any credit to *Moses*, or to his miracles, else they could never have been so insatuated as to run into the very jaws of that destruction, which he had so publicly threatened them with, in case they persisted in their rebellion.

† PEIRER. *Appen. ad Exercit. de præadamit. pass.* \* Vid. int. al. CALM. *Com. in Genes.* (51)  
 URIBER'S *Ann.* p. 20. (52) Vid. CALM. *Comment. in loc.* (53) Deuter. x. 7. & seq.

a of the most considerable men in the whole camp, especially of the tribe of *Reuben* <sup>1</sup>.

KORAH, the great grandson of *Levi* by his father *Jahar*, as *Aaron* also was <sup>Korah's rebel-</sup> by his father *Anram*, and consequently one of the heads of that tribe, unable to <sup>lion and ac-</sup> behold *Aaron* and his family raised to the high priesthood, to which he thought he <sup>complices.</sup> had an equal title, ceased not to cabal against him, till he had drawn a considerable <sup>Year of the</sup> number of eminent persons into his interest. Among these were *Dathan*, *Abi-* <sup>lood 1528,</sup> *ram*, and *Hon*, who were heads of the house of *Reuben* (N). Whether he thought <sup>before Christ</sup> that he should never gain his point against his rival, whilst *Moses* enjoyed the <sup>471.</sup> supreme legislative power, and consequently that it was necessary to inspire them with <sup>~~~~~</sup> an ambitious desire of supplanting him in it, or whether he had observed already some such design in those three chiefs, he played his part so well, that he drew them and two hundred and fifty more into his party. As soon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he ventured to appear at their head, resolved to bear the brunt of the first onset against *Moses* and *Aaron*. He began with upbraiding them with their unjust ambition in ingrossing all the power into their hands, to the exclusion of the rest of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be holy as they. *Moses* was so surprised at the boldness of this speech, that he fell prostrate with his face to the ground; and after a short prayer, as is supposed, he arose; and, having gravely rebuked them for their presumption, desired them to put off all further debate till

c next morning, when they might all appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his censor in his hand, and at which time he promised, that the Lord should declare himself openly in favour of those whom he designed for that high office. After this, addressing himself to *Korah* and his *Levites*, he upbraided them for their ingratitude and arrogance, in not being contented with the dignity and privileges which *God* had annexed to their tribe; but aspiring to the high priesthood, which *God* had reserved for *Aaron* and his posterity.

Soon after this, he sent privately for *Dathan* and *Abiram*, whom he supposed to have been drawn by *Korah* into this conspiracy; with a design to have argued the case more calmly with them; but they not only refused to come, but sent his

d messenger back with an insolent answer, in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of *Egypt*, under pretence of bringing them into a better, instead of which he only detained them in that barren wilderness to make them greater slaves to him; adding that he had now nothing more to do, but to put their eyes out, since they saw further into his ambitious designs than he would have them, and dared grieve to behold the author of all their misfortunes become their greatest tyrant <sup>m</sup>.

As meek and gentle as *Moses* naturally was, his patience was not proof against such a reproachful message; he appealed to the divine presence against the injustice of it, since those wretches could not but know that he had been so far from using

e his power to the invading of the least portion of any man's property, that he had reaped hitherto nothing by it but care and vexation; begging at the same time of

<sup>1</sup> Num. xvi. pass.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. ver. xii. & seq.

(N) It is plain from *Moses's* words, if rightly translated, that *Korah* was the first sower, as well as ring-leader of this conspiracy. They ran thus in the original; and *Korah* took *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *On*, and they rose up with two hundred and fifty of the children of *Israel*, &c. (54). What has misled most translators is the conjunction *vau*, (and) before *Dathan*, from whence they have taken the verb *vajikach*, took, though in the singular, to relate to all the four, though forced to make up the sense by the supplement of some accusative; thus some read it; and *Korah*, *Dathan*, &c. took men, others, took censers, others, took 250 men: whereas the verb, being in the singular, can only relate to the first, namely, *Korah*; and he it was who took, or, as the word may bear it, led up both *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *On*, &c. As for the *vau*, (and) it is plain, that it is often joined to the first as well as the other words that follow in order, in the same manner as the *Greeks* do their *κα*, or the *Latins*

their *et* and *que*, as in *hominesque*, *deosque*, & *caelum*, & *maria*, & *tellus*, and the like; of which we shall give an instance or two out of the *Psalms*, וְכַבֹּד וְהַדָּר תַּעֲמִדָהוּ, *coronabis eum* & *honore*, & *gloria* (55). וְעַיִי וְאֶבְיֹן מְגֹלֵר, *inopemque miserumque*, liberabis a diripiente eum (56). וְאִין וְעַמֶּל בְּקִרְבָּהּ, *sunt* & *iniquitas* & *perversitas* in medio ejus (57).

We had not dwelt so long upon this critical note, had not some authors supposed this rebellion to have been at first excited by the *Reubenites*, in order to preserve the priesthood in the old channel of the first-born, which they saw *Moses* was now going to transfer to the tribe of *Levi*; for besides that this supposition is quite contrary to the whole tenor of *Moses's* account, it is hardly credible that if the *Levites* had been drawn into it by *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and merely upon that account he would have made use of such terms, as threw the far greatest part of blame against the former, of whose tribe he himself was, or placed *Korah* as the very head of the faction.

(54) Num. xvi. 1, 2, & seq.

(55) Ps. viii. 6.

(56) Ps. xxxv. 10.

(57) Ps. lv. 11.

God equally to reject the complaints and prayers of such ungrateful rebels. Early the next morning *Moses* and *Aaron* marched towards the tabernacle, whither *Korah* failed not to repair soon after at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper censer in his hand. These were followed by a vast multitude of the people, who were come either to be spectators of this famous contest, or perhaps to back the seditious in case of an opposition. The first thing, that drew their eyes, was the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernacle, from which God was heard to command *Moses* and *Aaron* to withdraw themselves from the rebellious crew, lest they should perish with them in the ruin which was going to fall upon them. Here *Moses* was forced again to turn intercessor, and to beg of God, that he would not punish the innocent with the guilty; and the croud had no sooner separated themselves from *Korah* and his company, and followed him to the quarters of the *Reubenites*, where *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families, stood at their tent doors as it were in defiance; but *Moses* spake to the assembly to this purpose, that if those rebels died a common death, they should from thence forward be at liberty to call his divine commission in question; but that if the earth did immediately open itself in a miraculous manner, and swallowed them up alive, he then hoped that they would look upon him only as an instrument in God's hand, and sufficiently authorized for all he did. The words were scarce out of his mouth, and the people retired at a sufficient distance from the tents of the conspirators, when the earth clove asunder under their feet, and buried them alive, with all their families and substance. At the same time *Korah* and his whole company, who stood with their censers before the court of the tabernacle, were all destroyed by a supernatural fire, though their children were spared, because, in all likelihood, they had no share in their father's guilt. In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any but the sons of *Aaron* from presuming to burn incense before the Lord, *Eleazar* was commanded to take the censers of *Korah* and his men, and to beat them into broad plates for a covering of the altar; which he accordingly did.

Their dreadful punishment.

Causes a new insurrection against Moses.

In the mean time the people, who ran away terrified at the sight of so dreadful a spectacle, were scarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afresh, and to accuse *Moses* and *Aaron* of having murdered the people of the Lord, as they called that seditious crew. These two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory, appearing again in the cloud, did suspend for some time the fury of the insurrection. Here *Moses*, who foresaw that some terrible judgment was just ready to fall on the rioters, did immediately command his brother to take his censer, and to go and make atonement for the people: but though *Aaron* made all possible haste to obey him, the plague was not only begun, but had by that time raged with such furious speed, that it had destroyed fourteen thousand and seven hundred men, besides those who perished in the rebellion with *Korah*; all he could do was to stop its further progress, by interposing the propitiatory perfume between the living and the dead.

Aaron's priesthood confirmed by the budding of his rod.

THERE was certainly something surprising and unaccountable in the stubborn behaviour of these men, whatever they thought of their law-giver; for whether they looked upon his works as miraculous, and those heavy punishments, which befel them, as the effect of his too severe prayers, as *Josephus* thinks †, or whether they attributed the whole to his extraordinary skill in *Egyptian* magic, which is most likely, one would think that so many severe examples of his superior power might have deterred them long before, from making such dangerous attempts against him. However, to prevent *Aaron's* authority being any more called in question, God was pleased to confirm it by one miracle more. *Aaron* on the one side, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring each an almond rod, with their names written upon it, and these were to be deposited in the tabernacle till the next morning, by which time the Lord would decide in favour of that family, on whose rod some visible and miraculous change was found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, *Aaron's* rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves and ripe almonds; and *Moses* was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a standing testimony in favour of the *Aaronic* race, and as a monument of the late rebellion. The people had nothing to object either against his proceeding, or against the miracle, but yet could they not forbear making some grievous complaints against the severity of God's punishments.

u Vid. Num. xxvi. 11. j Ibid. ver. 12, 13.

o Ibid. xvi. per tot.

† Ant. lib. iv. c. 4.

p Num. xvii. per tot.

However,



- a However, from that day there was an express prohibition made, against any but the sons of *Aaron*, to presume to come into the tabernacle under pain of death; and at the same time some further ordinances were renewed concerning the office of the *Levites*, who were only to minister to the priests; but were interdicted approaching either the altar or any of the consecrated utensils, under the same penalties. The portion and perquisites of both priests and *Levites* were likewise appointed, together with some other regulations relating to their ministry; in particular, that of making the waters of separation, and the use of them to purify all unclean persons from any contracted impurities.
- b By this time they had wandered near thirty years in the desert of *Arabia Petrea*, and had been thirty nine years out of *Egypt* (1), still moving from one place to another about the mountains of *Idumea*; during which time, they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than *Moses* has thought fit to record, but which have been preserved by other inspired writers, who have severely upbraided them with setting up and carrying about the idols of *Rempban*, *Malkom*, and many others (O) of the like stamp. However, the time drawing near for their entering into the promised land, they went from *Ezion Geber*, towards *Kadesh* in the wilderness of *Zin*, designing probably to have entered *Canaan* by the narrow passes called the way of the spies; but they were discomfited in their first attempt by *Arad*, one of the kings of the *Canaanites*, who killed a great number of them, and took some considerable spoil from them. Upon this they vowed all the cities of *Arad* to destruction; soon after which they made a second push, wherein they had much better success, and having defeated the king, and destroyed some of his towns, they called the field of victory *Hormah*, or *Chormah*, that is, *Anathema*, or utter destruction; though the total one of that country did not happen till the time of *Joshua* (P).
- c

1 Num. xviii. & xix. pass. Vid. Usser. sub. an. Amos v. 26. Ezek. & Psal. pass. Acts vii. 43. & alib. † Vid. sup. p. 330. b. & sub not (W) & (X). Num. xxi. 1, 2. & seq. Josh. xii. 14.

(O) It would scarce be credible, that the *Israelites* could ever be guilty of so many horrid idolatries under *Moses's* note, and in sight of all God's wonderful works and severe punishments, were we not well assured of it from the mouth of so many inspired writers, who all agree in this, that they had contracted such an invincible propensity towards it in *Egypt*, that they not only persisted in the worship of the *Egyptian* deities, but adopted moreover every new one which came in their way, as they became acquainted with other nations (58). But as to the deities themselves, we have nothing certain but their names; all that has been writ concerning their extraction, their figure, and the way of worshipping them being nothing but mere conjecture, as has been observed more than once already †††. Their names, as we find them mentioned in some of the authors above quoted, are *Moloch*, *Chim*, and *Rempban*; to which they added a vast number of others in process of time. One thing however appears more than probable, with respect to one part of the worship of these idols, from the places above quoted, and some others (59); namely, that they used to carry them about in tabernacles, or under canopies in carts, or upon priests shoulders, not only as they removed from place to place, but likewise at certain times, and upon certain occasions, in a kind of procession (60). To this the psalmist seems to allude in the 16th psalm above quoted, where he expresses himself thus, יִרְבּוּ עַצְבוֹתָם אַחֲרַי מִהֵרָא, &c. which ours, after most other versions, renders, *their sorrows shall be multiplied that run, or hasten after other gods*; whereas, the word עַצְבֵּי *betzeb* signifying also

idols, the verse may more properly be rendered thus: though *their idols be multiplied*; or, according to the Hebrew idiom, *let them multiply their idols*; let them run or hasten after them; or let others multiply their idols, &c. as for me, I will be so far from offering them any drink or blood-offerings, that I will not so much as mention their names with my lips. According to which version, the sense is perfect and clear without those suppletives, without which the other cannot be understood. Those, who are desirous to be more particularly informed about all these false deities, may, at their leisure, consult those who have treated of them in a more ample manner, especially those quoted in the margin (61).

(P) The *Jews* have a tradition, founded on an express text in *Deuteronomy* (62), and some parallel places in *Joshua*, that the *Israelites* were obliged to send a herald to offer peace in their name to every city and people, before they attempted to conquer it by the sword; and that in case they accepted it, they became only tributaries to them, but if they refused their offer, they were then to be vowed to destruction; and that this command of God extended even to the seven nations of the *Canaanites*, contrary to the current opinion, that these had been long before under an anathema for their wickedness. However, *Maimonides* has taken a great deal of pains to confute this common notion, and to prove that all those nations, that were cut off by the *Israelites*, owed their destruction to their chusing to try the fortune of war, rather than to accept of peace upon such terms. There is, indeed, one main objection against him, namely the stratagem which the *Gibsonites* made use

(58) Exod. xxxii. 4. Levit. xvii. 7. Num. xxv. 3. & seq. Deut. pass. Josh. xxiv. 14. Psalm lxxviii. cvi. & al. pass. Jer. vii. 30. & seq. Ezek. xiv. & xvi. pass. Amos v. 25, 26. Acts vii. 43. & alib. ††† Vid. sup. p. 132. & seq. 397. & seq. (59) Ps. xvi. 4. Isai. xli. 7. & Baruc. vi. 3. 25. (60) Vid. Hieronymot. l. iv. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. Macrob. Satur. l. i. Philo Bybl. ap. Euseb. prap. l. i. N. 10. & al. mult. (61) Vid. Grot. in loc. Voss. de Idololat. Selden de diis Syr. Le Clerc Com. in loc. SAURIN'S Discourse, and CALMET'S Dissertation on that subject. (62) Deut. xx. 10. & seq. Josh. xi. pass.



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- a to cast a brazen serpent of the same figure with those that infested them, and to set it upon a pole upon some eminent ground, that as many as were bitten by the serpents might be healed by looking upon it<sup>1</sup>. As soon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards *Phunon*<sup>2</sup>, since known by the name of *Metalls Phunon*, by reason of the copper mines with which it abounded<sup>3</sup>, and might, perhaps, have its first name from *Phinon*, one of the dukes or princes of *Edom*<sup>4</sup>; from thence they removed to *Oboth*, called by *Pliny*, *Ebotha*. This was their thirty-seventh encampment; their next was at *Jie abarim* (T), upon the borders of *Moab*, that is, in that part of the desert which lieth over against the land of *Moab* eastward<sup>5</sup>, and is therefore called *the desert of Moab*<sup>6</sup>. Soon after this, as they were removing to pass the brook or valley of *Zared*, God forbid them to commit any hostilities against the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*<sup>7</sup>, because he had given them the land they dwelt in, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of *Canaan*. They arrived at length at *Bamoth*, or *Bamoth-arnon*, that is, the high places of *Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the *Moabites*, along which the brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs (V); and pitched at the foot of mount *Pisgab*. From thence they removed to *Beer*, so called from the well which the heads of *Israel* digged there by God's direction; and this gave birth to that song of *Moses* which was sung by the *Israelites*, the burthen of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it*<sup>8</sup>.
- c AFTER several marches, in which they passed, as it were, between the countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, without committing the least hostilities on either side, they came at length to the land of the *Amorites*. Here they sent again to beg a peaceable passage through the territories of *Sibon*, king of *Heshbon*. But that prince having refused to

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xxi. 4. & seq. <sup>2</sup> Ibid, xxxiii. 42. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. ver. 9, 18, 19. <sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 17. & seq.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. sub Phenon. <sup>6</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 41. <sup>7</sup> Num. xxi. 11. <sup>8</sup> Deut. ii. 8.

by a kind of providence from multiplying as other serpents do; but the *Arabians* tell us, that after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male, and that her young ones kill her as soon as they are hatched. The learned *Bochart*, from whom we have this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are short, and spotted with divers colours, and that their wings resemble those of a bat. He quotes a great number of antient and modern authors to prove, that they are the same with the *Hydra* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Herodotus*, who went on purpose to the city of *Buto* to see them, says, that they are not unlike the *Hydra*; and that he had seen a vast quantity of their skeletons, whose flesh had been devoured by the *Ibis* (70), which bird is peculiar to *Egypt*, and a continual destroyer of those serpents, as we have shewed elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. There was no need therefore of any other miracle, the *Israelites* being then in *Arabia Petrea*, than a strong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then the hot season of the year, in which they are affirmed to commonly fly in great swarms from *Lybia* and *Arabia* towards *Egypt*, and other countries in that neighbourhood (71).

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(V) The brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs along between the countries of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, and discharges itself into the black-sea (72). The book of the wars of the Lord, men-

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As to the book of the wars of the Lord, the generality of *Christians* think, that it is one of those that were lost, either at the captivity or the burning of the temple (76), if not during *Manasseh's* wicked reign. The generality of the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that one jot, much less a whole book, of holy writ should be lost, have fancied that the book of *Judges* is prophetically meant by it, and understand the verb יִמָּנֵר, *Yamner*, in the future tense, *it shall be said*, or recorded in time, in the book of, &c. because in *Judges* there are several wars mentioned between the *Jews* and their neighbours, in which God did visibly appear in favour of the former. However, the most received opinion is, that this and some other books mentioned in the old testament were actually lost.

(69) *De Animal. Sac. p. 2. l. iii. c. 13.* (70) *HEROD. l. ii. c. 75, 76.* † *Vid. sup. p. 182. b.*  
(71) *Vid. BOCHART ubi sup. & autor. ab eo citat.* (72) *Vid. Num. xxi. 13.* (73) *Ibid. ver. 14.*  
(74) *Vid. Ps. lxxiv. 15. Habakkuk iii. 13. & seq.* (75) *KIMCHI. in rad. vid. JUN. in loc.*  
(76) *Vid. PACKHURST'S Mazarab, p. 185. MUNST. in loc.*

ABOUT this time also it was that the king of *Edom*, having refused a free passage through his country to the *Israelites*, though asked on the most peaceable and friendly terms, they were, in all likelihood, going to take some severe revenge for the affront; but God, who would not suffer them to commit any hostilities against them, because they were their brethren, caused them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards mount *Hor* †, where *Miriam*, *Moses's* sister, died soon after (Q), in the hundred and thirtieth year of her age, being about eight or ten years older than *Aaron* \*, who died in the hundred and fortieth of his, in the very year following.

A new murmuring for want of water.

Moses smites the rock twice.

Year of the flood 1517, before Christ 1452.

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WHILST they continued at *Kadesh*, a little before *Aaron's* death, a new murmuring arose for want of water, and *Moses* was again commanded by God to bring them a fresh supply out of the rock; but he did it in such a manner as was highly displeasing to him: for God had commanded him to call for the water by only speaking to the rock; but he, whether out of impatience at their loud murmurs, or out of diffidence of the promised supply, smote it twice with his rod, and used some undecent expression, either to the rock or to the people \*\*\*, for which he was excluded from setting his foot into the promised land, and condemned to die in the wilderness. *Aaron* was likewise included in the same sentence, as having, doubtless, shared in the fault. In memory of this new rebellion the place was called *Meribah*, *strife*, from which they went and encamped at the foot of mount *Hor*, on the frontier of the land of *Edom*. Here *Moses* was commanded to take *Aaron*, and *Eleazar* his son, to the top of the mountain in the sight of all the people, and to strip the father of his priestly robes, and to array the son with them; which was no sooner done than *Aaron* died, and was buried there: but whether by *Moses* or *Eleazar*, or by some other person, certain it is that the place was kept so private, that none of the sepulchre-mongers of those countries could ever find it out, or have since dared to substitute another in lieu of it. The children of *Israel* mourned thirty days for him, and *Eleazar* succeeded him in the high priesthood (R).

Soon after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at *Zalmomonah*; which place took that name from the image or figure of the brazen serpent which *Moses* caused to be set up there \*. For the *Israelites*, being tired with the length of their journey, and labouring under a scarcity of provision, began to murmur afresh against *Moses*, in so grievous a manner, that God was provoked to send large flights of fiery serpents among them, which destroyed such multitudes of that rebellious people, that the rest came, and, in the humblest terms, acknowledged their fault to *Moses*, begging of him to deliver them from that destroying vermin (S). *Moses*, applying himself to God, was commanded

† Num. xx. 14. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. sup. p. 313. & seq. \* Vid. sup. p. 477. note (K). \*\*\* Vid. Pf. cvi. 32, 33. † Num. xx. 23. & seq. \* Ibid. xxi. 9.

use of to obtain peace from *Israel*, which would have been needless, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things; but to this our learned Jew above mentioned answers, that the reason of the *Gibeonites* policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refused the first offers of peace, and were consequently doomed to the same fate with them; to prevent which, their ambassadors feigned themselves to come from a country vastly distant from any of those seven, and as such obtained the desired peace (63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the rabbi above mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to those nations upon certain conditions, the two principal of which were, that they should own a subjection, and pay tribute to the *Israelites*; and that they should observe the seven precepts given to *Noah*, in case they refused to be circumcised.

(Q) *Eusebius* (64) tells us, that *Miriam's* sepulchre was still extant in his time at *Kadesh*, at a

small distance from the city of *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia Petra* †. Some ancient fathers think that she died a virgin (65), and that she was the legistatrix or governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men (66).

(R) *Aaron's* death happened upon Tuesday the first day of the fifth month (which is our *August*) in the fortieth year after the *Exod*, and in the hundred and twenty third year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that those insects were only little worms which bred in the skin, but of such a venomous nature that they immediately poisoned those that were infected with them; but it is plain, not only that the original words, נחשים השרפים *Nechaschim basorepbim*, signify a burning or winged serpent; but likewise, that those creatures are very common, both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*; inasmuch that those countries would become uninhabitable, if those serpents had not been debarr'd by

(63) *MAIMON. op. Caneum. & BASHAG. Rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. 2. cap. 20.* (64) *Loc. Habr. † Vid. sup. p. 481. note (Q).* (65) *GREC. NYSSER. & AMBROS. de Virginitat. & al.* (66) *THEOD. in Micah vi. 4.* (67) *Vid. Annal. USHER, p. 22.* (68) *FORTUN. LICET. lib. de spontan. vivunt. etc. vid. USHER ubi sup.*

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† Num. xx. 14. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. sup. p. 313. & seq. \* Vid. sup. p. 477. note (K). \*\*\* Vid. Pf. cvi. 32, 33. † Num. xx. 23. & seq. † Ibid. xxi. 9.

use of to obtain peace from *Israel*, which would have been needless, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things; but to this our learned Jew above mentioned answers, that the reason of the *Gibeonites* policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refused the first offers of peace, and were consequently doomed to the same fate with them; to prevent which, their ambassadors feigned themselves to come from a country vastly distant from any of those seven, and as such obtained the desired peace (63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the rabbi above mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to those nations upon certain conditions, the two principal of which were, that they should own a subjection, and pay tribute to the *Israelites*; and that they should observe the seven precepts given to *Noah*, in case they refused to be circumcised.

(Q) *Eusebius* (64) tells us, that *Miriam*'s sepulchre was still extant in his time at *Kadesh*, at a

small distance from the city of *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia Petra* †. Some ancient fathers think that she died a virgin (65), and that she was the legislatrix or governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men (66).

(R) *Aaron*'s death happened upon *Tuesday* the first day of the fifth month (which is our *August*) in the fortieth year after the *Exod*, and in the hundred and twenty third year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that those insects were only little worms which bred in the skin, but of such a venomous nature that they immediately poisoned those that were infected with them; but it is plain, not only that the original words, נחשית השרפיים *Nechashim basorephim*, signify a burning or winged serpent; but likewise, that those creatures are very common, both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*; inasmuch that those countries would become uninhabitable, if those serpents had not been debarred by

(63) *MAIMON. ap. CUNÆUS. & BASNAG. Rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. 2. cap. 20.* (64) *Loc. Hebr. † Vid. sup. p. 481. note (Q).* (65) *GREC. NYSSEN. & AMBROS. de Virginitat. & al.* (66) *THEOD. in Micah vi. 4.* (67) *Vid. Annal. USHER, p. 22.* (68) *FORTUN. LICET. lib. de spontan. viventi. ort. vid. USHER ubi sup.*

- a to cast a brazen serpent of the same figure with those that infested them, and to set it upon a pole upon some eminent ground, that as many as were bitten by the serpents might be healed by looking upon it<sup>1</sup>. As soon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards *Phunon*<sup>2</sup>, since known by the name of *Metallus Phunon*, by reason of the copper mines with which it abounded<sup>3</sup>, and might, perhaps, have its first name from *Phinon*, one of the dukes or princes of *Edom*<sup>4</sup>; from thence they removed to *Oboth*, called by *Pliny*, *Eboda*. This was their thirty-seventh encampment; their next was at *Jie abarim* (T), upon the borders of *Moab*, that is, in that part of the desert which lieth over against the land of *Moab* eastward<sup>5</sup>, and is therefore called *the desert of Moab*<sup>6</sup>. Soon after this, as they were
- b removing to pass the brook or valley of *Zared*, God forbade them to commit any hostilities against the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*<sup>7</sup>, because he had given them the land they dwelt in, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of *Canaan*. They arrived at length at *Bamoth*, or *Bamoth-armon*, that is, the high places of *Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the *Moabites*, along which the brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs (V); and pitched at the foot of mount *Pisgab*. From thence they removed to *Beer*, so called from the well which the heads of *Israel* digged there by God's direction; and this gave birth to that song of *Moses* which was sung by the *Israelites*, the burthen of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it*<sup>8</sup>.
- c AFTER several marches, in which they passed, as it were, between the countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, without committing the least hostilities on either side, they came at length to the land of the *Amorites*. Here they sent again to beg a peaceable passage through the territories of *Sibon*, king of *Heshbon*. But that prince having refused to

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xxi. 4. & seq.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxxiii. 42.<sup>3</sup> Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. sub Phenon.<sup>4</sup> Gen.

xxxvi. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xxi. 11.<sup>6</sup> Deut. ii. 8.<sup>7</sup> Ibid. ver. 9, 18, 19.<sup>8</sup> Num. xxi. 17. & seq.

by a kind of providence from multiplying as other serpents do; but the *Arabians* tell us, that after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male, and that her young ones kill her as soon as they are hatched. The learned *Bochart*, from whom we have this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are short, and spotted with divers colours, and that their wings resemble those of a bat. He quotes a great number of antient and modern authors to prove, that they are the same with the *Hydra* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Herodotus*, who went on purpose to the city of *Butes* to see them, says, that they are not unlike the *Hydra*; and that he had seen a vast quantity of their skeletons, whose flesh had been devoured by the *Ibis* (70), which bird is peculiar to *Egypt*, and a continual destroyer of those serpents, as we have shewed elsewhere†. There was no need therefore of any other miracle, the *Israelites* being then in *Arabia Petraea*, than a strong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then the hot season of the year, in which they are affirmed to commonly fly in great swarms from *Lybia* and *Arabia* towards *Egypt*, and other countries in that neighbourhood (71).

(T) It must be observed here, that when *Moses* tells us, that they incamped at *Oboth*, *Jie-abarim*, and other cities belonging to the *Edomites* and *Moabites*, he is not to be understood as if they came to or near those places, but only that they encamped at such convenient distance from them, that they might easily get a supply of provisions from them, without giving them any umbrage of their having any hostile design against them.

(V) The brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs along between the countries of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, and discharges itself into the black-sea (72). The book of the wars of the Lord, men-

tioned by *Moses* (73), seems to intimate some such miraculous transaction at this brook, as had been at the red-sea; and we find some passages in the psalms, and in the prophet *Habakkuk* (74), which the *Chaldee* paraphrast doth understand as if the brook *Arnon* had been dried up, or miraculously divided, to make a passage for God's people. However, it must be owned, that the words of *Moses* are somewhat obscure, and variously understood both by *Jews* and *Christians*; and that the words וְהָבָה סוּפָה, *Vahab Suppah*, may be the proper names of places, as we find it in the margin of our bibles, and as *Dau. Kimchi*, and some *Christians* understand them (75); but we rather chuse the exposition of *R. Salomon*, who thinks the וָפָא in וְהָבָה to be put for the *Jod*, which often happens, and that it ought to be read יְהָבָה *Jahab*, and then the sense will be, *what the Lord brought upon Suppah*, that is, on the red-sea, and on the brook *Arnon*.

As to the book of the wars of the Lord, the generality of *Christians* think, that it is one of those that were lost, either at the captivity or the burning of the temple (76), if not during *Manasseh's* wicked reign. The generality of the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that one jot, much less a whole book, of holy writ should be lost, have fancied that the book of *Judges* is prophetically meant by it, and understand the verb יִמָּרֵר, *Jeamer*, in the future tense, it shall be said, or recorded in time, in the book of, &c. because in *Judges* there are several wars mentioned between the *Jews* and their neighbours, in which God did visibly appear in favour of the former. However, the most received opinion is, that this and some other books mentioned in the old testament were actually lost.

(69) *De Animal. Sac. p. 2. l. iii. c. 13.*(70) *HEROD. l. ii. c. 75, 76.*† *Vid. sup. p. 182. b.*(71) *Vid. BOCHART ubi sup. & autor. ab eo citat.*(72) *Vid. Num. xxi. 13.*(73) *Ibid. ver. 14.*(74) *Vid. Ps. lxxiv. 15. Habakkuk iii. 13. & seq.*(75) *KIMCHI. in rad. vid. JUN. in loc.*(76) *Vid. PACKHURST's Maxorab, p. 185. MUNST. in loc.*



Sihon and  
Og discom-  
fit d.

let them pass upon any terms, and made himself ready to attack them, was over- a  
thrown by them in a set battle †, and the *Israelites* having seized upon his kingdom,  
from the torrent of *Arnon* to that of *Jabbok* ‡, put men, women, and children to the  
sword, and saved nothing but the cattle (W). Soon after this, *Og*, king of *Besun*,  
attempting in like manner to obstruct their passage, underwent the same fate, as we  
have already shewn in the history of the *Canaanites* (X) †.

THIS land of *Besun*, one of the most fertile cantons of *Canaan*, which reached  
on the east to the river *Jordan*, to the mountains of *Gilead* on the west, to the brook  
*Jabbok* on the south, and to the land of *Geshur* on the north, was divided, though  
not equally, between the tribes of *Manasseh* and *Gad*: and the land of *Sihon* was as-  
signed partly to *Gad* and partly to *Reuben* §, as we shall shew more fully in the sequel b  
of this history; but upon this condition, however, that they should assist the rest of  
the tribes in the conquest of the land of *Canaan* till that was perfected.

Balak sends  
for Balaam.

By this time *Balak*, king of *Moab*, near whose territories the *Israelites* were  
encamped, with a design to cross the river *Jordan*, in order to enter into the  
land of *Canaan*, began now to look upon them with a jealous eye. However,  
their late conquest having given him but too sure a proof of their strength,  
he did not think it sufficient to make a strong alliance with the *Midianites* and  
*Ammonites*, his neighbours, in order to stop their progress; but resolved, before  
he began any hostilities against them, to try how far *Balaam's* enchantments  
might go towards turning the fortune of the war to his side. We need not repeat c  
what has been said in the history of *Moab* \*, concerning the ill success of *Ba-  
lak's* project (Y), and the too fatal one of *Balaam's* advice of debauching the

† Vid. sup. p. 303 a. & 330 c. d.

‡ Vid. Judg. xi. 13. & seq.

§ Vid. sup. loc. citat.

§ Num. xxxii. 33. & seq. & Deut. iii. 1. & seq.

\* Vid. sup. p. 287. & seq.

(W) This land formerly belonged to the *Mo-  
abites* and *Ammonites* (77), out of which either *Si-  
hon* or some of his predecessors had drove them.  
When therefore the *Israelites* conquered it from  
him, they made no difficulty of keeping possession  
of it; and when it was afterwards claimed again  
by the *Ammonites*, *Jephthah* roundly told them, that  
they had lost all their right to that tract, since it  
had been taken from them by the *Ammonites*, and  
from them given by God himself to the children  
of *Israel* (78) †.

(X) We have already taken notice of the gigan-  
tic stature of this *Canaanitish* prince ‡, and of his  
large iron bedstead preserved at *Rabbah* †††, the  
capital city of the *Ammonites*; but the *Jewish*  
rabbies, not contented with such pigmy wonders,  
have improved it to their liking. They tell us,  
that this nine cubit bed could be only his cradle,  
seeing himself was six score cubits high, when full  
grown. They add, that he had lived before the  
flood; and that the waters of it, when at the  
highest, reached only up to his knees. Several  
other wonderful things they write of him, which  
cannot be read without laughter. We shall only  
mention one among the rest, which is, that he took  
up such a monstrous rock with a design to throw it  
into the *Israelitish* camp, as would have crushed  
them all under it, but that a lapwing, or, as others  
have it \*†\*, a swarm of ants pecked a miraculous  
hole in it, big enough for his head to go through,  
which, nevertheless, he would easily have disen-  
gaged, had not his teeth immediately grown to an  
excessive length, and given *Moses* an opportunity of  
killing him, whilst he was struggling to get the  
stone off his neck (79).

(Y) We have already said something concern-  
ing *Balaam's* prophecies \*\*\*, and endeavoured to  
clear some obscure passages of it; we now beg

leave to add an explication of two or more other  
places equally dark and puzzling. The first is  
where *Balaam* prefaces his prophecy with these  
words, *the man whose eyes are open has said*, or, as  
our margin has it, *who had his eyes shut, but now  
open* (80): and in the next verse, *who heard the  
words of God, and saw the Almighty, falling (in-  
to a trance, but) having his eyes opened*. Here it  
is plain ours, as well as other versions, have been  
forced to add several words to supply the sense,  
for want of considering what *Balaam* alludes to  
by these expressions, and for want of attending  
to the two words, שָׁחַח וְחָלַל, *Satum*, and חָלַל  
*Halui*, when joined to the word עֵינָיו, *Henaim*, eyes,  
as here, or to any other member; for though the  
words do sometimes signify *open and shut, hid-  
den and revealed, yet, when thus tacked to any  
thing else, do more properly signify withholden,  
and then loosened again*. We need then but sup-  
pose that he alludes to the angel meeting him  
thrice in the way, and his eyes being holden  
from seeing him at the first and second meeting,  
and opened at the third, when the ass fell down  
under him, and he, *not in a trance*, but upon his  
face to the ground, either through fear, or out of  
reverence.

The next is where he says, *that his (Israel's)  
kingdom shall be higher than Hagar* (81); for  
though that were as certain which a learned  
rabbi observes, † that *Agag* was the common nam-  
e of the kings of *Amalek*, as what he subjoins im-  
mediately after, that the first king of *Israel* gave  
the most signal defeat to that of the *Amalekites*;  
yet as the *Samaritan*, *Septuagint*, *Syrine*, and *Ara-  
bic* read *Gog*, instead of *Agag*, and *Gog* doth ge-  
nerally signify the *Scythians* and northern nations  
(82), several interpreters have preferred this  
latter

(77) Vid. Judg. xi. 13. & seq.

(78) Ibid. pass.

† Vid. sup. p. 295. b.

‡ Vid. sup.

p. 330. d. ††† Ibid. p. 293. b.

\*†\* Targ. BEN UZIEL & al.

(79) Vid. CALM. Hist.

V. T. in loc. & MUNST. in Deut. iii. sub not. d. & al.

\*\*\* Vid. sup. p. 289. not. (N) & seq.

(80) Num. xxiv. 3, 4.

(81) Ibid. ver. 7.

† R. MOS. GERUND. ap. MUNST. in loc. vid.

sup. 319. c.

(82) See JOS. MEDA's Discourse on Gog and Magog.

- a *Israelites*, by the help of some of their most beautiful women. All that needs be added is, that it fully answered their hopes, and that the *Israelites* failed not to give into the snare, and to make work for repentance. For *Balak* having ordered his subjects to celebrate a grand feast to *Baal-peor*, which is generally thought to be the same with *Priapus* or *Adonis*<sup>1</sup>, in which, as we observed before \*\*\*<sup>2</sup>, the most shameful kinds of lewdness used to be perpetrated, and invited the *Israelites* to it, these greedily accepted the offer, and were soon enticed from one crime to another, by the fair women that were sent among them for that purpose; that is, they fell from drunkenness to lewdness, and from lewdness to idolatry, and became so enamoured with those fair deluders, that, observing in them a more than ordinary forwardness to follow them, they made no scruple to bring a great number of them into their camp; so that it was not long before the infection was become universal, and punished by a plague, which carried off about twenty four thousand of the offenders.

The *Israelites* debauched by the women to idolatry;

Their severe punishment.

- IN the mean time God still highly provoked at their disobedience, which this severe punishment had not yet put an effectual stop to, commanded *Moses* to erect a court of judicature, consisting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without respect to friendship or kindred (Z); which was accordingly done, and about one thousand more were put to death. By this time the greatest part of the people, being come to themselves, were deeply bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when they were surprized with an instance of the most unparallel'd boldness in one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Simeon*, named *Zimri*, who had brought a young *Midianitish* princess into the camp, and, in sight of *Moses* and of the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. This unparallel'd impudence did not

<sup>1</sup> *Isid. orig. lib. viii. Hieron. in Hof. ix. vid. Goodwin's Moses and Aaron, lib. iv. c. 3. CALM. Dissert. LE CLERK's Com. in loc. \*\*\* Vid. sup. p. 285. c.*

latter reading to the first, and not without good grounds (83).

The last expression, we shall take notice of, is where *Balaam* says, that God had not beheld iniquity in Jacob, nor seen perverseness in Israel (84); which cannot be true in a literal sense, since he could scarce behold any thing else. Nor can we think, with some predestinarians, that, as his elect, they were such favourites of the Almighty, that he could see no fault in them. Neither have those, who by perverseness and iniquity understand idolatry, succeeded better, since it is plain, they had so often made themselves abominable by, and been severely punished for it; and consequently neither can it be true in the sense that others have taken it, namely, that he did not behold any iniquity in them, because he had already forgiven it; seeing the contrary is plain from those heavy punishments which he inflicted upon them. The best sense therefore seems to be that of the learned *Gataker*, namely, that God did not behold iniquity, &c. in them with approbation, as he is said to behold, that is, to approve the contrite, humble, &c. and that he is of purer eyes than to behold, that is, to approve evil. To this we may add further, that the particle *ו*, *Beth*, doth often signify against, and is accordingly rendered, not only by ours, but by most translations in the places quoted in the margin (85), and many more of the like import; according to which, the words will run more naturally thus, he doth not approve of any wicked practices against Jacob, &c. This sense is still further confirmed by the words *וַיִּנְחַם*, *Aven*, and *חַמָּל*, *Hamal*, which though we render iniquity and perverseness, do oftener signify outrage, oppression, deceit, machination, affliction, and the like; which therefore, God seems here to declare, he would not suffer to be attempted or practised against his people (86).

(Z) Though we have given this place a different sense from our own, and most versions, which make God to command *Moses* to take all the heads of the people, and to hang them up in the face of the sun (87), whether guilty or not, we hope those, who understand the *Hebrew*, will readily own, not only that the words are capable of our interpretation; but likewise that the context, as well as the reason of the thing, doth naturally lead one to it. For, whatever shifts commentators have made use of to justify the other version, (such as that those heads were either all as deep in the guilt, as those that were under them, which is not probable; or that they were guilty of a shameful neglect, in not opposing the growing mischief, and punishing the offenders (88), both which might, probably enough, be out of their power, since even *Moses* himself found them so often too headstrong for him) yet it is plain from the directions which he gives those judges in the very next verse, viz. to punish all that they found guilty indifferently, that this command had nothing so unjust in it, as those versions intimate. *Josephus*, who followed the *Greek* version, was so well convinced, that it could not be palliated by any futile arguments, that he has chosen to suppress it wholly; and this is one main argument to us, that he understood neither the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee*, else he might as easily have pitched upon that more reasonable sense, we have given above, as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, *rabbi Salomon*, and other *Tows* have done, as well as the learned *Fagius*, in his comment on the place, and others among the *Christians*. How *Josephus* has mutilated this place, and what account he has given of this defection, and the consequences of it, the reader may, if he pleases, see in his antiquities; (89).

(83) *Id. ibid. Vid. CALM. Hist. Vet. Test. & LE CLERK's Com. in loc. & al.* (84) *Num. xxiii. 21.* (85) *Exod. xiv. 25. xx. 16. Num. xii. 1. & xxiii. 23. & alib.* (86) *Vid. LE SCEN. & Essay on a new Vers. p. 118.* (87) *Num. xxv. 4.* (88) *Ita ADAMIANUS in Phirush bathrah. & al. Rabb.* (89) *Lib. iv. c. 6.*

Are severely  
punished.

go long unpunished, for *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar* the high-priest, being moved <sup>a</sup> with a just indignation, and fired with a godly zeal, came so suddenly upon them with his spear in his hand, that at one stroke he joined their bodies in death; where they were joined in their sin\*. This action was highly pleasing to God, as well as to *Moses*, and the high-priesthood was confirmed to him and his seed as a reward for his zeal. However it is plain from the words of the *Psalmist*<sup>†</sup>, that he averted the divine vengeance more by his prayers to God, than by the punishment of these two offenders<sup>‡</sup>. As for the authors and accomplices of this rebellion, they did not go unrewarded; *Balaam* was soon after killed in a set battle which *Israel* fought against five kings of *Midian*, who likewise fell on that day, whilst the conquerors made a terrible slaughter of their subjects, putting <sup>b</sup> them all to the sword, women and children excepted; plundered and burned their cities, and carried off a considerable booty <sup>†</sup> with them, which they brought to *Moses* and *Eleazar*; and these ordered one fiftieth part of it to be distributed among the priests, and another fiftieth to the *Levites*. But though *Moses* could not but be pleased with their victory and valour, yet the sight of such a number of *Midianitish* women whom they had brought captive with them, and the remembrance of what the people had suffered upon that account, made him think it unsafe to spare their lives; he therefore ordered all those that had ever known man, as well as the male-children, to be immediately dispatched, and that none but virgins should be preserved alive<sup>¶</sup> (A). <sup>c</sup>

*Balaam, with  
five kings of  
Midian, slain.*

The Israelites  
numbered.

Soon after this defection to *Baal-peor*, *Moses* was ordered to take an account of all the children of *Israel* that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards. *Josephus* says from twenty to fifty <sup>†</sup>, but it is more likely to have been to sixty, and these were found to amount to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides the *Levites* who were numbered from one month and upwards, and amounted to twenty three thousand: this account was taken in the plain of *Moab*, near the river *Jordan*, over-against *Jerico*; and it is supposed, that the last punishment, that befel the 2400 adherers to the *Midianitish* deity, made a final end of the old murmuring generation, which had been excluded from entering into the land of *Canaan*, be- <sup>d</sup> cause, upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new list which *Moses* took of the people, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*, according to the sentence pronounced against them<sup>¶</sup> by God himself. The numbering of the people was no sooner over, than *Moses* received orders to direct the distribution of the promised land between the tribes to be made by lot, not into equal parts, but in pro-

\* Numb. xxv. 8.    † Psal. cvi. 30.    ‡ Numb. Ibid. per tot.    † Vid. sup. 289. c.    ¶ Numb. xxxi. per tot.    † Ant. lib. iii. cap. 12    ¶ Numb. xxvi. 64, 65.

(A) We shall not need wonder at *Moses's* severity against these women, when we consider how zealous they had been to prostitute themselves, to debauch the *Israelites* into the most obscene and beastly ceremonies. The ancient *Jews* give us a very strange account of the worship of this filthy idol, and affirm in particular, that it consisted in making a common jakes of his temple, from which, according to them, he was called *Baal-peor*; of which the reader may see more in *Munster's bible* (90.) They add, that *Balaam's* counsel was to proclaim a kind of large fair, in which should be exposed great quantities of fine linnen, which, he told *Balak*, the *Israelites* delighted much to wear, and that every booth, where they were exposed to sale, should have an old woman in the outward, and a young one in the inward apartment, besides a considerable number of other places for eating and drinking: that the youths of *Israel* were easily drawn to the fair, where having refreshed themselves at the common booths, their curiosity did naturally lead to visit the other shops also. Here the business of the old women without was to ask a moderate price for their linnen, and of the young ones within to make a considerable abatement, or even to offer it at their own price; after which, that they might not make a dry bargain, she offered the

youth a bumper of *Ammonitish* wine, which at once set him on fire, and, upon his asking her the favour, she answered, with all my heart, provided you'll pay your respect to this idol: and if he made any difficulty upon the account of his being an *Israelite*, she answered, that he had nothing to do, but to break wind backwards, or ease himself before it, which he readily complied with, not dreaming that this could be the peculiar worship of that deity (91). Something like such a filthy ceremony seems hinted by the prophet (92), if rightly understood, where he says, that the *Israelites* did withdraw themselves, or go aside, to blush, or, as the word may be rendered, to sink, when they came to *Baal-peor*. However, it is plain, from the account of *Moses*, and some of the prophets, that there was something else more abominable in the worship of that idol; for the *Psalmist* says, that when they joined themselves to *Baal-peor*, they eat the sacrifices of the dead (93): but whether that false deity was surnamed *Peor* from the mount of that name where he was worshiped, as *Isidorus* and *St. Jerom* think (94), or whether the mountain had its name from the idol, and this last from the filthy ceremonies used in its worship, is neither plain nor very material.

(90) Vid. *MUNSTER* in Numb. xxv. sub note 2.    (91) *GOODWIN'S Moses & Aaron*, lib. iv. c. 3.  
(92) *Hos.* ix. 10.    (93) *Psal.* cvi.    (94) *ISID.* Orig. lib. viii. *HIERON.* in ix *Hos.*

portion.

a portion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of *Levi*, it was not to have any inheritance with the rest, but was otherwise provided for \*.

WHEN this order was published, there came five of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, of the tribe of *Manasseh*, the son of *Joseph*, to petition *Moses* and *Eleazar* for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be lost in *Israel*, seeing he had left no sons, but was dead in the wilderness, not for any sedition, but had shared in the common fate with the rest. Their request was approved by *God*, and *Zelophehad's* readily granted by *Moses*, who allotted them a portion in their kindred's inheritance daughters por- tioned. accordingly. Upon this occasion *God* was pleased to make a law, that for the fu-

b ture the estates of those, who died without issue-male, should be inherited by their daughters, and if they had no daughters, that then it should go to the next of the male, and, in defect of that, of the female-line †. But there being still some doubt remaining, namely, in case the latter should marry out of their tribe; that of *Manasseh* came soon after to *Moses*, and represented to him the inconveniency of such marriages, seeing those heiresses would carry their inheritance into other tribes, which might, in process of time, cause a great deal of confusion, and probably lessen one tribe and enrich another. This remonstrance was likewise approved by *God*, Some regula- tions about the marriage of heiresses. who immediately declared, that neither these daughters of *Zelophehad*, nor any heiresses for the future, should marry out of their tribes, nor even out of their own family. As for the other females who had no inheritance, they were permitted to

c marry into what tribe they pleased ‡.

IMMEDIATELY after this, *God* commanded *Moses* to get up upon mount *Nebo*, which is one of the mountains which make that long ridge which is called *A-* Moses com- manded to take a view of Canaan from Nebo. *barim* (B), and to take a view of the promised land, since his misbehaviour at the waters of *Meribah* had debarred him from entering into it, and he was shortly to die in that very mountain, from whence he beheld it. *Moses* was nothing surpris'd at the

news of his approaching death, which he only looked upon as a haven of repose, after a life of the greatest trouble and fatigue. Neither was he solicitous to have his commission transmitted to his children, or in the least displeased to see his own servant

d appointed his successor before them; but finding his end so near, he made it his chief business, during those few remaining days, to settle things in the best order he could. The first care he took was to have *Joshua* confirmed his successor in the most public Causes Joshua to be proclaim- ed his suc- cessor. and authentic manner, to prevent any opposition from his own family after he was dead. To this end he brought him forth in sight of all *Israel*, lay'd his hands upon him, and having presented him to *Eleazar* the high-priest, and given him all necessary directions, and in particular, that of consulting *God* upon all emergencies by the *Urim* and *Thummim* (C), he caus'd him to be proclaimed head and general of all *Israel* §.

\* Numb. xxxvi. 62. xxvii. 16. ad fin.

† Ibid. xxvii. 1, 2, & seq.

‡ Ibid. xxxvi. 1. ad fin.

§ Ibid.

(B) *Abarim* was a long ridge of mountains that reached from the tribe of *Reuben* into the land of *Moab*, on each side the river *Arnon*; but the extent of which is not easy to fix. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* do mention it more than once: the former places it about six miles westward of *Heshbon*, and seven eastward of *Livade* (95). The mountains *Pisgab*, *Peor*, and *Nebo*, where *Moses* died, were part of the ridge *Abarim*, or as the original has it, עבריים, *Elabarim*, which signifies either *paths* or *passengers*.

(C) What the fashion of the *Urim* and *Thummim* was, as far as can be known, shall be taken notice of when we come to speak of the high-priest's garments, of which they were an appendage. In the mean time we beg leave to observe, that *Joshua* could not be that prophet like *Moses* whom *God* promised to raise, and commanded under severe penalties to be obeyed (96), as our modern *Jews* affirm, and some *Christians*, whom we forbear to name, have too easily granted.

*Joshua* was in many particulars inferior not only to *Moses*, but likewise to the generality of the prophets, since he was to have recourse to the *Urim* and *Thummim* upon all emergencies, whereas the former spoke to *God* face to face, and the latter were always ready to declare the mind of *God* to those that came to consult them. How could he therefore be the head prophet, and director of such a numerous nation, who wanted a director himself? Or how could the people be charged to hear and obey him, who was himself to receive his orders from the high-priest? As for this divine oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which in the original signifies *light* and *perfection*; and the *Septuagint* and *Philo* (97) render by the words Διάνοια and ἀληθείαν, *manifestation* and *truth*, as having those two distinct virtues; it was not to be consulted by private persons, but only by the judges, whilst *Israel* was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or such as were sent by them; or, according to the *Talmudists*, by the

אב

(95) *Sub voc. Nebo* & *Bel-phegor*.

(96) *Deut.* xviii. 15. *vid. John* i. 45. *Act.* iii. 22. *vii.* 37.

(97) *In vit. Mos.* & *lib. de Monarchia*, c. 2.

As there elapsed somewhat above a month between *Moses's* receiving the news of his death, and the day in which he expired, he spent the best part of that time in making some further regulations. Amongst other things he had the pleasure to see the twelve thousand men whom he had chosen, that is, a thousand out of every tribe, return from the total overthrow of the *Midianites*, we mentioned a little before, loaden with the richest spoil, and to order the distribution of it: one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other

מן בית דין, *Ab beth-din*, or the head of the *Sanhedrin* (98), and even by the general in time of war, as in the case of *Joshua* (99). *Spencer* indeed thinks that the head of the nation alone, and he in his own person, was allowed to consult the *Urim* (100); but the contrary seems more probable from *David's* consulting the Lord by *Abiathar*, before he was settled upon the throne (1). However that be, this ceremony of consulting by *Urim*, &c. was not performed, without great ceremony. The high-priest alone was the person to apply to, he was to be dressed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breast-plate, and to go into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards which he was only to turn his face, when he enquired of the Lord. Again, he was not to be consulted upon trivial matters, but upon those of the greatest moment, such as concerned the public good, and upon any sudden and unexpected emergency, as the *Jews* do prove from those places of scripture where such counsel was asked (2). Lastly, things relating to faith or practice were not to be enquired by the *Urim*, because they had the old precept quoted by *Isaiah* (3), *to the law and to the prophets*.

But how this divine oracle gave its answer, whether by the unusual lustre of the stones in the breast-plate, when the answer was favourable; and by their dimness in the contrary case, as *Josephus* (4), and others after him, have imagined; or, as others think, by virtue of the name, יהוה, written, or engraven, in, or between, the double breast-plate (5); or, 3dly, by the prominence of the letters engraven upon the 12 stones of it, which the high-priest, being then inspired, knew how to range so as to give a true answer; we will not take upon us to determine. But this last opinion is almost universally received by the *Jewish* Rabbies (6). For instance, they say that when *David* enquired whether he should go up into any of the cities of *Judab*, and the Lord answered עלה, *go up* (7), those three letters became prominent above the rest. But the majority of *Christians* think that God answered the high-priest *visu voce*, by an articulate voice, from the mercy-seat, where the cherubims covered the ark of the testimony, called therefore the oracle (8); from whence God promised that he would meet and commune with *Moses*, or as the original has it, *instruct and talk with him*; which notion is indeed the most probable and consonant to some instances in the text relating to this matter, and especially to that where the children of *Israel* are blamed for making peace with the *Gibeonites*, without consulting יהוה, *the mouth of the Lord* (9). All these opinions are liable to many objections,

which we shall not trouble our readers with, but conclude with the saying of a wise *Jewish* Rabbi (10), *that he is on the safest side, who roundly owns his ignorance in this point*.

How long the *Urim* and *Thummim* continued is not so difficult to decide: the *Jews* in general agree, that it lasted no longer than the tabernacle. It is a maxim with them, that God delivered his oracles, during the standing of it, by *Urim* and *Thummim*; by the mouth of his prophets, during the first temple; and by the *Eath-col*, from the *Babylonish* captivity to the destruction of the second. *Spencer*, who has espoused their opinion, has backed it with several arguments *de congruo* †; but what confirms it more than all his reasoning is, that we do not meet with one single instance of the *Urim* being consulted from the building of *Salomon's* temple; on the contrary, we read, that when *Hilkiah* the high-priest found the book of the law in *Josiah's* reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatenings pronounced against the transgressors of it, he sent to consult the prophetess *Huldah* about it (11), which he needed not to have done, had the *Urim* still subsisted. All that can be objected against it is, that *Moses*, in blessing the tribe of *Levi*, prays that the *Urim* and *Thummim* may continue with God's holy one (12): but this doth not imply, that it should do so whilst *Levi* continued a tribe. Some have urged that passage where the prophet threatens the *Israelites*, that they should abide without king, prince, image, ephod, or teraphim (13): but it doth not appear to us, that any of the three last have any relation to the *Urim* and *Thummim*. As for what *Josephus* says, that the stones of the *Urim* had lost their lustre but about two hundred years before he wrote (14); that is, about 112 years before *Christ*; we think it not worth consulting, since it is allowed on all hands, that it ceased at the *Babylonish* captivity, if not before, and that it was one of those things in which the second temple came short of the first (15), as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* intimate plainly enough (16).

We shall dismiss this note with reminding our readers, that the *Egyptians* had an oracle or teraphim, which they called *truth*. This is plain from the testimony of several antient writers (17); but as to the question, whether they had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them, we shall refer them to what has been said before in cases of the like nature †. Those, who are desirous to know more of the subject, may consult at their leisure the authors quoted in the margin (18).

(98) *Talm. Tract. in MDI Yoma*, cap. 7. § 5. vid. *FAG. in Exod. xxviii.* *GOODW. Moses & Aaron*, lib. iv. cap. 7. § 8. vid. *De Judg. i. 1.* (99) *De Legib. ritual. Habr. lib. iii. Dissert. 7. c. 1. 8. & alib.* (100) *Vid. MEYER de fest. dieb. Habr. cap. 4. § 49. & 51.* (1) 1 Sam. xxiii. 4. xxx. 7, 8. (2) *ABARBAN. R. LEVI. BEN. GERS. ap. BUXT. Hist. Urim & Thum.* (3) *Ch. viii. 20. Vid. MAIMONID. Kele Mammikdash. cap. 10.* (4) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 9.* (5) *Rab. SALOM. ap. D. KIMCH. in Rad. vid. Exod. xxviii. 15.* (6) *Vid. ZOHAR. in Exod. ex lib. Jalkuth. R. BECHAI in Dent. xxxiii. MAIMON. ubi sup. & al. mult.* (7) 2 Sam. ii. 1. (8) *Exod. xxv. 22. & alib.* (9) *Josh. ix. 14. Hos. iii. 4.* (10) *KIMCH. in Rad. † De Urim & Thum. c. 2. § 2.* (11) 2 Kings xxiii. pass. (12) *Deuter. xxxiii. 8.* (13) *Hof. iii. 4.* (14) *Jos. ubi sup.* (15) *Vid. PRIDEAUX's Connect. part. i. lib. 3.* (16) *Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65.* (17) *Vid. AELIAN, var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 34. DIOD. SICUL. lib. 2. & al. † Sup. p. 427. note (R), & p. 516. notes (Y), (Z).* (18) *PRIDEAUX ubi sup. CUNÆUS, BASHAG. Rep. Jud. tom. I. lib. ii. c. 2. LE CLERC's Comm. in Exod. SAURIN's Discourses on the Pentat. CALMET's Dict. sub voc. Urim. Id. Comm. in Exod. & al.*



- a to those who had not gone to the war, reserving, as we said before, one fiftieth part of each for the priests and *Levites*; which distribution seems to have past afterwards into a law<sup>a</sup>. What added still more to his joy was, that the chief captains, upon a strict enquiry, had not found one man missing of all that went upon this expedition, and expressed such thankfulness for it, that they presented to the Lord an offering of the gold-rings, bracelets, and ornaments which they had taken, amounting to the weight of sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels, <sup>Part of the Midianitish spoils offered to God.</sup> all which was deposited by *Eleazar* in the tabernacle as a monument of their gratitude<sup>b</sup>. It is likewise supposed, that it was during this interval, that he distributed the land of *Sibon* and *Og*, to the two tribes and half<sup>c</sup>.
- b AND now as the *Israelites* were on the eve of entering into the promised land, no time could be more proper to remind them of his former commands, of driving out the *Canaanites*, and destroying their idols, temples, groves, and all the monuments of their idolatry; and to forewarn them, at the same time, that in case <sup>Idols of Canaan to be destroyed.</sup> they neglected to drive the inhabitants out of the land, they would prove as thorns in their sides, and an inexhaustible source of vexation and trouble, and of the severest punishments from God<sup>d</sup>. At the same time he appointed the limits of the land which they were to conquer, and the distribution of it by lot (D) according to God's command, and committed the whole care of it to *Joshua* and *Eleazar* the high-priest, at the head of the chiefs of every tribe<sup>e</sup>, who saw it punctually executed, as shall be shewn in its proper place. But though these limits did not reach beyond the land of *Canaan*, strictly so called<sup>f</sup>, yet he had added thereto all the land of the *Amorites*, on the other side *Jordan*, with all the tract of ground which reached from the wilderness, the mountains of *Lebanon*, and the river *Euphrates*, unto the *Mediterranean* sea as far as the *Nile*. Some further directions were also given concerning the forty eight cities and their suburbs, or rather districts, which were to be allotted to the tribe of *Levi*<sup>g</sup>: six of these were to be cities of refuge for the manslayer to flee to, three of which were to be on the one side, and three on the other of *Jordan*; to which he added a permission to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders should make it necessary<sup>h</sup>.

THE nearer *Moses* drew to his end, the more solicitous he was to compleat his arduous task. Accordingly, on the fifth day of the eleventh month, answering to our *Saturday, February 20*, of the fortieth year of the *Exod*<sup>i</sup>, the *Israelites* being still encamped in the plain of *Moab*, he assembled the people about him, and in a long and pathetic speech recapitulated to them all that <sup>Moses' speech to the Israelites.</sup> had happened since their departure out of *Egypt* till that time<sup>j</sup>. He added indeed one circumstance not taken notice of before, namely, his earnest request to God, that he might be admitted to go into the promised land, and his prayer being absolutely denied<sup>k</sup>. All the rest is what has been already said in this section, except what relates to the laws he made, which we reserve for another place. He concludes with exhorting them to continue faithful to God, and with the severest threatenings, in case of disobedience.

THIS speech was soon followed by another of a much greater length<sup>l</sup>, in which more particular mention is made of all God's mercies and judgments, <sup>A second speech of Moses.</sup> promises and threatenings; and wherein the blessings and curses, which were to be the fruit of their obedience or disobedience, are expressed in the strongest and most lively terms; after which, he reminded them of the continual murmurings and rebellions of their fathers, and the severe judgments that followed them.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. 1 Sam. xxx. 21. & seq. 2 Maccab. viii. 28. Ann. p. 24.  
<sup>b</sup> Numb. xxxiii. 51. & seq.  
<sup>c</sup> Numb. xxxv. pass. Deut. xix. 8.  
<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ch. iii. 26. & seq.

<sup>e</sup> Numb xxxi. 49. & seq. <sup>f</sup> UssER. Deut. xi. 24. <sup>g</sup> Josh. i. 4. & seq.  
<sup>h</sup> Vid. UssER. Ann. p. 24. <sup>i</sup> Deut. i, ii, iii, & iv. ap. ver. 4. <sup>j</sup> Ibid. from ch. iv, to xxvii.

(D) Nothing could be more prudently forecalt than this partition of the land by lot, and making *Joshua* and the high-priest the superintendents of it, since it was the only way that could, and did, effectually prevent all murmurings and quarrels among that stubborn people. However, as the lots were to bear a proportion to the bigness of each tribe and family, it is supposed from what followed, that every tribe drew its lot for

its own canton, after which there were proper persons to measure out a quantity of land to each family, according to their bigness. But whether this last was done by this, or by any other method, whether the subdivisions between the families were likewise carried on by lot or otherwise, sure it is, that we do not read, that it occasioned any broils or jealousies among them (19).



He interspersed the whole with a summary of all the laws which the divine providence had calculated for their welfare, among which he repeats those of the decalogue almost word for word (E); and concludes with a most elegant description of the solemn and dreadful manner in which they were delivered from mount Sinai. He closed his speech with a most pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a submissive reliance on that amazing goodness that had so graciously chosen them before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might display his almighty power in favour of them, in order to be glorified by them and future ages, as well for the great mercies he had shewed to them, as for the heavy punishments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedness and idolatry<sup>1</sup>. And lest their prosperity should in time make them forget their divine benefactor, he prescribed unto them a form of confession, which they should be bound to make every year, when they came to offer the first fruits of their land; in which they were to acknowledge their having received it from God. It was prefaced with these remarkable words, *a Syrian ready to perish was my father, and went down into Egypt*; then follows a short account of the Egyptian bondage, their deliverance from it, and induction into a land flowing with milk and honey; and concludes with begging, that God would accept of his offering as a thankful acknowledgment for it<sup>2</sup>. After this, he directed *Joshua* and the elders how to erect a capacious altar upon mount *Ebal*, of unhewn stones covered over with plaister, upon which they should write a fair transcript of all these laws, copies of which he delivered to the *Levites* to keep (F)<sup>3</sup>; and how to set up the blessings and curses upon mount *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, in full sight of all *Israel*, six tribes of which, namely *Reuben*, *Gad*, *Asser*, *Zebulun*, *Dan* and *Nephthali*, should stand upon the former, and those of *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Issachar*, *Joseph* and *Benjamin*, on the latter, and should alternately answer *amen* to all those blessings and curses, when they came to be proclaimed and set up there, which was accordingly done in *Joshua's* time<sup>4</sup>, as we shall see in the sequel. And that there might be nothing wanting in these his last instructions,

*A form of acknowledgment prescribed.*

*Blessings and curses to be set up on mount Ebal and Gerizim.*

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ix. pass. xxxii. pass. & al.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxvi. pass.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxvii. 5. & seq. xxxi. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. viii. 33. & seq.

(E) All the difference betwixt those two places is in the fourth commandment: in this, *Moses* expresses this injunction thus; *keep the sabbath-day in order to sanctify it, as, or, in the manner, in which the Lord has commanded*; unto which he subjoins these two reasons, namely, first, that the servants might enjoy the benefit of rest as well as their masters; and secondly, that God had appointed that day of rest, to put them in mind that they had been servants in Egypt, out of which the Lord had brought them, with a mighty hand and stretched out arm, for that is the plain meaning of the text here; whereas in *Exodus*, these two reasons are omitted, and another given which is not mentioned here, namely, that God sanctified the seventh day, because in it he had rested or ceased from his work of creation. From this seeming difference, and some other arguments, foreign to our present purpose, some divines have inferred, with some probability at least, that not the seventh, but a seventh day, or one in seven, had been instituted at, and observed from the creation till the *Exod.* and if so, most likely the first day of the seven; but that in memory of this great deliverance, it was superseded and changed into the seventh day, on which it was to continue till a much nobler redemption, namely, that which *Christ* wrought for us, made the lesser give place to it; at which time it was to return to its first institution (20). We shall not take upon us to affirm any thing in so delicate a point: only this, we beg leave to observe, that nothing can so well account for appointing the

observance of the *Mosaic* sabbath in so indolent and inactive a manner, as the reason here given, that when they found the sweetness of rest, and enjoyed it even beyond what nature required, they might be the more sensible of the goodness of God, in delivering them from that thralldom in which their labours, though exceeding all measure, had been without the least intermission†.

(F) The words which our version renders to write very plain, and we by a fair transcript, are in the original באר היטב, *Baer-hetebb*, in the infinitive mood, that is, in order to be distinctly and easily read. What the contents of this law were, which was to be thus written or ingraven upon the altar, or more probably along the sides of it, is not agreed. For whilst some will have it to be the whole *Pentateuch*, which the *Jerus* call by way of excellency התורה, *Hathorab*, the law (21), *Josephus* mentions only the blessings and curses (22), and others more absurdly confine it to the bare decalogue; but the most probable opinion is, that it was that summary of all the laws which is contained in the book of *Deuteronomy*. Accordingly, when it is said there (23), that the kings of *Israel* shall be obliged to write a copy of this law with their own hand, it is more likely to have meant those that are contained in *Deuteronomy*, than either the whole *Pentateuch* or the bare decalogue, not only because the former contains the sum and substance of all the laws in the other four books of *Moses*, but likewise because they are here enforced by the most powerful motives (24).

(20) *Vid.* BEDFORD'S *Chronol.* p. 298. § 13. 378. & seq. † *Vid.* *supr.* p. 474. note (C).  
(21) MAIMON. *Halak Melak.* JOS. KARO, *Keseph Mishn.* *Vid.* R. SIMEON in *Talkuth* & al. mult. S. AUGUST. in *Deut.* xvii. 18. GROT. *ibid.* DAAHAWER. SCHIKARD. & al. in loc. (22) *Ant. lib. iv. c. 8.* (23) *Deut.* xvii. 18. (24) *Vid.* LE SCEN. *Essay on a N. Verf.* p. 92. ABAAB. LUTHER. & al.

a he prescribed a kind of exhortation, which was to be spoken aloud at the head of the army, by a priest appointed for that purpose (G,) whenever they were going to engage their enemies, in order to inspire the people with an unshaken trust in God, and assurance of victory. He ordered likewise that a proclamation should be made at the same time by proper officers, to permit not only all that had left a new wife, house, or vineyard unenjoyed, but even all those, whose fear or pusillanimity might discourage the rest, to return home. And lastly, how they should behave themselves towards those cities that accepted of their proffered peace, and to those which rejected it <sup>a</sup>.

b Hz soon after assembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, in or-<sup>The old cove-</sup>  
der to make them renew the covenant which their fathers had made with God <sup>nant ratified</sup>  
in *Horeb*; and as he enforced the observance of it by the most engaging mo-<sup>by the whole</sup>  
tives, so did he at the same time endeavour to deter them from the breach of it <sup>nation.</sup>  
by such threatenings, as proved no less than prophetic of those miserable slave-  
ries which they underwent afterwards for their disobedience <sup>1</sup>, not only during  
the time of the judges, and the *Babylonish* captivity, but much more since  
their rejection of the *Messiah*. There was one remarkable thing in this pro-  
phetic warning, which ought not to be passed by, which was, that under what-  
ever captivity and dispersion they happened to groan, if they applied them-  
selves to God by prayer, and an humble acknowledgment of their sins, they  
c should still be delivered from it. This was exactly verified by the event, for  
they no sooner turned to God, but he either sent them a deliverer soon after,  
as in the time of the judges, or some prophets to comfort them during their  
captivity, and to fix the time of its duration; as in that of *Babylon*. This  
needs not to be wondered at, the crimes for which they suffered in these, ido-  
latry, murders, rapine, extortion, and the like, were of too glaring a nature,  
not to force the deepest remorse and acknowledgment, whenever they smarted  
for them. It was far otherwise in their last sin, the rejection of the *Messiah*; his  
mean birth and appearance, his sufferings and death, and many other dis-  
advantageous circumstances, were so opposite to those glorious notions they had  
d imbibed of him, and his religion so pure and spiritual, that their prejudices  
made them easily overlook all the visible proofs he gave of his divine mission.  
And after they had once condemned him, they had too great a notion of their  
own sagacity and uprightness, ever to feel, or at least own the injustice of the deed.  
We may add that their posterity has followed their steps, and has been so far from  
supposing that the *Sanhedrin* could have been guilty of so fatal a mistake,  
and so horrid a crime as the rejecting and murdering the *Messiah*, that  
they are still fully persuaded, that court would have been the very first that would  
have acknowledged him. This is the source of their unbelief, and since they  
have ever since rather glorified in that deed, than acknowledged and repented  
e of it, we need seek no farther for the cause why their captivity and dispersion  
has proved so severe, of so long a duration, and without the least comfortable  
prophecy, or even prospect of God's putting an end to it. But to return, *Mo-*  
*ses* having caused this covenant to be ratified by the whole assembly, no doubt  
with a suitable solemnity, he commanded the *Levites* to deposit a copy of it,  
which he delivered to them, in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and  
earth to witness for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reason-  
ableness of those laws which God had given them, and for the certainty of  
those blessings or curses which would infallibly follow the keeping or the breach

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xx. per. tot.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. xxix. pass.

(G) This priest was either then, or in process of time, called אמרכל, *Amercol*, from *Amar*, to speak, and *Col*, all, because he was to direct his speech to the whole army. And though the Jewish nation hath had no need of such an orator of a very long season, yet they still retain the name and notion of it in their game of chess, which, with regard to the analogy it bears to a fighting army, differs only from ours in their division of each opponent's side into church and state, and calling the former by ecclesiastic names, as follows: the queen is with them the מלכה, *Melechah*,

*Cohen-gadol*, or high-priest. Her bishop is the כהן, *Sagan*, or the next in dignity to the high-priest. The knight they style כוהן משרת, *Cohen Mafnuach*, by which is meant that priest that was anointed by the high one for the war, in order to supply his place, whenever God was to be consulted by *Urim*; and the last, or the rook, is the *Amercol* abovementioned. As for those on the king's side, they name the first his vicegerent, or the second perion to him, the second his יועץ, *Yohatz*, his counsellor, and the last is his generalissimo (25).

(25) Vid. Dr. HIDE's *Shabulad*.

breach of them<sup>a</sup>. However, in order to fix these important truths more strongly <sup>a</sup>  
 in their minds, he composed a psalm or canticle, in which they are expressed in the  
 most elegant and lively language, and having caused it to be read before all the peo-  
 ple, he delivered it to *Joshua*, to be hereafter learned by heart by them and their  
 posterity. This inimitable piece of ancient poetry, as far as our language can come  
 up to the beauty of the original, is thus prefaced<sup>b</sup>:

*The preface of* Attend ye heavens, whilst I speak, give ear, O earth, to the words of my  
*it Englished.* mouth.

Let my doctrine descend like drops of rain, and my speech distil as the dew.

Let them fall as a gentle shower upon the tender herb, and as the rain that falls upon  
 the grass. <sup>b</sup>

And whilst I invoke the name **JEHOVAH**, resound the greatness of our God.

His works, even the works of this our strong rock, are perfect, and all his ways are  
 are equity.

He is a faithful God, without deceit, for he is just and righteous. And so  
 on (H).

THE lecture of this divine song being ended, *Moses* went on with acquainting  
 the people that, since it was not the will of God that he should go with them into  
 the promised land, they must now look upon *Joshua* as their leader, assuring  
 them that they could not fail of success in the conquest of it, provided they  
 faithfully observed the covenant which they had so lately renewed with God. <sup>c</sup>  
 He then delivered a written instrument of it, and a duplicate of the laws to  
 be preserved in the ark, with an order, that this latter should be publicly read  
 before the whole assembly at the feast of the tabernacles every sabbatic or seventh  
 year<sup>d</sup>. He added some few laws, one against false prophets, another against  
 magic, and a third for the expiation of murder when the author of it could not  
 be discovered.

AND now his talk being at an end, and God having commanded him to  
 go up to mount *Nebo*, and to resign commission with his soul there, as soon  
 as he had taken a view of the promised land; he had nothing left to do but  
 to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic blessing upon <sup>d</sup>  
 them. The text tells us that he was a hundred and twenty years old, and that  
 neither his sight nor his natural strength were in the least impaired, and we  
 may add, that, if one may judge of that of his mind by the style of this his  
 last speech, and by the beauty and energy of the expressions, it seems to have re-  
 ceived an addition at the sight of his departure, and of his people's approaching  
 happiness. The preface and conclusion of it are couched in as strong and ele-  
 gant terms, as the most divine enthusiasm could inspire a prophet with. How-  
 ever as we have already spoken of it in another place, and shewed how it agreed  
 with that of *Jacob*†, which we there endeavoured to explain throughout, we  
 shall not dwell any longer upon it at present. Only here it will not be amiss <sup>e</sup>  
 to observe that our *English* version was certainly right to insert the word *not*  
 in the latter part of the 6th verse of this chapter\*, *let Reuben live and not die*,  
 and let not his men be few; which is certainly the true sense according to the

*His last bless-  
 ing to the  
 twelve tribes.*

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxx. and xxxi.  
 supr. p. 461. & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid xxxii. ad ver. 45.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. xxxi. 10. & seq. † Vid.

\* xxxiii.

(H) We beg leave to assure our readers, who  
 do not understand the *Hebrew* tongue, that we  
 have not departed from our *English* version in the  
 sketch we have given of this incomparable song,  
 with any other view but to come somewhat nearer  
 to the genius and beauties of the original, than that  
 doth, though we own it impossible to come up  
 wholly to it; for which reason we willingly ex-  
 cuse ourselves from going further in the version.  
 The *Jews* do justly esteem it a most elegant epi-  
 tome of the whole *Pentateuch*, because it makes  
 mention of the greatness and magnificence of  
 God, of the creation of the world, of the de-  
 luge, of the confusion of tongues and dispersion

of the nations, of the call of *Abraham*, and of  
 his posterity, and of all that the divine goodness  
 had done for them; of their murmurings, rebel-  
 lions, idolatries, and of their inheriting the pro-  
 mised land: of the worship of the one only true  
 God, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the  
 future life. But we much question whether these  
 two last will be so universally granted unto them,  
 as all the rest may and actually is, because the words  
 from which they prove them, the Lord killeth and  
*maketh alive* (26), may easily admit of another  
 sense, it being commonly used for preserving alive,  
 and even for forbearing to kill.

- a genius of the original, which often omits that negative in the second hemistich, though any modern version, that did not supply it, would make it speak contrary to its plain meaning<sup>1</sup>. This is the very error into which the septuagint and vulgate have fallen, in order to render this latter part of the verse applicable to the tribe of *Simeon*, of which *Moses* had made no mention throughout this prophecy; but herein 'tis plain they mistook the sense of the text, not only from what we have just now hinted, but also because *being few in number* would have been a curse rather than a blessing, and was more particularly esteemed such by the *Israelites*; in which case that tribe alone would have been cursed, whilst all the rest were highly blessed, whereas they are said to be all blessed in the very first verse; besides it is
- b certain that *Simeon* had his blessing, since he had an inheritance allotted to him as well as the rest<sup>2</sup>. We need not therefore look for any other mystery or reason for this omission of *Moses*, than that this tribe was wholly intermixed with that of *Judab*, according to their father's prophecy<sup>3</sup>, and consequently shared in all its blessings, those only excepted which *Jacob* had confined to the latter; and hence it came to pass that these two tribes did generally go hand in hand in all their expeditions<sup>4</sup>.

Why Simeon is omitted in this blessing.

- THE Jewish lawgiver had no sooner ended this prophetic speech, than he obeyed the divine call, and in the sight of all *Israel* went up to mount *Nebo*, from the summit of which he beheld all the land which God had promised to *Abraham's* posterity. *Josephus* adds<sup>5</sup>, that he was accompanied by *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, and the seventy, to the mount, and that, whilst the two last were taking their sorrowful farewell of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley; but the text seems rather to intimate that he went up alone. Be that how it will, the author of this last chapter, whoever he was, assures us that he died immediately after, and that the Lord conveyed him into a valley in the land of *Moab*, over against *Beth-peor* (I), and there buried him in so private a place, that his sepulchre was not known at the time of his writing<sup>6</sup>; to which we may add that it never was discovered since<sup>7</sup>. Several inspired penmen, and apocryphal writers, have since given us the character of this truly great lawgiver,
- c besides the abovementioned *Josephus*; but none has expressed it in fewer and stronger terms than the author of these additions in the three last verses of this chapter (K). His death happened on the first day (according to *Josephus* and

Moses goes up to mount Nebo.

His death, burial, and character.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ps. vi. 1. and xxxviii. 1. See also Ps. ix. 18. as they are in our bibles. <sup>2</sup> Josh. xix. 1. <sup>3</sup> Chron. iv. 24. & seq. <sup>4</sup> Gen. xlix. 7. Vid. sup. p. 462. note (F). <sup>5</sup> Judg. i. 3. & seq. Vid. JUN. in Deut. xxxiii. 6. <sup>6</sup> Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. <sup>7</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 6. <sup>8</sup> Vid. HORN Hist. Ecclesiast. BARNAC. Continuat. JOSEPH. tom. IV. lib. vi. c. 17. art. 13. BARTOLOC. Bibliot. Rabbini. tom. III. p. 928. & seq. CALM. Dissert. on the death and burial of Moses, at the head of his Epit. Canoniq. & al.

(I) Though the text says, in the land of *Moab* (27), yet, it is plain, as the learned primate of *Ireland* observes, by comparing these with other places of scripture, that this valley was in the land of *Sibon*, king of the *Amorites*, which the *Israelites* took from him, and assigned to the tribe of *Reuben*; and therefore, when it is here, and elsewhere, called the land of *Moab*, it can mean no more than the land which *Sibon* had conquered from them, and the *Israelites* from him (28).

(K) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that *Moses* did really die, and was buried; and *Josephus* tells us (29) according to our copies of him, that the scripture affirms him to be dead, lest people should think, because of the excellency of his person, that he was still alive, and with God; notwithstanding which, the superstitious *Jews* have fallen into various notions about it; some absolutely denying his death, and others, without taking notice of that circumstance, affirming him to have been translated into heaven (30). Those of the *Christians*, who have embraced this wild notion, do ground it upon his appearing with *Elias* at

the transfiguration upon mount *Taber* (31), and upon that context which *Michael* and the devil had about his body, which we find mentioned by *St. Jude* (32); though the most probable inference that can be made from such a dispute, if any such there was, is, that the devil wanted to bring *Moses's* body to light, that he might thereby ensnare the people to idolatry, or rather to *ἀντανακρίσει*, the worship of relics, which therefore *Michael* opposed with a zeal worthy of an archangel (33). However, this circumstance seems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apostle from an apocryphal book, intitled *Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως*, or the assumption of *Moses*; something like which we find in some Jewish writings (34). Other rabbies, though they believe that he was so far dead, as that there was a separation of soul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, because he is said to have died *על פי יהוה*, that is, as we rightly translate it, according to the word of the Lord; but according to their literal sense of it, upon the mouth of the Lord; from

(27) Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6. & alib. compared with Numb. xxi. 26. Deut. iv. 46. Josh. xiii. 20. (28) Vid. USHER's Ann. p. 25. (29) Ant. loc. citat. (30) Vid. MAIMON. proem. ad Talmud. (31) Mat. xvii. 1. & seq. (32) Jud. ver. 9. Vid. FABRIC. Apoc. Vet. Test. (33) USH. Ann. ubi sup. & aut. ab eo citat. (34) Vid. R. NATHAN. פירק' אבות.

archbishop Ujver †, or on the seventh according to the generality of the latter a

† Ant. & Ann. ubi supr.

from which they affirm, that *Moses*, having begged of God not to deliver up his soul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiss, which the Lord was pleased to give him (35).

As to his writings, besides the *Pentateuch*, which is universally received by *Jews* and *Christians*, as penned by him, if we except *Abenezra* and *Spinosa*, among the former, and some moderns among the latter, (if their avowed principles can permit us to call them *Christians*, who denied him to be the author of it, and have been learnedly confuted by a late author (36),) besides the books, I say, commonly called the five books of *Moses*, there have been some other works attributed to him, though without any certainty, such as the book of *Job*, of which we have already spoken in another place †, eleven psalms, viz. 90, 91, 92, and so on to the 100th. *Origen* believes him to have translated the book of *Job* from the *Syriac* into *Hebrew* (37). Though he is scarce followed by either *Jew* or *Christian*. A few fragments of other books are likewise quoted by some of the ancients, as wrote by him; such as, 1. His *Apocalypse*, out of which *St. Paul* is by them supposed to have taken those words (38), for in *Christ Jesus* neither circumcision availeth any thing, &c. 2. His lesser *Genesis*. 3. His ascension. 4. Assumption, mentioned a little above. 5. His Testament, and some other mysterious books (39).

Some Rabbies attribute to him likewise a treatise entitled באר חכמה, *Beer Mosheh*, or באר חכמה, *Beer Chokmah*, the fountain of wisdom (40). As for the lesser *Genesis*, *St. Jerom*, who quotes a passage or two out of it, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his time (41). The *Setbites*, an ancient sect of heretics, quoted likewise two of the aforementioned books, namely his testament, and his mysterious books or discourses; but all these were so far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, as fast as christianity prevailed.

The wonders of his life have been no less multiplied by the Rabbies than his writings; we shall just hint some of them. They tell us that he was born circumcised; that *Pharaoh's* daughter, whom they call *Bathia*, being all over leprous, was cured by the touching of the little ark, in which he was exposed: That, at three years of age, she brought him to her father, from whose head he took the crown to put it upon his own, for which *Balaam*, who was then at that court, advised *Pharaoh* to put him to death, but the other magicians chose rather to try first whether this action was designedly done by him, or through childishness; upon which they set before him some diamonds and burning coals, and the angel *Gabriel* forced his hands towards the coals, one of which he put to his mouth, and burnt himself, which was the occasion of his stammering, and that he saved his life by it. That he was afterwards condemned to lose his head for the murder of the *Egyptian*, but that his neck became so hard, that the sword, instead of hurting him, recoiled with such force, that it killed the

executioner; and that the king becoming dumb on a sudden, and the rest of the spectators being struck blind or deaf, gave *Moses* an opportunity of running away without opposition.

Being retired to the king of *Ethiopia*, who was then in *Armenia*, and *Balaam* having caused an insurrection in *Ethiopia*, *Moses* put himself at the head of the king's army, and besieged *Balaam* in the metropolis, who endeavoured by his magic to obstruct his approach, by an innumerable multitude of serpents, which he caused to surround the city; but *Moses*, having charmed them, took the town, married the queen whose consort had been killed at the war, and reigned in *Ethiopia* forty years, till his queen, complaining of his coldness towards her, caused a rebellion, which obliged him to retire to *Yebra*, where he got the miraculous rod of which we gave an account in a former note †, and married his daughter *Ziphorab*: That her father having stipulated that her first-born son should not be circumcised, an angel was sent in the shape of a serpent, who swallowed him up to the place of circumcision, which made *Ziphorab* retrieve the fault, and save her husband by the circumcision of her son.

As for the manner in which they say that *Moses* received the divine law, it is so absurd, that we should not trouble our readers with it, were it not to point out to them the spring from which *Mohammed* did pump out all the rhapsodies of his *Koran*. These grave gentlemen thought it not enough for their law-giver to have gone up and received it upon mount *Sinai*, but they make him take a journey to heaven in a cloud; and add, that he met in his way *Kemuel* the chief of a legion of angels, who endeavoured to come up to him, but that he was repulsed some thousands of miles back, by his pronouncing the name of God consisting of twelve letters. Soon after this, he was terribly frightened by the angel *Adarniel's* voice, which was so dreadful that it was echoed from no less than two hundred thousand spheres, all surrounded with a white fire. *Moses* was just ready to run away, when God heartened him up again, and bid him put the spirit to flight by pronouncing the name of God written with seventy two letters, which made him cry out as he fled; how happy art thou, *Moses*, to know those things which the very angels are ignorant of. They add that the two tables which *Moses* brought down from heaven being made of the finest saphir stone, he enriched himself exceedingly by the chips that fell off in the carving and polishing of them; which is no great wonder, if they were ten or twelve cubits high, as some of them pretend (42).

The *Mohammedans* have not only embraced all these rabbinical dreams, but have very much improved them. The reader may remember what they say concerning this last circumstance of the two tables being brought from heaven and carried thither again †. We shall not trouble the reader with any more of their reveries, those who are fond of such things may find them at large in *Monsieur D'Herbelot's Bibliotheca Orientalis*, under the article *Moyse* (43). In the mean time as the character

(35) *Vid.* GAULMIN'S פסירת-מושה. (36) ABBADIE *Verit. de la Relig. Chrestien*, pt. 3. † *Vid.* sup. p. 481. (37) ORIGEN in *Job*. (38) *Galat.* v. 6. vi. 15. (39) SYNCHELL. *ex parv. Gen.* CLEM. ALEXAND. *ex Eusebium. Stromat. lib. i.* ISIDOR. HISPAL. *lib. i.* ORIGEN. c. iii. CEDREN. GLYCAS. BARTOLOC & VOLP. *Bibl. Rabbini. & Auct. ibi citat. vid. etiam FABRIC. de Apoc. V. 9.* (40) R. SHABTAI STRIM. *vid. & WOLF. Bib. Rabbini. Num. 1582.* (41) *Epist. 127. ad Fabiol. Manp. 18. & 24. Vid. CALM. Hist. V. Test. t. i. p. perult. † Vid. sup. p. 489, note (2).* (42) *Vid. Elle-shemeth rabb. in EXOD. xxxiv. Rab. SAL. in loc. Pirke Aboth. P'etirath Moyse. vid. & SIX. SIXEN. & al. op. CALM. dict. sub. voc. MOISE. Vid. sup. p. 511. at the end of note (A).* (43) P. 647. & seq.



- a *Jews*) \* of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, and in the hundred and twentieth of his age; the last forty of which, the last month excepted, he had spent in the government of the *Israelites*. The people mourned for him one whole month according to the custom of the nation, for the death of any eminent person, after which *Joshua* entered into his office, and soon after that, into the land of *Canaan*, as shall be shewn in the next section.

In the mean time it will be proper to observe here, that the ceremony of circumcision was discontinued during the whole time of their abode in the wilderness; for which no proper reason can be well assigned, unless it be either because their frequent moving from place to place would have made it dangerous for those children who were circumcised before a march, or that, the design of circumcision being to preserve the people from intermingling with other nations, it became less necessary in the wilderness, where they were in no danger of such a mixture \*. But neither of these reasons is satisfactory; for as to the first, besides that their marches happened but seldom during the last thirty eight years, as we observed before †, it would have been more safe to have dispensed with the time, and, instead of the eighth day, to have performed it on the next encampment, than to have wholly omitted it, seeing there were some particular blessings belonging to it, which they were deprived of, that died without it. For this very reason therefore it did not become less obligatory, though the preventing a mixture were allowed to have been the main design of its institution. For that could not authorize them to dispense with a positive precept, even though none of those neighbouring nations had been circumcised, which was not the case, seeing the *Edomites*, and perhaps also the *Midianites* were. But whatever be the reason of its omission, one may conclude from it, that this ceremony was not so necessary to salvation as some, both *Christians* and *Jews*, have imagined, among the latter of which, some have run to such an extreme of superstition, as to cause those children of theirs that happened to die before they were circumcised, to receive it before they were buried.

BEFORE we dismiss this section, it will be expected, no doubt, that we should give some account of the order and manner of encamping and marching used by the *Israelites* in the wilderness, because it is not only curious, but useful, in order to understand several places of holy writ that allude to it, both in the old and new testament \*, especially in the prophetic books. It is plain, from the short account which *Moses* has left us of it †, that it was prescribed to him by GOD himself. And indeed, if we consider their vast multitude, their untoward genius, the great mixture of other nations that joined themselves to them, the quantity of lumber which they were forced to carry with them, we can hardly suppose that any man, how wise and experienced soever, could be equal to such a task without a supernatural assistance. 'Tis true indeed that the word *wilderness*, by which the scene of their forty years wandering is called, ought not to be taken too literally, seeing they did generally encamp near inhabited towns and villages, whose territories could furnish them with provisions for themselves, and pasture for their cattle, and, when that failed, they were often miraculously supplied; but nevertheless, to provide for all other exigencies, which must needs be supposed to happen in such a numberless host, to settle such

\* Vid. Sedar holam Rab. cap. 10. MAIMON. Præf. ad Misnaioth, &c. † Josh. v. 2. & seq.

\* BASNAG. Rep. Hebr. Tom. I. lib. iii. c. 5. LE CLERC, GROT. & SAURIN, &c. † Vid. sup. p. 527. c. - See Sir ISAAC NEWT. Observ. upon the prophecies, p. 259. & alib. MED. Clav. prophet. pass. & al. † Numb. i. 51. & seq.

character of this lawgiver has been universally known by the ancients, so has it been as much lessened and blackened by some, as it has been exaggerated by others beyond all modesty and truth, according to their different prejudices and interests. *Josephus*, in his book against *Apion* (44) has not only recorded, but fully answered all that *Manetho* had said, to lessen the glory of it; and what that learned *Jew* has said there, will equally confute what *Justin* out of *Trogus* has said of him (45). On the other hand some late authors, by comparing what we read of *Moses* with what

the fables tell us of *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, &c. have found so near a resemblance in the characters, that they have not scrupled to affirm, that the heathen had applied what they had read of the former to the latter; concerning which the reader may, if he pleases, consult the learned *Huetius's* *Demonstratio Evangelica*, a work which could hardly have met with such a strenuous and bitter opposition from the *Cartesian* philosophers, had it bore any other title than that of demonstration.



excellent order and discipline in it, as to prevent confusion, disorders, and defection, to breed up such a number of excellent soldiers, and to teach them to incamp and decamp, to march and to fight in so regular a manner as they did, whatever *Moses* might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who understood doubtless as much of the art of war as any other nation then did, seems still to have been above the power of a meer man. And this consideration should, one would think, stop the mouths of those who pretend they can find nothing of military art worth admiring, except in the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

HOWEVER as the subject has been copiously handled by other pens<sup>c</sup>, who have been forced to supply the succinct account of *Moses* out of the writings of the *Talmudists*, and other ancient *Jews*, not to say sometimes out of their own heads; we b hope our readers will easily excuse us from launching farther into these particularities, than we have good grounds for from holy writ. Though where we find any thing in the *Talmud*, *Josephus*, or any other Rabbi, that carries a face of probability, or gives any light to the account we have in the text, we shall venture to give it in a note.

THE text tells us, that *they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and standard, throughout the whole host: that the tribe of Levi was to incamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and custody of it; and that the rest of the tribes should pitch their standards with the ensigns of their father's house round about it, at an equal and convenient distance from it*<sup>d</sup>. This distance, let it c have been what it would (L), composed not a perfect square, because the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much less a circle, as some have fancied it, from the word round about taken too literally; but an oblong square, in the center of which was the tabernacle with its court in length one hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits<sup>e</sup>. Parallel to each of the four sides of it, and at a proper distance between it and the other tribes, was that of *Levi*; along the east end was *Eleazar* the high-priest, with the rest of the family of *Aaron* at the head of the four classes of *Levites*. As for *Moses's* pavilion, all that he has told us of it is only, that it stood on the same side with those of *Aaron's* children<sup>f</sup>; though we may reasonably suppose that it was in the most honourable place of the d whole camp, as he was their chief and lawgiver; and nearest the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies; but whether we may conclude from his situation that the tabernacle stood east and west, that is, with the holy of holies towards the east, and the entrance into it facing the west, as *Cuneus* and others do<sup>g</sup>, is not very material. On the west side were the *Gershonites* under *Eliazaph*, the son of *Levi*, in number seven thousand five hundred: 3. The *Kobabites* under *Elizaphan*, the son of *Uziel*, in number eight thousand six hundred: and lastly, the *Merarites* under *Zurich*, the son of *Abibail*, in number six thousand two hundred; and these two last incamped along the south and north sides. All these together made an army of twenty two thousand e three hundred + (M.) Each of these had their particular functions and charges

<sup>c</sup> BASNAG. ex CUNÆO. Rep. Hebr. Tom. II. c. 18. FOLARD, Tactic. Hebr. Lamy & al.  
<sup>d</sup> Num. i. 52. & seq. ii. 1, 2. & seq. <sup>e</sup> Vid. Exod. xxvii. 18. <sup>f</sup> Num. iii. 38. <sup>g</sup> BASNAG.  
ex CUN. ubi sup. CALM. & al. <sup>h</sup> Vid. sup. p. 534 c.

(L) The Rabbies affirm the distance of the camp of each tribe, except that of *Levi*, to have been two thousand cubits, which they therefore call a sab-bath day's journey, because they were not allowed to go further on that day. This was the distance between *Jerusalem* and the mount of *Olivet* (46). This space of two thousand cubits seems well grounded, it being the distance which God commanded the people to keep from the ark, when they were on their march. They affirm moreover that there was likewise a distance of three miles between every tribe, which if true must form a square of near thirty six miles about. *Josephus* indeed doth not tell us what this distance was, but calls it a great one, and adds, that there were as spacious streets, lanes, markets, shops, &c. in the camp, and in as regular an order,

as could be seen in the most polite cities (47). However the most rational *Jews* extend not this distance between tribe and tribe beyond two thousand paces, nor that which each tribe took up beyond four thousand (48). To which they add, that in the center of the camp there was a space of eight thousand paces square, of which the inmost four thousand was for the tabernacle and the tribe of *Levi*, and the residue, which was between these and the other tribes, was for pasture ground for their cattle.

(M) This tribe was not numbered at the first recension of the people, but some time after. However, if the reader compares the amount of it mentioned in this place (49), with that of the three classes of which it consisted, he will find that it comes short of the odd three hundred, which

(46) Vid. A2s i. 12. (47) Ant. I. iii. c. 12.  
im. ii. c. 18. (49) Num. iii. 39.

(48) Vid. BASNAG. ex CUN. Rep. Heb.

allotted

- a allotted to them, both as to the worship of God, and the custody of the tabernacle, with all its *apparatus*, as may be seen by the text<sup>a</sup>. This is all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning the *Levitical* camp, which the Rabbies affect to call *the little host, or camp of the Lord*; probably because we find that name given to them where mention is made of *Hezekiah's* restoring them,--- *to sing the praises of God within the gates of the Lord's camp*<sup>1</sup>, whereas the other tribes are commonly called *the grand army, or the great host*.

- As the tribe of *Levi* made four small bodies on each side the tabernacle, so did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body consisting of three tribes. That of *Judah*, whether because it was the most considerable, it b mustering seventy four thousand six hundred fighting men, or in consideration of the scepter, or the *Messiah*, being promised to it, had the post of honour, and incamped on the east side behind the priests at the head of two other tribes, namely, that of *Issachar*, consisting of fifty four thousand four hundred, and that of *Zebulun* of fifty seven thousand men; so that this body amounted to one hundred eighty six thousand four hundred fighting men; but whether he incamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the *Jews* think, or which is more probable, seeing he was as it were their head and general, in the center betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the same may be said also of the heads of the other three bodies.

- c *REUBEN* was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the south side; his tribe consisted of forty six thousand five hundred men, and *Simeon* with fifty nine thousand three hundred, and *Gad*, with forty five thousand six hundred fifty, marched under his banner; this body consisted of one hundred fifty one thousand four hundred and fifty.

THE next was *Ephraim* at the head of forty thousand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom *Manasseh* led thirty two thousand two hundred, and *Benjamin* thirty five thousand four hundred, in all one hundred eight thousand one hundred; these encamped on the west side.

- d THE last was the tribe of *Dan* with sixty two thousand seven hundred, with that of *Asher*, consisting of forty one thousand five hundred, and *Naphtali* fifty three thousand four hundred, in all one hundred fifty seven thousand five hundred and fifty, and these were on the north side of the tabernacle. Thus the *Israelitish* host amounted to six hundred and three thousand five hundred fifty fighting men, exclusive of the *Levites*. To which if we add the old men above sixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, servants, slaves, and strangers which, as we shewed before, amounted in the whole to little less than three millions, their vast number of cattle, waggon, and other lumber, the least space that can be allowed for such a prodigious camp must be above twenty miles, though we supposed the spaces between each tribe, to have been much less than the *Jewish* doctors affirm (N).

THESE four large bodies had each their general standard (O), to which their

<sup>b</sup> Numb. iv. per tot.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxxi. 2.

are therefore supposed to have been the first-born of that tribe, and are therefore left out of the list. And as the *Levites* were chosen out instead of the first-born of all the tribes, when the number of the former came to be taken, and was found to fall short of the first-born of the latter by two hundred eighty three, this overplus was redeemed at the rate of five shekels of the sanctuary, and the money given to the sons of *Aaron* (50).

(N) This prodigious camp is by the ancient *Jews* called threefold, whereof the tabernacle with its precinct is called the camp of the Divine Majesty, the next the camp of *Levi*, and the largest the camp of *Israel*, and may well enough be compared to a cathedral in the heart of a city, round which are the bishop, dean, canons and inferior clergy, and round them the laity. The *Gemmarab* affirms (51), that it took up twelve miles in

length and breadth, which they infer from that place in *Numbers* (52), where it is said, that they pitched by *Jordan* from *Beer-jeshimoth*, even unto *Abel-shittim* in the plain of *Moab*, which they say is the distance between those two places; but here we think there is no need of making the *Jewish* miles shorter than ours, as a certain author has done (53), without any foundation, only to justify the *Gemmarists*, considering what a vast quantity of empty ground they allow between every tribe for pasture ground, and the like.

(O) The *Chaldee* and *Septuagint* have indeed rendered the original word גִּדּוֹל, *Gedel*, ensign or standard, the former by תִּקְדָּם, borrowed perhaps from the Greek τὰς ἐκ τῆς, and the latter by πύγμα ἄνθρωπος ἐκόμενος κατὰ τάγμα αὐτοῦ, every man to his own order, station, or rank,

(50) Numb. iii. 41. & seq. vid. MUNT. in loc. & dar. cap. 8. § 4. l. vi.

(52) Ch. xxxiii. 49.

(51) Tract. סוּטָה, cap. i. ap. GOODWIN, M. f.

(53) GOODWIN, ibid. note 1.

own and the other tribes were to repair; under these were twelve more, one to every tribe, and under these again were those of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty seven, according to *Moses's* own account<sup>a</sup>; and indeed less than that number cannot be supposed. What the colours, emblems, and devices of those ensigns were, neither *Moses* nor any inspired writer has told us. The Rabbies have supplied all those defects very plentifully; but though they are not always to be depended upon, yet some particulars they have given us relating to those of the four main bodies, and those of the twelve tribes, which seem not to be ill grounded. Of the first they tell us, that *Judah* had the emblem of a lion, with this device, *let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered*<sup>1</sup>; but the latter seems more proper for the ensign of *Levi*, if any belonged to that tribe, which is not improbable, because those were the words which were used by the *Levites*, when the ark was removing. As for the lion, it is the emblem by which *Jacob* represented the tribe of *Judah* in his last will<sup>m</sup>; but they add, that it was painted of three colours on the standard<sup>n</sup>. *Reuben's* ensign had the figure of a man, to which some add that of a mandrake, alluding to those he found in the fields when a boy<sup>o</sup>. That of *Ephraim* was an ox or calf, and seems to be taken from the words of *Moses's* blessing to that tribe; *his glory is like the firstling of his bullock*<sup>p</sup>. To the tribe of *Dan* they give an eagle, which agrees neither with *Moses's* blessing, which compares him to a lion's whelp, nor to that of *Jacob*, which compares him to a serpent in the way. However, in order to make it agree with the latter, they pretend that the eagle was painted holding a serpent in his claws<sup>q</sup>; but we have still a better authority for these four emblems, namely, 1. The vision of *Ezekiel*<sup>r</sup>, which is universally allowed to allude to it. 2. The psalmist representing the congregation of *Israel* under these emblems<sup>s</sup>; and lastly, *St. John* in his apocalypse representing the faithful by the four beasts about the throne of *God*, crying night and day, *holy, holy*<sup>t</sup>, and so on; from which it is most likely that the four evangelists came afterwards to have the same emblems more particularly appropriated to them (P).

THAT every tribe had, besides, their particular standard of a different colour, and with a different emblem, and motto, if they used any so early, can hardly be questioned, and that these two last might be taken from those allusions which *Jacob* made use of in his last blessing, is far from improbable; and thus for instance *Naphtali* might have a large tree or a hind in his ensign<sup>†</sup>, *Issachar* an ass couching under his burthen, *Benjamin* a wolf<sup>u</sup>, and so on, beyond which we dare not venture to affirm any thing (Q), much less concerning the ensigns of

<sup>a</sup> Numb. ii. & xxvi. pass. <sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 1. <sup>m</sup> Gen. xlix. 9. <sup>n</sup> Ita RR. JONATH. ABR. BEN LEVI. Cabal. Histor. ap. CUNÆUM ub. sup. <sup>o</sup> Gen. xxx. 14. <sup>p</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 17. <sup>q</sup> Vid. ABEN EZRA & FAG. in Num. ii. <sup>r</sup> Ch. i. 10. <sup>s</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 10. <sup>t</sup> Revel. iv. 6, & 7. <sup>†</sup> Vid. sup. p. 464. [Q] <sup>u</sup> Gen. xlix. 14, 21, 27, &c. See also an ancient apocryphal book called the Testament of the twelve patriarchs.

rank, which phrase the apostle doth seem to apply in a sense somewhat different from this (54.) However it is plain that those versions must have supposed some such thing as standards set up in full sight; without which it would have been impossible for them to repair every one to their own tribe and family.

(P) The psalmist here describes the *Israelitish* commonwealth, particularly whilst in the wilderness, their marches, encampments, order, and many other circumstances, in a most elegant and poetic manner, and, amongst other allusions used there, he represents it under that of *Hajab* (55), which our version rightly enough renders congregation, but in the original doth properly signify *life*, *beast*, or *living creature*; and being compared to that which is mentioned in *Ezekiel*, which had all these four figures, of a man, lion, ox, and eagle, is justly concluded to allude to these four general standards, representing the *Israelitish* congregation, as it doth that of the faithful under

*Christ* in the revelations (56).

(Q) The Rabbies add, from what authority is more than we can guess, many other particulars relating to those twelve standards, as first, that their colour answered to that of the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high-priest (57), on which the name of each tribe was engraven; but the misfortune is, that they are far from agreeing in assigning the names and colour of those stones; besides, another difficulty arises which they do not answer, which is, that *Levi* had its own name and stone, which they affirm to have been, some a beril, others a sapphire, &c. on the breast-plate, though it be not here numbered with the other tribes, but instead of it, that of *Joseph* is divided into *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*. Concerning the four grand standards they add, that each of them had three letters taken from the names of their three first patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*. *Judah* had *י*, *א*, *ל*. *Reuben* *ב*, *ש*, *ע*. *Ephraim* *מ*, *ק*, *ח*. *Dan* *נ*, *ח*, *מ*. But

(54) 1 Cor. xv. 23. Vid. GOODWIN ubi sup. ISAAC NEWT. in Apocal. TREMEL. LABRADIE paraph. in Num. ii. 5.

(55) Ps. lxxviii. 10.

(56) Vid. MEDE. Sir

(57) Vid. R. JONATH.

<sup>a</sup> the principal families which other authors have thought fit to give us. \* One thing more however is worth observing, that they had likewise a separate camp for lepers, for those who had running sores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themselves by touching a dead body, and the like; all which were excluded from this grand one \*. These, with some other orders *Moses* gave them to preserve cleanliness and decency, sufficiently explode the ridiculous charge of their being driven out of *Egypt*, on account of some such nauseous disease.

THE order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle and such like, are likewise particularly prescribed by *Moses*; we shall content ourselves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each of them, and  
<sup>b</sup> removing some few difficulties that occur, and refer our readers for the more circumstantial parts to the text itself, and to those who have treated on them more at large †.

IN their decamping, whilst in the wilderness, the first thing they were to observe was the signal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already spoken †. *Moses* immediately took care to have it communicated throughout the camp by two silver trumpets made by GOD's command ‡; and because these were used for other signals, such as the calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming of anniversary festivals and the like; they were differently blown according to the signal they were to give, that is, for instance, singly, when  
<sup>c</sup> to call the elders; jointly, when to call the whole congregation; with a constant and even sound when they proclaimed a march; and with a tremulous interrupted one, when they sounded to battle. To these the apostle seems to allude, when he says, *if the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare to battle* †? As soon therefore as the first signal was given for marching, every tribe set about making ready for it; and this took up some considerable time, especially to the priests and *Levites* †, who had the tabernacle with all its utensils to take down, cover, and pack up (R), part to be set upon waggons for that purpose, and part to be carried upon men's shoulders (S). By that time the *Levites* had got every thing ready for the march, the second signal was given; for it is not

\* BASNAG. ubi supr. CALM. & al. † Numb. v. 1. & seq. ‡ Vid. BASNAG. ubi supr. c. xix.  
 † Vid. supr. p. 504. 2. † Numb. x. 1. & seq. † 1 Cor. xiv. 8. † Vid. Numb. iv. 5. & alib.

But these, with the learned interpretations of them, as well as some other wonderful things which they do tell us of this camp, such as that, wherever they pitched it, there sprang up a fountain before the tabernacle, which divided itself into streams, which ran through and supplied every tribe with water, which we have elsewhere confuted †: that the miraculous pillar, which went before them, did lower the mountains, raise the vallies, &c. to make the way easier for them, with many more of the like nature, we willingly leave to those who have either a *Jewish* faith to believe, or a *Jewish* conscience to retail them.

(R) There arises a difficulty between the command here given about the taking down the tabernacle, with the veil and covering, &c. and the prohibition for any but the high-priest to go into the sanctuary, since even he was not allowed to enter it above once a year (58). This seeming contradiction is generally solved by the common answer, that GOD can dispense with his own laws. Others confine the entrance permitted here to the sons of *Aaron*, only to the holy place, whilst the high-priest alone went into the most holy one, to take down the veil, cover the ark, &c. and this seems probable enough by comparing what is commanded in the 4th and 10th chapters of *Numbers*, if we can suppose one single person, and he not over young, to have been sufficient for all this. But a learned critic has given us another solution, which we think is more satisfactory still (59), which is, that this entrance was only forbidden whilst the tabernacle was set up, and the cloud, which was the known symbol of the divine presence, continued to cover the holy place; but when that was removed, and the ark or mercy-

seat had been covered, or perhaps shut up in some proper repository †, then it might be lawful for the inferior priests to come in, and assist the high-priest and his sons in the removal of the rest.

(S) Another seeming contradiction is, where it is said that as soon as the ark was covered, which was to be with a treble covering, they should put in the staves of it (60). Whereas it is said elsewhere (61), that the staves should never be taken out; besides, how was it possible to put them in, after the ark had been packed up in so many coverings. Some therefore instead of, *they shall put in*, read, *they shall lay or put on*, the staves, namely upon men's shoulders; but since the original may as properly be rendered, *and they shall let the staves abide in*, that is, they shall cover it over without taking them out, probably lest the ark might be seen through the holes of the covering through which the staves must afterwards have been put in; there is no occasion to seek for a better solution than this, as the author above quoted justly observes (62). All the other utensils of the tabernacle had likewise their particular coverings, under which they were carried, as the most proper way to strike an awe upon the people. And therefore the opinion of those who think that the ark was uncovered, when carried in procession round the walls of *Jericho*, and into the camp of *Israel* by the two sons of *Eli*, seems somewhat absurd, especially considering what terrible punishments were denounced and actually inflicted on those who ventured to look upon it. It is therefore more probable that it had in such a case at least a sky blue covering thrown over it. But this by the by.

† Vid. sup. p. 511. (T). (58) Exod. xxx. 10. Levit. xvi. 2. & seq. Heb. ix. 7. (59) BASNAG. ubi supr. † See the next note. (60) Numb. iv. 6. (61) Exod. xxv. 15. (62) BASNAG. ibid.  
 VOL. I. NUMB. VIII. 6 Z to

to be doubted but the other tribes could be sooner in a readiness than they; <sup>a</sup> and then all that bore arms repaired to their standards, whilst the invalids, women, children, and carriages marched towards the rear. Upon the next signal the tribe of *Judab*, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march; and these were followed, according to the most general opinion, by the *Gershonites* and *Merarites*, who guarded the waggons loaded with the boards, skins, and pillars belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next signal, *Reuben* and his two tribes began to move; after whom came the *Kobathites*, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utensils upon their shoulders, so that, by that time they were got to their journey's end, the *Gershonites* and *Merarites* had set up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception (T). <sup>b</sup> The ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manasseh*, as soon as the third signal was given. To this alludes that of the psalmist <sup>c</sup>, *thou that fittest between the cherubims shine forth before Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh*. Last of all came the tribes of *Dan*, *Asher*, and *Naphtali* escorting the invalids that none might be left behind; for which reason this body is called the rear-ward, or, as our margins more properly word it, the *gathering host* <sup>d</sup>. However, it is plain that this order was not always observed, for first, with respect to the ark, there are some places where it is said to have moved before them <sup>e</sup> upon some emergencies; and with respect to the whole body, though they kept this excellent order of marching in columns, as often as the lands <sup>c</sup> through which they passed would permit it; yet whenever they came to cross whole ridges of mountains, they were then forced to make the best of their way, some over heights, others through the vallies, preserving still the best order they could for their own safety (V). All that needs be added upon this subject is, that, when the ark was taking up for the march, *Moses* or the priests used to say, *Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee*; and when the priests set it down, *Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel* <sup>f</sup>. These words are still to this day used by the Jews, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repository, and when they carry it thither again.

CONCERNING their method of engaging an enemy, their order of battle, and the like, we have nothing certain but what has already been occasionally mentioned before. Such as the having one priest anointed to be consulted by *Urim*, instead of the high-priest, who never went to the wars, the *Amercol*, or exhorting priest, who is thought to be the same with the former by some authors <sup>g</sup>, and whose speech, at least the substance of it, has been preserved to us by the antient Jews (W): all that we can say farther on this head with any certain-

<sup>c</sup> Psal. lxxx. 1, 2.

<sup>d</sup> Josh. vi. 9. Vid. MÜNST. in loc. GOODWIN's Mos. & Aaron. lib. vi. c. 4. art. 3. see also Numb. x. 21. & seq.

<sup>e</sup> See Numb. x. 33. Josh. iii. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Numb. x. 35, 36.

<sup>g</sup> CALMET & BASNAG. ubi supr.

(T) It is not easy to guess how far such a camp may be supposed to go in a day, by marching in that regular manner: an author often quoted upon this subject (63) has pretended to prove, that they did not exceed two miles a day, from what is said of one of their marches (64), that they took up three days in going from *Sinai* to *Kibroth-battarah*, which he says is not reckoned above six miles, according to the calculation of several authors. But who knows how far this small progress might be owing to the ruggedness of the ways, to some mountains interposing, or to some other reason not taken notice of by the historian? This therefore can by no means be an argument, that they never marched further in one day, seeing in an open country such an army might easily march above six times that ground, if not more.

(V) If it be objected here, that it was unsafe and impolitic to leave the women, children, invalids, and all their baggage in the rear, where they had been once attacked by the *Amalekites* as we have seen before <sup>†</sup>, all that can be answered to this

is, that, when they had once crossed the red-sea and seen an end of their enemies, they thought themselves safe on that side, and consequently appointed that order of marching, which was certainly the most convenient where it could be followed with safety. But we need not doubt, but, whenever they had any reason to apprehend being attacked in the rear, they placed them nearer to the vanguard. Neither do we meet with any other instance of such an attack, for those other nations with whom they had any encounters always came in front, and endeavoured to obstruct their passage. However, though we have spoken in this the sentiments of those who have wrote upon the subject, yet we are far from thinking it improbable that the wives, children, and most valuable baggage might march either with each body to which it belonged, or in the spaces that were between them whenever the ground permitted it.

(W) Among other remarkable things in this speech, were those that follow; *Hear, O Israel, — you are now going to engage, not against your brethren, not one tribe against another, by whom, if you*

(63) BASNAG. ubi supr.

(64) Numb. x. 33.

<sup>†</sup> Vid. supr. p. 320. b. 511. d.



*The Camp of the Israelites according to Reyherus.*  
**THE CAMP OF THE ISRALITES.**

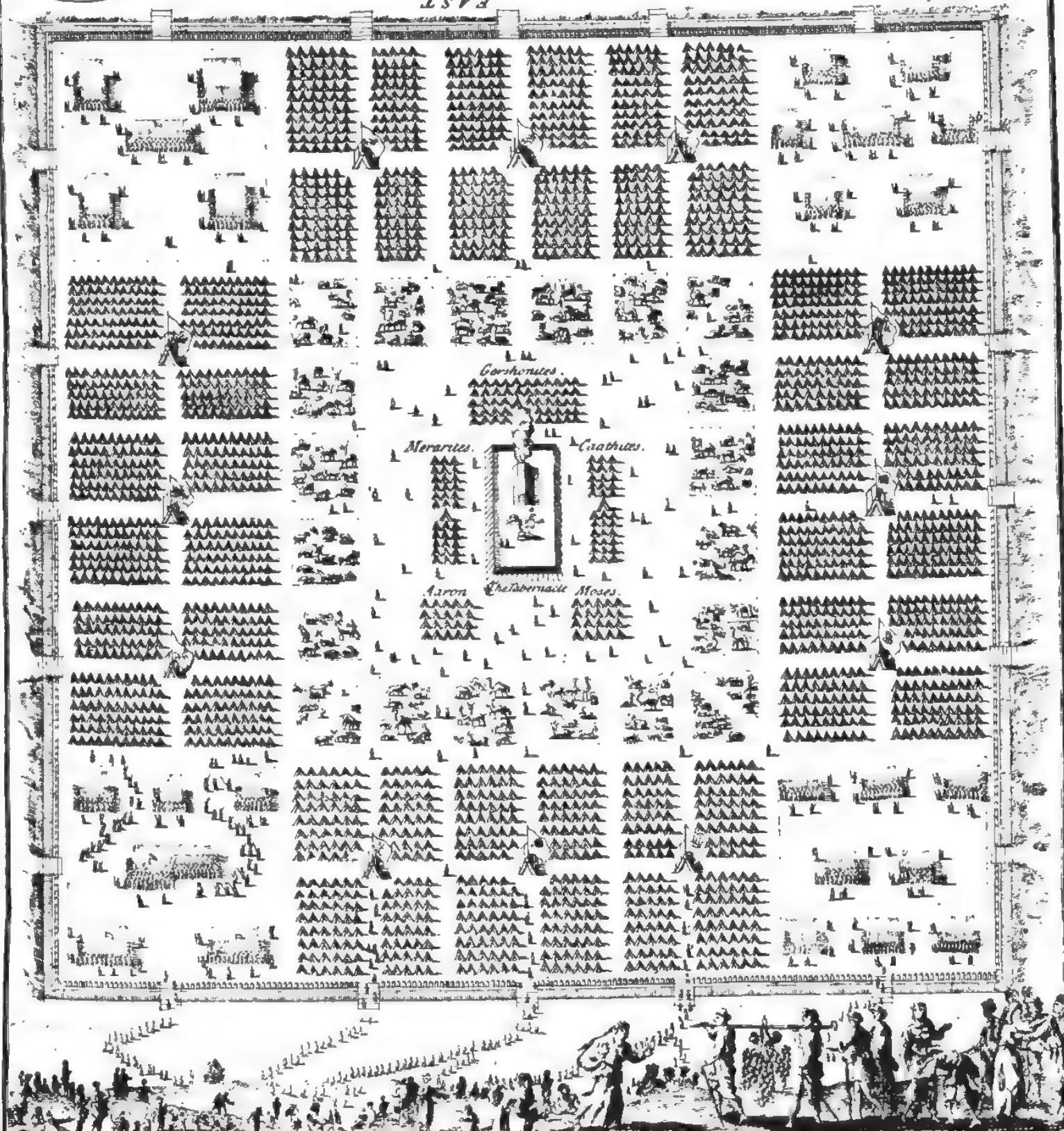
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**THE CAMP OF EPHRAIM.**

NORTH. 157600. THE CAMP OF DAN.	Tribe of DAN 62700.	Tribe of BENJAMIN 35400.	Tribe of MANASSEH 32200.	Tribe of EPHRAIM 40500.	SOUTH. 151450. THE CAMP OF REUBEN.
	Tribe of ASHER 41500.	GERSHONITES. The Camp 7500. of God. All the Levites 22000.			
	Tribe of NAPHTALI 53400.	MERARITES. CATHITES. The Tabernacle. Aaron. Moses.			
	Tribe of JUDAH 74600.	Tribe of ISSACHAR 54400.	Tribe of ZABULON 57400.	Tribe of SIME'ON 49300.	
THE CAMP OF JUDAH. EAST. 186400.					
Tribe of REUBEN 46500.					

*The Standards of the Twelve Tribes.*

*The Standards of the Twelve Tribes.*







- a ry is, that as soon as the trumpets had given the signal for the engagement, the combatants gave a great shout, and fell immediately upon their enemies<sup>a</sup>; an *Their manner* instance of which we find some time after, when they went to engage the *Phi- of engagin- listines*<sup>1</sup>. This was no less practised by the *Greeks, Romans*, and other warlike nations, who often increased the horrid noise with knocking their weapons against their shields<sup>2</sup>. With relation to their besieging of towns we are still more in the dark; all therefore, that can be added here, is what the *Jews* tell us from a passage in *Joshua*<sup>3</sup>, that, when he sent to offer peace to the cities of *Canaan* before he enter'd it, he dispatched three expresses to them: the first was, to permit those, who had a mind to leave the country, to depart; the second was to offer peace to those that would make peace with him, and the last, to declare war against those that refused the two former offers<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. CUN. & GOODWIN ubi sup.  
<sup>2</sup> POLYB. apud. CUN. ubi supr.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. 1 Sam. iv. 5. & JOSEPH. de Bell. Jud. lib. 3.  
<sup>3</sup> Josh. xi. 19. 20. <sup>4</sup> GOODWIN ubi supr.

### SECT. III.

## *The History of the Jews under Joshua.*

### *The description, conquest, and partition of the land of Canaan.*

- THE *Israelitish* camp continued at *Shittim*, near the river *Jordan*, and in Year of the sight of the land of *Canaan* during the days of mourning for *Moses*; and Flood, 1548. the people, whom a forty years wandering in the wilderness, under a discipline Before Christ, intermixed with the greatest tenderness and severity, had rendered more tracta- 1451- ble, and more sensible of God's paternal care, were only waiting for the signal for passing over the river *Jordan*; when their new general received fresh and repeated promises of the divine assistance in the conquest of the promised land<sup>a</sup>. Nothing less than such an assurance could indeed have supported *Joshua's* cou- The state of rage in so arduous a task. He was now ninety three years of age, and had the host of Israel. been trained up under *Moses* at least one third part of that time, so that he wanted neither experience nor sagacity to foresee all the difficulties he was to encounter with. He saw himself indeed at the head of six hundred thousand fighting men, but on the other hand his army was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, besides servants, cattle, and other incumbrances. The very first step he was to take, was the crossing of a large river, in doing which he knew himself equally exposed to the arms of those he went to attack, and those whom he left behind. The nations he was to sub- due were naturally warlike, of a gigantic stature and strength, their towns well d fortified by nature and art, their forces and interest united by the strongest ties and alliances; they had all long ago taken the alarm, and had made the greatest preparations against him, resolved either to obstruct his conquest, or lose their lives in the defence of their country<sup>b</sup>.

THIS was the situation of the *Canaanites*, and of *Joshua's* affairs, when he received the divine signal to prepare for the glorious conquest. His first care therefore was to make choice of two proper persons to go privily to the land of *Jericho*, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. These Two spies sent to Jericho.

<sup>a</sup> Josh. i. per tot.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ix. 1, 2. & seq. x. & seq. pass.

you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be used with mercy: — but against your enemies, into whose hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you must expect no quarter: — let not your courage fail you; let not the neighing of their horses, the brightness of their spears, the clattering of their shields, or the sound of their trumpets dishearten you — God is in the midst of you: — your foes come against you with an arm of flesh, but you trust in the strength of the Almighty; and so on (65). Part of this speech we find to have been certainly dictated by *Moses* (66), but whether the rest was fo

or not, we dare not affirm. However one thing is worth observing, with respect to these words, thou art not going to engage against thy brethren, from whom thou mightest expect mercy; that the tribe of *Judah* having been captivated by those of *Israel*, so long after as in *Abaz's* reign, and these ready to use their captives with the same severity as they did strangers, a prophet of the Lord did strenuously oppose it, and made the conquerors cloath, feed, and anoint them, and send them back to their brethren (67).

(65) *Transl.* מוֹשֶׁה cap. viii. vid. GOODWIN. *Mss. & Aar. lib. iw. c. 8. § 14.*  
 2 & seq. (67) *Vid.* 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 8. & seq.

(66) *Deut.* xx

soon

Concealed by  
Rahab.

They swear to  
save her and  
hers.

soon set out for this perilous expedition, and, having happily crossed the *Jordan*,<sup>a</sup> went and lodged at an inn-keeper's-house (X) named *Rahab*, where they had not been long, before a strict search was made after them by order of the alarmed king of *Jericho*. Their fear however was soon dispelled by their hospitable hostess, who sent away the searchers by telling them out of her window, that two strangers had indeed refreshed themselves at her house, but that they were gone since towards sunset, and might be easily taken if closely pursued. Their backs were no sooner turned, than she went to the two spies, to whom she freely owned the panick dread that had seized not only that city, but all the land of *Canaan*, at the news of what the God of *Israel* had done in favour of their nation both at the red-sea, and against those kingdoms which they had so lately conquer'd.<sup>b</sup> To this she added, that being now fully persuaded that he was the only true God, against whose decrees, all opposition would be not only vain, but dangerous, she was now ready to save them from their imminent danger, upon condition they swore to save her and her family, when they became masters of the city. An offer so generous and so unexpected, joined to so candid a confession, could not deserve a less reward; and the two spies, who, in the condition they were in, would have purchased their safety upon much harder terms, were not long before they gave her all the desired assurance, that not only she and her family, but all, that were found in her house at the taking of the city, should be exempted from the common ruin. She kept them hid the remaining part of the time under some hempen stocks, and about midnight let them down by a rope out of one of her back windows, which was contiguous to the city-wall, after she had charged them to keep themselves concealed in some cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their pursuers were returned home. Before they took their leave, they agreed that she should hang a scarlet line out of her window, which should be a signal to them, and a safeguard to her house. The risk they had run put a stop to their further progress, and what they had learned at *Jericho* made it as needless as dangerous; so that, having happily escaped all further discovery, they returned to their

(X) We have ventured to give *Rahab* a more favourable appellation than most versions have done, who make no scruple to call her a harlot, though it is plain, that the word זונה, *Zonah*, doth as properly signify an inn-keeper, or one who selleth victuals and drink, as a harlot; for it is derived from the root זן, *Zon*, which signifies to give food, and is the feminine participle active of that verb. And in this we have followed the *Chaldee* paraphrast, which renders it by the word פונדקיתא, from פונדק, an inn (68); in which he is also followed by some of the most learned *Hebrew* who paraphrast the word hereby מוכרת מאון, *Mokereth-maon*, a seller of victuals (69); and *Kimchi* allows, that it may be rendered either way (70); to which we may add, that the *Septuagint*, and after them *St. James*, have made use of the *Greek* word πώτρια, which is capable of both significations, namely, of a victualler or a harlot, as *Junius* has fully proved it (71). And indeed, as the word in its primitive sense doth properly signify the former, it is not unlikely that the freedoms, which those kind of women were wont to allow to their customers, might give birth to the latter signification, and, from an hostess or a victualler, come in time to signify a harlot. But as it doth not appear by the text that she did drive both these trades, but rather the contrary, the faith which she expressed in God, and her behaviour to his two servants, might well deserve to have the most favourable construction put upon her profession. To which we may add, that it is not likely that *Salmon* would, or indeed could, afterwards have lawfully married her, if she had been such a publick woman; he who was a prince of the house of *Judah*, and one of the *Mefiashab's* ancestors.

But here, we do not pretend to enter into a scrutiny how far her hospitality to her two guests was blameable or praise-worthy, or how far she was guilty of betraying her country; much less shall we take upon us to justify the lye she told the king's officers, as some have done with more zeal than discretion (72); but thus much may be said on her behalf, setting even aside her faith, for which she is commended in the gospel, that if she had heard of the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, *Sihon*, and *Og*; the king of *Jericho* could not be ignorant of it. It was therefore as natural for her to be terrified at it, and to provide for her safety, as it was for him to make a brave resistance or perish in the attempt. To this we may add, that if what the scripture seems to intimate plainly enough be true, that *Joshua* was obliged to offer peace, before he made use of the sword, against any of the *Canaanish* nations †, it was lawful for her or any other subject to accept it, as it was glorious for a monarch to refuse it. At least, we think that the refusal of such advantageous terms from an irresistible conqueror, at the risk of being all infallibly massacred by him, for the sake of a king, who, for aught that appears to the contrary, might be but a petty tyrant, and of a people whom fear had rendered incapable of making a defence, when perhaps the difference between being under the natural monarch, if he was really such, or under the conqueror, was either inconsiderable, or, it may be, on the side of the latter; such a refusal, we say, would have been an instance of patriotism that could hardly be expected from a *Canaanite*, much less from such a young inn-keeper as *Rahab* must have been, to have been the mother of *Boaz* above thirty years after, as *Junius* has fully shewn in the place above quoted.

(68) Vid. עריר *sen Lexic. R. Nathan.*

(69) R. R. SALOM. JONA. LEVI Ben GERSH. vid. &

MUNST. in loc.

(70) In Rad.

(71) Vid. Jun. in Epist. Jacob. ii. 25.

(72) Vid. inter al.

TRIMEL. in loc. † Vid. *supr.* p. 531. (P).

a camp on the third day, and related to *Joshua* all that had happen'd to them, who could not but applaud himself that he had made so much better choice than *Moses* had done before upon the like occasion.

THE consternation, which they told him had overspread itself throughout that whole land, was universally looked upon as a sure omen of their future success, and *Joshua* failed not to improve it, by assuring them that it was *God* himself who had injected such a terror among their enemies, and that they had now nothing to do but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then re-

*Return to the camp and make their report.*

mindes the two tribes and half of their former promise of assisting their brethren in the conquest of the land, and they on their part as readily promised to obey his orders at the peril of their lives. However as these tribes composed an army of upwards of an hundred thousand fighting men, *Joshua* contented himself with less than one half, and left the rest to defend their new possessions and families. After this he caused it to be proclaim'd through the camp, that they should pass over *Jordan* within three days, during which interval they should make provision for victuals, seeing the manna was to cease, as it actually did \*\*, as soon as they had set foot on the other shore, and had tasted the bread of that country, and then gave the signal for marching from *Sbittim* to the neighbouring shore of that river. As soon as they were encamped there, *Joshua* sent and communicated to every tribe the order that was to be observ'd in this

*They prepare to march towards Jordan.*

c solemn march. The priests bearing the ark were to begin the procession, and as soon as their feet, touching the water, had opened a miraculous way to them, each tribe was to follow in the same order as they had observed in all their marches, keeping however the awful distance prescrib'd of two thousand cubits; from that sacred symbol of the divine presence \*, whilst those that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole host of *Israel* had got safe to the other shore.

*The order of crossing that river.*

To inspire the people still with a greater regard for this wonderful passage, they were commanded to sanctify themselves as had been formerly done upon such solemn occasions †, by washing their cloaths, avoiding all impurities and abstaining from matrimonial intercourse, on the eve of their march. He charged likewise every tribe to send a man to him, to be ready to execute such orders as he should give them on the morrow; which was no sooner come, than the priests began their march towards the river, and the people made themselves ready to follow them in two columns, one above and the other below the ark. This march happened on a *Friday*, on the tenth day of the first month *Nisan*, which answers to our thirtieth of *April*, and was the day on which the lamb was to be chosen and set by for the passover †, about which time the waters of *Jordan* being usually swelled by the melting of the snows of the *Lebanon*, and other neighbouring mountains, seldom or never failed to overflow its banks †.

e As soon therefore as the priests that bare the ark had touched the extremity of it with their feet, *God*, who had promised to signalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner, as he had done their old one at the red sea, caused the waters of the river from above to go back, and to rise up in heaps far beyond the city of *Adam*, which is beside that of *Zaretan* (Y), whilst those below continuing their course towards the sea of the plain, otherwise called the

*Which divides itself to open a dry passage.*

\* Josh. ii. per tot.

† Ibid. i. 12. & seq.

\*\* Ibid. v. 12.

† Ibid. iii. 13.

• Ibid. ver. 4.

† Vid. supr. p. 448. b. 513. c.

† Usher's Ann. p. 25.

† Compare

Josh. iii. 15. & 1 Chron. xii. 15. Eccl. xxiv. 26. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. v. c. 1.

(Y) This city was afterwards called *Zeredathah*. It belonged to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and became famous for the fine copper-works which *Hiram* did cast there for the temple of *Salomon* (73). As for the city of *Adam*, though some geographers place it upon the *Dead-sea*, that is, below the place where the waters divided themselves (74), it is plain from the text, that it was above it towards *Scythopolis*; so that if the place where they crossed was about *Bethabara*, where *John* did baptize, as some think (75), the waters must have risen near sixty miles upwards.

What adds still to the miracle is, 1st, that that none of those cities that were situate along the shore, where the waters rose up to such a height, were drown'd, or even hurt as we find: and 2dly, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, right over against whom they crossed the river, did not make some bold attempt to have disputed a pass of such consequence, and obstructed their crossing; all which can only be attributed to the same miraculous power which kept the waters suspended.

(73) 2 Chron. iv. 17.

(74) CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 13.

(75) Vid. LE CLERC &

CALM. Comm. in Josh. & Hist. V. T.

Salt or Dead-sea, opened a passage of about sixteen or eighteen miles in breadth to the *Israelites*, till they were all got safe to the other side.

DURING all the time of their crossing, the priests continued with the ark in the midst of the *Jordan*, and waited only for *Joshua's* orders when to come out and join the rest of the camp. But *Joshua*, who designed to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful transaction, commanded them to stand still, till he had made those twelve men, whom he had directed to wait about him, to take twelve large stones, one for each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark stood, so that they might be seen afterwards from each shore, when the waters of the river were abated; and at the same time he made them take up twelve other stones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the shore; which was no sooner done than the priests had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to retake their usual course. *Joshua*, who by this time was in as high esteem with the people as *Moses* had been before, failed not to charge them to transmit to their posterity the occasion and meaning of these two monuments; both which, if we may believe *Eusebius* and others, were still to be seen many centuries after. From this place *Joshua* commanded the vanguard, which consisted of the forty thousand men of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasseh*, to march towards the plains of *Jericho*, and these were soon followed by the rest of the army, and encamped at *Gilgal*, about seven or eight miles from *Jordan*, and about three or four from *Jericho*.

Two monuments of it reared up.

Circumcision renewed.

IN the mean time the feast of the passover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumcised person was to be admitted under the severest penalties; and yet at least two thirds of the men were so. That ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, so that all, that had been circumcised besides *Joshua* and *Caleb*, were only those who were under twenty years of age at the rebellion of *Cadesb Barnea*, all the rest were dead in the wilderness; it was therefore necessary before all things that it should be renewed out of hand: wherefore *Joshua* was commanded to have it immediately perform'd. The circumstance of time was altogether favourable for such an operation; and their miraculous passage over the *Jordan* had spread such an universal dread among their enemies, that they now had no cause to apprehend being surprized by them, as the *Shechemites* had been by *Simeon* and *Levi*. Besides it was *God* that commanded, to whom they had all the reason in the world to commit their safety, so that his orders were chearfully and punctually obeyed. The sharp stones which they made use of being more proper for the ceremony than knives or razors made of metal, as being less apt to cause inflammations, was a means of their being sooner healed, and consequently in a condition to celebrate the passover, at the appointed time, as it was accordingly done; and *God*, highly pleased with their obedience, told them that he had now removed or rolled away from them the reproach of *Egypt*, that is, that he did no longer look upon them as uncircumcised Egyptians, but as his own people, in memory of which, the place was called *Gilgal*, or rolling (*Z*).

<sup>†</sup> *Josh.* iii. & iv. per tot. <sup>‡</sup> *EUSEB.* loc. Hebr. sub Bounos & Gilgal, *ANSELM.* ALBERT. *JOB.* MOSCH. Vit. Patr. & al. ap. *Calm. Hist.* V. T. lib. iii. cap. 1. <sup>¶</sup> *Josh.* iv. 12, 13. <sup>††</sup> *Vid.* *supr.* p. 536. d.

(*Z*) The expression of repeating the circumcision here used (76) has puzzled several commentators, and even *St. Jerom*, as great a *Hebraist* as he was, to find out what this circumcision was, that was performed a second time. The generality of the *Jews* affirm, that they had been circumcised in the wilderness, but that one of the three parts of the ceremony, namely, the pushing quite back the remainder of the skin of the penis after the fore part was cut off, had been omitted during those forty years, because it put the infant to too much pain and anguish, and that it was this operation which *Joshua* caused to be performed, and which, being as troublesome as the

other two, is therefore here called a second circumcision (77). Another learned *Jew* (78) has taken upon him to prove from the words of *Jeremiah*, *I will punish the circumcised that has a foreskin* (79), for so he reads it, that it was possible to bring the foreskin again by art, from which some have thought that the *Israelites* had done so during their abode in the wilderness, and were therefore ordered to be circumcised afresh. Those *Christians*, who have embraced this notion, pretend to back it by the words of *St. Paul* (80), *if any man is called, being circumcised, let him not get afresh foreskin*, or, as we render it, *let him not become uncircumcised* (81). To confute these

(76) *Josh.* v. 2. (77) *Vid.* *MUR.* in loc. (78) *Rab. Nash. in Lexic.* שלחן ערוך sub ער. ערלה. (79) *Jerem.* ix. 25. (80) *1 Cor.* vii. 18. (81) *Vid.* *DRUS.* ap. *CUNN.*

- <sup>a</sup> THIS was the third time of their celebrating that festival; the first was at their departure out of *Egypt*, and the second on the next year, at the setting up of the tabernacle at the foot of mount *Sinai*, since when, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or any other reason, it had been wholly intermitted till now; when, the text tells, the *Israelites* having provided themselves with corn, both old and new, they baked themselves unleavened cakes with the former, and parched the latter in the sheaves, and eat it instead of bread, this last being equally suitable to the feast, as being eaten without leaven. In this place it was also that *God*, or, as some will have it \*, his angel, appeared unto *Joshua* in the plain, in the shape of a warrior, standing at some distance from him with a drawn sword. *Joshua* knew him not, and was probably gone thus far alone to reconnoitre the city, and contrive the properest means of besieging it. Being therefore surprized to see a man stand so near him in that hostile posture, he asked him whether he was for or against *Israel*? and upon his answering that he was the captain of the Lord's host, *Joshua* fell down at his feet and worshipped him, whilst the vision commanded him to shew the same respect to the place, as *Moses* had formerly done at the sight of the miraculous bush \*. He had no sooner obeyed, and in the humblest terms express'd his readiness to receive his command', than the Lord was pleased to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have *Jericho* besieged, that the rest of the *Canaanites* might be made sensible that it was not an arm of flesh that fought against them (A).
- <sup>b</sup> *The passover celebrated.*
- <sup>c</sup> *God appears to Joshua.*

WE have already given some account of the siege, and taking of this place in the history of *Canaan*†\*. All that needs be added to it here is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, some to help to defend it, and others to save themselves, had been closely shut up by order of the king, who commanded in it in person, no man being suffered to go in or out of it, and that on the seventh day, which was the sabbath, the circumvection of the ark was repeated seven times, with the usual solemnity; the priests sounding with the rams-horns (B), and the same guard of armed men

\* GROT. LE GLERC, & al. vid. supr. p. 484. (S) & alib. of note (V).

† Josh. v. per tot.

† Sup. p. 330. e.

\* Vid. supr. p. 488. at the end

these St. *Jerom* has taken a great deal of pains to prove, though perhaps without any reason, that this prepuce can never be recovered, when once cut off; and consequently that the circumcision, mentioned in *Joshua*, must be understood of the circumcision of the heart, and to have been performed with a spiritual knife. The truth is, that good father, though the most learned of all that bear that name, was so fond of the virginal, and so prepossessed against a matrimonial state, that he has wrested the words of *Joshua*, those of the apostle, and a vast number more out of the old and new testament in favour of his favourite opinion, and, right or wrong, wrote with such an air of triumph, and with so much heat against his opposers (82) that when he became sensible of his error he made no difficulty to censure himself for it in a pathetic apology, which is perhaps the finest piece of oratory that ever he penn'd, and may well atone for his indiscreet zeal in favour of celibacy. However, all the difficulty in the words before us arises from misunderstanding the idiom of the original, and would have been easily removed, if they had been translated or paraphrased thus:—*Let*, the ceremony of, *circumcision*, which has been so long discontinued, *be renewed*, or, *set on foot*, once more.

(A) Nothing could be more wisely ordered than this miraculous manner of taking the city; not only to signalize the first conquest of the *Is-*

*raelites* in the land of *Canaan*, but likewise to inject such a terror into its inhabitants as might either make them more ready to accept their terms of peace, or, at the worst, to induce them to save their own lives, by timely abandoning the country to the conquerors. To say, that the former was impracticable, is begging the question; nay, the contrary seems plain from the *Gibeonites* finding means to send two different embassies to *Joshua* †; though they could not do it without passing through some of the territories of the allied kings, as will appear by and by, from the geography of that country.

(B) The original is שְׂפוֹת הַיּוֹבֵלִים, *Sophoth-hajoblim*, which all the *Jews* in general (83), and after them very many *Christians*, understand as we do, of trumpets made of rams-horns \*. And from the word יוֹבֵל, *jobel*, the singular of it, they also think the *jubilee* to have taken its name, because it was to be proclaimed by the sound of that instrument (84). We shall have occasion to offer a more proper etymon of the word, when we come to speak of the *jubilee* itself; in the mean time there have not been wanting those who have opposed the notion of trumpets being made of rams-horns as ridiculous, because they think it impossible to perforate them so as to give any such shrill sound (85), and therefore have supposed 'em to have been made of metal, and in that shape. But this notion, as well as the impossibility of boring

(82) *HIERON*, cont. *Jovinian*. in *Josh*. in loc. & alib. † Vid. supr. p. 331. & seq. (83) *Ita Rabbin. ser. omn. vid. MUNST. in loc.* \* SPENC. & MEYER. de tem. sacr. c. xiv. § 11. GOODW. Mos. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 10. § 2. & al. mult.

(84) *Id. ibid. vid. & R. SELOMO BEN. Melech in Levit. xxv. 10.* (85) *MASIVUS in Josh. vi. 4. BOCHART Hieron. l. ii. c. 43. CALM. & al.*



The manner of  
taking Jeri-  
cho.

Rahab and her  
family saved.

She is married  
to Salmon.

of marching before and after it, as has been done during the first six days. The whole a  
procession, we may reasonably suppose, kept at such a distance from the walls as  
to be out of reach of their shot, whilst the besieged, too well skilled in warlike  
affairs, to think that a city was to be taken by such whimsical marches, did prob-  
ably conclude that they were only making an awkward show of their strength.  
However, as soon as the seventh round was ended, the sound of the trumpets was  
accompanied with an universal shout of all the besiegers, and this was followed  
by the fall of the city wall which opened a way into it, at which every man mounted  
the breach that was next before him. Their first care was to convey *Rahab*  
and all her family out of the city, and these were no sooner got safely out, but the b  
*Israelites* killed all the men, women, children, and cattle that were found in it;  
after which, having seized upon all the gold, silver, brass, and other baser metals  
to be repositied in the treasury, they set the place on fire, and levelled it to the  
ground. *Joshua* added a prophetic curse on the man that should afterwards at-  
tempt to rebuild it, importing that he should lay the foundation of it in his first-  
born, and set up its gates against his youngest son <sup>c</sup>, by which the *Jews* do  
understand, that all his children from the biggest to the least should die an un-  
timely death before he had finished it <sup>d</sup>. However we find it literally fulfilled above  
five hundred and fifty years after, by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, who is said to have laid the  
foundations of it in his eldest son *Abiram*, and set up its gates in his youngest son  
*Segub* accordingly <sup>e</sup>. Such was the fatal end of *Jericho*, which *Moses* chose g  
to call by the name of the city of palm trees <sup>f</sup>, by reason of the great number of  
them that grew in the plain, round about it. To which *Josephus* adds, that the  
tree from which flowed the famed balm of *Gilead*, and several other odoriferous  
trees, did likewise grow in its neighbourhood <sup>g</sup>, from whose fragrancy it is supposed  
to have been named *Jericho*, which in the original signifies any fragrant smell (C).  
As for *Rahab* and her family, they had a place assigned them out of the *Israelitish*  
camp, and she was soon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her em-  
bracing the *Jewish* religion, and her marriage to *Salmon* <sup>h</sup>, head of the tribe of *Judah*,  
as was hinted before: whether the rest of her kindred follow'd her example or  
no, is neither certain, nor of great consequence (D).

<sup>a</sup> Josh. vi. per tot.  
<sup>d</sup> Jew. Wars, l. v. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. MURST. in loc.  
<sup>e</sup> Matth. i. 5. Vid. USHER's Ann. p. 26.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Kings xvi. ver. ult.

<sup>f</sup> Deuter. xxxiv. 3;

boring a ram's-horn, has been sufficiently con-  
futed by our learned *Spencer*. Sure it is, that it  
has a softer part in the inside, which is easily drawn  
out whole by art, after which they are hollow all  
the way up, except about four or five inches to-  
wards the tip, part of which is sawed off to make  
it broad enough for the mouth, after which the rest  
is easily bored. And we can assure our readers,  
that we have seen some of them made in that  
manner, and used by shepherds and swineherds in  
the south parts of *Germany*, and on the *Alps*.

*Josephus*, who is very particular in describing  
those liver ones which *Moses* made (86), says  
little or nothing of these here, but calls them  
plainly horns (87); only when he comes after-  
wards to speak of those which *Gideon* and his  
men made use of (88), he calls them rams-horns  
(89). However, let them have been made how,  
and of what they would, 'tis plain from this  
instance of *Gideon* and some others both before  
and after him, that, besides those trumpets which  
were appropriated to the priests, to sound before  
the ark, to proclaim feasts, jubilees, and the like,  
whose number was increased to seven in *Joshua's*  
(90), and to six score in *Solomon's* time (91):  
[*Josephus* says (92) two hundred thousand, and  
adds, that it was according to *Moses's* command,  
though upon what authority is hard to guess:] be-  
sides these, I say, 'tis plain there were others for

the war, which each general caused to sound upon  
upon all exigencies. Thus *Ehud*, after he had pri-  
vately killed *Eglon*, King of *Moab*, sounded the  
trumpet, and gathered *Israel* on mount *Ephraim*  
(93). And the same was afterwards done by *Joab*,  
*Abjalon*, and many more (94).

(C) This however must not be literally under-  
stood, as if there had been no city of that  
name from *Joshua* to *Hiel*; since we read of  
the city of *Palm-trees* in *Eglon's* time (95),  
and of *Jericho*, in *David's* days, for there it was  
that he bid his ambassadors stay, till their beards,  
which had been cut off by *Hanun* King of *Am-  
mon*, were grown up again (96). And *Josephus*  
tells us this new one was rebuilt not upon the  
spot of the old, the ruins of which, he says,  
were still to be seen in his time, but at a small  
distance from it (97), as shall be further seen  
in the map of *Canaan*. However, after *Hiel*  
had ventured to rebuild the old town, no scruple was  
made of inhabiting it; so that it became after-  
wards famous upon many accounts. Here the  
prophet sweetened the waters of the spring that  
supplied it and the neighbouring countries. Here  
*Herod* built a sumptuous palace: it was the dwell-  
ing-place of *Zacharias*, and was honoured with  
*Christ's* presence, who likewise vouchsafed to work  
some miracles there.

(D) The *Jews* tell us, that *Joshua* was very  
doubt-

(86) Ant. lib. iii. c. 12.

(87) Ibid. l. v. c. 1.

(88) Judg. vii. 8. & seq.

(89) Ant.

l. v. c. 8.

(90) Josh. vi. 4.

(91) 2 Chron. v. 12.

(92) Ant. l. viii. c. 2.

(93) Judg.

iii. 27. (94) Vid. 2 Sam. ii. 28. xv. 10. & alib.

(95) Judg. iii. 13.

(96) 2 Sam. x. 45.

(97) JOSEPH. Ant. lib. v. c. 1. & al.

- <sup>a</sup> In the mean time, though the wonderful success of the *Israelites* against this city opened a way to new conquests, yet their general wisely considering the time which the making and dividing of them would take, during which his numerous army must be supplied with provisions, chose to make that fruitful plain the center of his camp, from whence he might constantly draw out a sufficient number of men to invade other territories till they had so far enlarged their own as to admit of a distribution between the tribes, which was not done till six years after †. As soon therefore as *Joshua* had settled the best order he could in his camp, he detached a body of three thousand men against the king of *Ai*, whose capital was about ten or twelve miles distant from *Jericho*, where they received <sup>The Israelites repulsed at Ai.</sup>
- <sup>b</sup> an unexpected repulse, with the loss of about thirty six men. This defeat, how small soever, did so damp the people's courage, that *Joshua* was forced to have recourse to God, who immediately answered by *Urim*, as is supposed, that his commands had been sacrilegiously infringed, and ordered him to discover the guilty person by lot, and (E) to punish him with immediate death. *Joshua* lost no time, and, having cast lots from the tribes to the families, *Achan*, the son of *Carmi* of the tribe of *Judab*, was found to be the sacrilege, who, at the general's request, confessed that he had concealed some of the accursed plunder of *Jericho*. His crime was no sooner verified by the search that was made in his tent, than he, his children, cattle, and all he had, were conveyed to the adjacent
- <sup>c</sup> valley, which was from that time called the valley of *Achor*, or trouble, from <sup>Achan's crime punished.</sup> the trouble which this crime had brought upon the people, and there the former were stoned to death, and the rest burnt (F); after which they reared up an heap of stones, for a monument of his crime, and a deterrent to the rest †.

† Vid. *supr.* p. 333. b.

† *Josh.* vii. per tot.

doubtful whether the promise which the two spies had made to *Rahab* was lawful or not, and that he could not ratify it till he had first consulted *Eleazar* the high-priest, and the seventy elders, who not only gave sentence in her favour, but pronounced her worthy of a greater reward than she had stipulated; upon which, as soon as she had accomplished the days of her purification without the camp, on account of her being a *Gentile*, she was admitted a proselyte, and soon after married to *Salmon* the son of *Naathon*, and great grand-father of *David*. A *Romish* chronologist (98) says, upon the authority of the *Jewish* rabbies, that *Joshua* married her, from which another writer of the same church has inferred, that it was a grand-daughter of hers of the same name, that was afterwards married to *Salmon* (99); but, as we can see no foundation for either of these notions, we have chosen to follow the far greater majority of chronologers, and particularly the learned *Usher*, who affirms, that it was this *Rahab* whom *Salmon* took to wife †. However, as it is forbidden by the cxiith negative precept of *Moses*, to make any affinity with any of the seven nations there mentioned (100), the *Jews* affirm her to have been of some other nation, and only an inhabitant of *Jericho* (1), which is not at all improbable, seeing they were so strangely intermixed, as we have seen elsewhere ‡.

(E) How these lots were cast is neither plain from scripture, nor agreed about by commentators, though we have a great many instances of their being made use of, both to discover guilty persons, not only by the *Jews*, as in this, and the case of *Saul* (2), but by other nations, as we find by the history of *Jonah*; and for several other purposes bad as well as good. As to the manner in which the ceremony itself was performed, except the calling of the tribes one after another,

till it came to the right, and so down to the inferior branches of each family, till they came at last to single persons, as in the two cases above mentioned, except this we have nothing certain about it. *Josephus* (3) only says, that it was done before the high-priest and seventy elders. To this other *Jews* add, that they were made to pass before the ark, and that the high-priest was directed by the *Urim* to pitch upon the right tribe, family, &c. (4). However that be, the lawfulness of this way of casting lots cannot be denied, seeing it was not only countenanced if not prescribed, by God, but afterwards practised even by the apostles (5), though the heathenish superstition which did since mix itself with it, and the vile purposes to which it has been put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(F) The law against sacrilege condemning the transgressor to the flames, and God commanding the person here guilty to be burnt accordingly (6), the *Jews* affirm that *Achan* was actually burnt (7); and whereas it is said in the text, that he was stoned (8), they think it to have been done accidentally by the people, who were so highly provoked, that they could not forbear casting stones at him, as he was led to execution (9). However their large comment on this place observes, judiciously enough, that he was also guilty of the breach of the sabbath, because it was on that day that *Jericho* was taken, and therefore, that as he had been guilty of a double crime, sacrilege and sabbath-breaking, so he received a double punishment prescribed, stoning and burning (10). The *Jews* add, that the place, where the 3000 men were routed by the men of *Ai*, was called שְׁבָרִים, *Shebarim*, breaches or defeats, from the defeat which they received there, as עֶכּוֹר, *Achor*, was from the grief which *Achan* caused them.

(98) *GENEVA. Chronol.* p. 13.

*Annal.* p. 26. (100) *Dent.* vii. 1. & *seq.*

*supr.* p. 322. & *seq.* (2) 2 *Sam.* xiv. 38. & *seq.*

in *Josh.* vii. (5) *Abt.* i. ver. ult. (6) *Josh.* vii. 15.

ver. 25. (9) *MUNST.* *ibid.* (10) *Bammidbar. Rab.* in loc.

(99) *BEAUV. Hist. du Peup. de Dieu. Age iii. l. 2.*

(1) *Vid.* מִצּוֹת לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה : sub מִצּוֹת : cxi. † *Ush.*

(3) *Ant.* l. vi. c. 1. (4) *Vid.* *MUNST.*

(7) *Vid.* *MUNST.* in loc. (8) *Ibid.*

(10) *Bammidbar. Rab.* in loc.

Canaan con-  
quered in six  
years.

THE army being thus purged, as *Josephus* words it, they had much better <sup>a</sup> success, not only in their next expedition against *Asi*, but also against the whole land, the conquest of which was, though not perfectly, finished in six years. But as we have already given some account of it in the history of *Canaan* . . . we shall, to avoid prolixity and repetition, refer the other material circumstances that have been either but lightly touched upon there, or postponed as foreign, such as the setting up the tabernacle of *Shiloh*, engraving the law on stone, setting up the blessings and curses, and the like, to the next article of the geography and partition of the land, where the whole will be more distinctly seen at one view.

The sun stands  
still at *Joshua's*  
prayer.

In the mean time our readers will not, perhaps, think it amiss, if we ven- <sup>b</sup> ture to subjoin here some few, we hope, not improper, remarks upon those two miraculous transactions which happened at this time; namely, the stopping the course of the sun by *Joshua*, and the remarkable rain of hail-stones, which did such a terrible execution upon the confederate army of the *Canaanites*, both which happened on the same day; but having been but barely mentioned be- fore <sup>c</sup> ||, and having no connection with what is to follow, can no where be more properly offered than in this place. We need not tell them how many, other- wise learned men, among the *Christians* have scrupled to fall in with the *Coperni- can* system, in this and many other countries free from the inquisition, upon a mistaken notion that it is point blank contrary to several express testimonies of holy writ, among which this of the sun and moon standing still is stren- uously urged by them; whilst others, from a contrary principle, have been in- duced to question its divine authority, because it favoured so absurd a one as that of *Ptolemy* is now generally allowed and proved to be. It was, doubtless, this last error which gave occasion to those two witty, though profane, sayings reported of that great philosopher, *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*, that, *if the system of the earth's standing still were true, the whole universe was but a bungling piece of mechanism; and that, if he had been admitted into God's council at the creation, he could have saved him a world of trouble* †.

Now it is plain that these two extremes might have been easily avoided by <sup>d</sup> two very obvious observations, namely, 1st, that the expressions here made use of, *Sun, stand still upon Gibeon*, and so on, are figurative and incapable of a literal sense (G); and 2d, that the system which places the earth immoveable in the center, and supposes the sun, moon, and stars to turn round it, was the most uni- versally received, the most adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freest from seeming difficulties, because most agreeable to common appearances and obser- vations; and that the grois *Israelites* were so used to it, that, had *Moses*, *Joshua*,

••• Supr. p. 332. c.    \* Josh. x. 12. & seq.    || Ubi sup.    † Vid. Bacon's Apophthegms.

(G) The words literally run thus: *Sun, be thou silent in, or upon, Gibeon, and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon*; and in the next verse it is said, that they stood still accordingly; now it is plain, that those two luminaries were neither in, upon, or even over these places in any other than a relative sense, and that they had a different situation with respect to those that were one mile east or west of the place where *Joshua* stood. We may venture to add, that it was impertinent to make the moon stand still with the sun, upon any other supposition than that *Joshua* had the solar system in his thoughts when he used those expressions, because the presence of the moon was useless to him as long as he had that of the sun; but if he only prayed, that their light might continue in *status quo*, till he had accomplished his conquest, which is certainly all he meant, he could not but know, that, upon the earth's standing still, both the sun and moon and all the rest must seem to do so. It is plain our great philosopher *Sir Isaac Newton*, who was sufficiently master of the *Hebrew*, was not frightened by these or any such popular phrases from his favourite system, though no man paid a greater deference to the authority of the scriptures than he did; and that he thought it sufficient that the effect was the same, whether the sun or the earth were supposed to be

stopped in their career.

If it be asked, how it was possible for the earth to resist, for so many hours, the impulse of the circumambient fluid of the *Cartesians*, or of the attraction and gravitation of the *Newtonian* system, or of whatever other mover that hurries it along, without causing an universal stop in the whole system? Besides, that the objection will be equally strong, if not stronger, in the other hypothesis of the sun standing still, it may be answered, that, the fact being altogether preternatural, we need but suppose a sufficient power to have diverted that impulse from the earth, and directed it to glide on each side it, and then all the rest might easily keep on their motion, though this stood still all the while. However we do not pretend to answer all the objections that have been raised against the possibility of this miracle from principles, which, for aught we know, have no foundation but in the heads of those who first invented them; we think it enough to say that the supreme author of nature, who first gave motion to matter, and whose will alone appointed the laws of it, can either suspend, or dispense with them, whenever his own glory, or any wise ends of his providence, make it necessary or expedient; to doubt of this is to deny the truth of all miracles, and unworthy of any answer.

a or any other inspired writer, known any thing of the solar one, yet it would have been improper, if not dangerous to have so much as hinted at it. However these considerations, though obvious and reasonable, have been so far from being universally admitted, that a great number of authors, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have ransacked their brains to find out more satisfactory solutions, though with so little circumspection and success, that they have rather multiplied than removed the difficulties which they endeavoured to avoid.

*The systems of some authors concerning it examined.*

AMONG the first, some have affirmed, that the motion of the luminaries was only abated in its velocity, as that of a coach is from a full gallop, to an even pace<sup>b</sup>, from an expression used there, that *the sun did not hasten to go down about a whole day*. But whether or no they thought it easier to retard, than wholly to suspend their motion, sure it is that neither of them could be done but by a supernatural power; the same may be said of what some rabbies affirm, that God substituted some meteor, or body of light<sup>c</sup>, or that he retained the moon above the horizon to supply the absence of the sun<sup>d</sup>; but all these are modest men in comparison to the learned *Maimonides*, who makes all the miracle of this transaction to have consisted in a bare wish or prayer of *Joshua*, that the sun might not go down till he gained a compleat conquest, and in God's granting his request, not by stopping the sun's career during so many hours, as we understand it, but by enabling that general and his army, to do as much execution in one, as would reasonably have taken up two days<sup>e</sup>. After this we need not wonder if *Spinoza*, the last among the *Jews* we shall mention, has still improved upon him, and quite removed the difficulty, by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the bare refraction of the sun's rays by the sky, which was then more than ordinarily charged with hail, but which the people mistook for the sun's standing still. According to him *Isaiab* was no better a philosopher than *Joshua*, when he attributed the change that happened upon *Abaz's* dial to the retrogression of the sun, rather than to a refraction of it from some cloud<sup>f</sup>.

*Maimonides and Spinoza consulted.*

WE do very much question whether any of these, especially the two last, would ever have been thought worth answering, or even mentioning, had they not been too closely followed by some very learned *Christians*, protestants as well as papists. We shall only take notice of three of the most eminent of them, namely, *Grotius*, *Peirerius* and *Le Clerc*, whose sentiments, as well as what has been said to confute them, we shall now give in as few words as the subject will admit of.

As for *Grotius*, though he doth not think it impossible that God should suspend the course of the sun, or make it appear upon our horizon after it is set, yet he is so far from granting that it was really done, that he thinks its not being mentioned, among other things of less moment, in the epistle to the *Hebrews*<sup>g</sup>, to be a strong argument against it (H). And therefore what is said

*Grotius consulted.*

<sup>a</sup> Chald. Paraph. R. LEVI BEN GERSH. & al. Vid. MUNST. in loc. & CALM. Dissert. <sup>1</sup> R. ELIAKIM. B. NAFTAL. שם שם. <sup>2</sup> JOS. & DAV. KIMCHI. vid. פסלול. & Epist. sup. Mor. Nevoch. MAIMONID. <sup>3</sup> More Nevoch. part ii. c. 39. <sup>4</sup> Tract. Theologico-Politic. c. ii. <sup>5</sup> Hebr. xi. ad fin.

(H) The misfortune is, that the argument will hold equally against several other miraculous transactions, which are likewise omitted by the apostle, though expressly mentioned in holy writ; such as the plagues of *Egypt*, all the wonders wrought by *Moses* in the wilderness, the miraculous passage over *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature. He doth not so much as speak a word of the conquest of *Canaan*, or mention *Joshua* among his worthies, though his character be so vastly superior to that of *Gideon*, *Jephtha*, and others that are mentioned in that place. Besides it is plain, the design of this chapter was only to give some few notable instances of the wonderful power of faith; to have enumerated all, that is recorded upon the subject, would have swelled it beyond the bulk of the whole epistle; and to have been too curious in the choice of

them, especially to those of his nation, who knew all these things as well as himself, would have been too affected, and have savoured too much of art and human wisdom, which was always carefully and professedly avoided by the inspired writers<sup>h</sup>.

Under this head we may rank another objection, namely, the silence of all the antient historians, which, it is urged, could never have been so universal, had such a memorable transaction ever happened. But it ought to be remembered that this fact is vastly previous to any profane writer, either extant or quoted, so that it was easy for the remembrance or monuments of it, if there were any, to be lost among a vast multitude of others, during the long and dark interval between it and the most antient authors. However, if light may be allowed to be fetched out

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Luke xxi. 15. 1 Cor. i. 17, 21, 27. 2 Cor. i. 12. & alib.

in *Joshua*, that God hearkened to the voice of a man, he thinks with *Maimonides* <sup>a</sup> to mean no more, than that God, at his request, granted him as much time and dispatch as was necessary to gain a compleat victory\*.

Peirerius con-  
futed.

*Peirerius*, mentioned before † for his extraordinary skill in accounting for all scripture miracles in a natural way, supposes<sup>†</sup>, contrary to all reason, as well as the plain meaning of the text, that *Joshua* only wished for a longer day, about the time of the sun's setting, upon which the land of *Palestine*, or perhaps the territories only about *Gibeon*, were enlightened by a kind of twilight, or something like our *Aurora Borealis*, which, continuing long enough to answer *Joshua's* purpose, was mistook by him for the sun, though it was actually set as usual; and made him and his army fancy that day to have been longer than <sup>b</sup> any other by all that interval. But here the question is not, how far these *Parrelia*, or mock suns, can supply the absence of the real one, but whether the historian's account can be capable of such a forced interpretation. The text says expressly, that the sun stood still in the mid heaven (1) at *Joshua's* prayer, and that his more than usual continuance above the horizon, or rather in the same situation, made that a longer day than ever was known before or since. Supposing then for once the whole army to have been so little acquainted with these kinds of lights, as to have fancied the sun still above the horizon, could they be so stupid as not to know his usual place at noon from that of his setting? But should we suppose even this, could they chuse being undeceived, ei- <sup>c</sup> ther by seeing it rise on the next morning at his usual time, or by the concurring testimony of other people who had seen him rise and set as at other times? And if they were undeceived, is it likely that they would have transmitted an account of it in such terms, as must of necessity betray either their want of common sense, or common honesty? Lastly, can our author, or any of his admirers, if they really believe this book to be divinely inspired, suppose that

\* Comm. in Josh. x. 14.

† Vid. supr. 528. note (L).

‡ Præadamit. lib. iv. c. 6.

out of darkness, whence could the notion come into the poets heads, of their demigods and heroes having the power of lengthening days and nights, asbeit served their warlike or amorous designs, but most likely from this wonderful event? How came *Jupiter*, for instance, to be supposed to have spun the night which he spent with *Alcmene*, to twice its natural length? or *Minerva* to have done the same in favour of *Ulysses*, whilst he was butchering his competitors, and making himself known to his wife (11)? and many others of the like nature (12); but though we could bring nothing out of profane history to confirm this fact, yet would this be no fair argument against the truth of it, or the veracity of the writer, abstracting even from his divine authority, if we judge of him with the same candor, as we do of any other historian.

(1) The words are בַּחֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם, *in the midst of heaven*, or, *in the mid heaven*, which is always understood both by astronomers, and by the vulgar, to signify the place where the sun is at noon; and that he halted not לָבוֹא *to go down*, or literally to decline towards its setting, during one whole day (13). What follows in the next verse, that no day was ever like it, either before or since, doth plainly confirm it. However, as these authors seem to rely little on the authority of the text, whatever they pretend to the contrary, it will not be amiss to try to confute them in their own way, by shewing that their supposition of the sun's being then near setting, when *Joshua* stopped it, makes against their favourite hypothesis, and leaves him not time enough for all the work which he is recorded to have done on that day.

It is expressly said, that the army marched all that night from *Gilgal*, and came early in the morning to *Gibeon*, where *Joshua* engaged and

beat the enemy, put them to flight, and pursued them from the ascent of *Bethoron* to *Azekab* and *Makkedab*; and that, as they were going down the descent of *Bethoron*, the storm of hail fell upon them, after which he commanded the sun to stand still in *Gibeon*, and the moon in *Ajalon*. All this might be done easily enough before the sun was past the meridian, and the situation of those two last places shews, that it must have been about that time of the day. From the *Bethoron* here mentioned, or lower *Bethoron*, he pursued them to *Azekab* and *Makkedab*, which could not be less than twelve or fourteen miles, according to St. *Jerom*, who places the former at nine and the latter at eight miles northward of *Eleutheropolis*†. There he is told that the five kings had hid themselves in a cave, and ordered the mouth of it to be stopped with a heap of stones, and then continues his pursuit till part of the enemy is killed, and the rest fled into fenced cities, and then returns to *Makkedab*. Here again he causes the mouth of the cave to be opened, and the five kings to be hanged till sun-set, and then to be taken down and buried again in the same cave. Can an army which had marched all the night, and fought all the day, be supposed to have pursued their enemies so many miles, kill them all the way they went, then come back to *Azekab*, and execute and bury the five kings with such solemnity, after sun-set and by the help of a refracted light? And if so, what sun was that which they saw setting when they took the kings down? how much less probable is it still, that they should have done all this before the real sun-setting? The reader may further convince himself how much the situation of *Gibeon* and *Ajalon* is incompatible with the supposition we have been opposing, by consulting ancient geographers and the map at the head of the next section.

(11) Vid. Hom. *Odyss.* xxiii. ver. 242, 243. CALM. *Dissert.* & al.

(13) Josh. x. 13.

(12) Vid. BACON. *Syrus.* HUNT. *Demonstr.* EVAN. † Vid. *Epitaph. Paula*, & loc. *Hebr.*

the



- a the holy Ghost would have suffered the *Hebrew* general, not only to have continued under such a delusion, but even to have transmitted it to posterity with the divine stamp upon it?

THE last person, we proposed to mention under this head, is the famous *Le Clerc* <sup>con<sup>a</sup></sup> *M. Le Clerc*, who has not only embraced the sentiments of the two former, but <sup>futed.</sup> has endeavoured to back them with new reasons. The two first are taken from

- Joshua's* expression, *Sun, stand still upon Gibeon*, which can admit of none but a figurative sense; and from the literal one being contrary to the received solar system. We have already shewn above, that they prove nothing on either side of the question, and refer the reader to it. But he goes farther and says,
- b 3. That providence is too sparing of miracles, to bestow so signal a one as the overturning the whole order of nature, upon a thing of so small a moment as the defeat of the *Canaanitish* army in one day, rather than in two. To this it is added, that *Joshua's* prayer was too unreasonable for God to grant in the strict sense it is commonly understood in, since the next day might have done as well without lengthening this at the expence of so great a miracle (K): but is not this very presumptuous, and may not such a bold way of reasoning, against the plainest facts mentioned in scripture, prove the source of endless errors and infidelity? Will it not equally hold against all the other miracles wrought from *Moses* to *Christ* himself? Why were so many done in *Egypt*, when *Pharaoh* might
- c have been softened into compliance at a much easier rate? Why must the red-sea or the *Jordan* be miraculously divided, when the former might have been coasted, and the latter forded at more places than one? In a word, why did *Christ* and his disciples work such a great number of miracles, when one or two great ones, well known and attested, were sufficient to prove their divine mission? Well might *Job* say, *Vain man would be wise* <sup>1</sup>. 4. The same author supposes the account of this transaction to have been taken from the book of *Jasher*, or *the upright*, which, like other poetical works, especially those that are written in the eastern tongues, are too swollen and hyperbolic to admit of a literal sense, and cannot be rightly understood, unless they be reduced vastly below it. We shall not trouble ourselves with examining how unreasonable the supposition of such disparate and unnatural hyperboles is, and especially of their being afterwards closely followed by an inspired historian, whose style is every where else rather in the other extrem: it will be sufficient to say, that all this is affirmed gratis, and without any foundation. For who told *Grotius*, or our author, that the book of *Jasher* was a poetical piece, abounding with such hyperbolic flights? Sure it is, that no mention is made of it any where but in this place, and in the second book of *Samuel* <sup>\*</sup>; and these would rather incline one to believe it to have been a history of *Hebrew* worthies, written and continued by several hands, and at different periods. But even this is upon the
- d supposition, that they are the same book, which yet doth not appear. The *Jews* indeed think so, but then they understand by *Jasher*, or righteous, *Moses* himself, and this book to be the *Pentateuch*, in which are contained several promises of the wonders that God was to work in favour of his people <sup>\*,\*</sup>. But as this is owing to a superstitious unwillingness in them, to own that any inspired book could be lost; they are not followed by any *Christian*. However that be, *M. Le Clerc* has taken the pains to verify the two places in question, by the transposition of some words, in order to make it appear at least probable, that the author of the book of *Joshua*, in quoting them out of that of *Jasher*, had only reduced them to historical prose by the contrary transposition. But here we

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xi. 12.

\* Ch. i. 18.

\*,\* Vid. MUNST. in loc.

(K) The *Jews*, indeed, tell us, that the reason of the lengthening of this day was, because the next was the sabbath, which would have given the *Canaanites* an opportunity either of rallying or escaping, whilst *Joshua* and his army were at rest (14); but, besides that we have nothing but their bare word for it, it is plain from their own confession, that it was not always unlawful for them to do execution on the sabbath, since *Jericho* was so lately taken on that day, as

we hinted before. Some *Christians* however say, it was on a *Sunday* that the sun stood still (15). The learned *Usher* says nothing of the day, or even the month, in which it happened, but only supposes it to have been towards the latter end of the year (16). As for the number of hours which that day lasted more than usual, the text is neither plain, nor authors agreed, and therefore we shall affirm nothing about it.

(14) *Rabbin in Sedar Olam. vid. MUNST. in loc.*  
(16) *Ann. p. 26.*

(15) *SERRAR. BONFRER. DE LYR. in loc.*



beg leave to observe, that it is at least a very bold assumption to say, that a writer, who barely appeals to another for the truth of a single instance, has taken the whole from him. The most that can be fairly concluded from such an appeal is, that the fact is equally affirmed by both, either in the same or equivalent terms; but such as an honest historian would never have used, who had had the least suspicion of their being so monstrously exaggerated by poetic rhapsody; and that all that was meant by those expressions of the sun and moon standing still in the mid-heaven, and of that day being thereby so miraculously lengthened, was no more than that there remained so much light after their setting, occasioned by some unusual refraction, as made the whole army think those luminaries to be still above the horizon.

As to what our author adds, that it is more probable that *Joshua* should pray for a longer day, when he perceived the sun just going to leave him, than when it was at his height; though it carries a great appearance of reason, yet can it by no means conclude against a positive text, backed with other circumstances equally strong on the other side. *Joshua* might have his reasons for what he did, though they are not recorded, nor we able to guess at them. He was an old experienced general, eager for a complete victory, which alone could save his new allies from the impending ruin, and able no doubt to compute what time it would take to achieve it; so that his fear of losing any part of it might make him pray, that the day might be thus prolonged, till he had gained the whole. But after all, where is the unreasonableness of supposing, that God, who designed to signalize this day's action, by one of the greatest miracles that ever was done, did himself inspire the *Hebrew* general with that wish or prayer, which otherwise, perhaps, would never have come into his head?

BUT here it is further objected, that the occasion was too inconsiderable to deserve such a signal miracle, since it was only the giving one inconsiderable nation an advantage over another, for which the next day might have done as well: but, besides, that this seems to set limits to the divine wisdom and power, our author seems not to have examined the case thoroughly; we beg leave to do it for him, and to set it in a fairer light, by reminding the reader that this battle was not fought offensively but defensively on *Israel's* side, and in order to save a people, whom they had solemnly taken under their protection, from being utterly destroyed upon that very account. The *Gibeonites*, as a free people, had a right to take all proper measures for their safety, so that *Joshua* could not but look upon the confederacy formed against them as cruel and unjust, and consequently that it would have been base and dishonourable in him to have refused them the desired succour upon any pretence whatsoever. To this we may add, that the honour of God himself was concerned in the preservation of his new-made proselytes, whose alliance with the *Israelites* had been ratified in his name, by the mouth of his high-priest. Upon these considerations *Joshua* loses no time, but marches all that night to their assistance, and on the next day God is pleased to reward his faithfulness and zeal by a miraculous victory, which not only saves the oppressed by the total defeat of the oppressors, but makes at once the whole land of *Canaan* sensible, that a mightier God was on *Israel's* side, than any that was worshipped there, by stopping the course of the sun and moon, the two grand deities of those idolatrous nations. Had *Israel's* sword alone gained the conquest, it would have been imputed to their superior valour and strength; had there nothing more remarkable happened in it, than the rain of stones or large hail, it might have been thought owing to chance, or, at best, been only known in that neighbourhood; whereas the stopping of the two great luminaries in the height of their career, thus universally felt, could not but convince those unhappy people, that the gods which they trusted to were subject to that of *Israel*, as well as prove a most powerful deterrent to the latter from falling into the idolatries of the former.

WHAT shows this last to be more than a bare conjecture is, that noble zeal which the nine tribes and half did express some years after against their brethren on the other side *Jordan*, whom they suspected to have set up an altar there with an idolatrous intent. This signal instance, being the more remarkable, as it is perhaps the only one of that kind; is recorded by the divine historian †††, §

- a with all its circumstances very much to their praise, and may be as properly inserted here, as in any other place in this history, and is as follows.

THE tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasseh*, having assisted the rest in the conquest of *Canaan*, as far as was thought necessary, were honourably dismissed by their brethren; but, before they landed on the other side *Jordan*, they took care to erect an altar of a prodigious size upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory, both of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which GOD had wrought in their favour. However their intention was so far misconstrued by their brethren, that they assembled themselves at *Shiloh*, and there resolved to enter into a bloody war against them, in case they could not dis-

b culpatate themselves from the crime of rebellion and apostasy, which this new altar had given them cause to suspect them guilty of. They therefore deputed ten of their chiefs, with *Phineas*, the high-priest's son at their head, to go and enquire into the reasons of this proceeding; and these were no sooner come, than they began to charge them home, with a manifest violation of GOD's law, and with a design of setting up some idolatrous worship there, since it was expressly forbidden by *Moses* to offer up any sacrifices any where, but in the place which GOD was in due time to appoint. They reminded them of the heavy judgments which their former idolatries had brought upon them, and concluded their pathetic speech with assuring them, that they were resolved one and all to oppose, even at the peril of

c their lives, the introduction of any new worship, which might involve them in a greater guilt.

THOUGH their alarm and reproaches were ill grounded, yet, being imputed to their heat of zeal, were not in any ways resented by the rest, who, being heard in their turn, took GOD to witness, that they had not built that sumptuous altar with a design to offer up any sacrifices there, much less to withdraw themselves from his worship at the place that was to be appointed; but, on the contrary, to prevent their posterity from being debarred that privilege in process of time, either by their being disowned by the other tribes, or by a pretence that GOD had separated them from the commonwealth of *Israel*, by setting the river *Jor-*

d dan as a barrier between them. This answer, which was couched in the humblest terms, and backed with the strongest tokens of sincerity, not only gave the deputies and the rest of the nation a full satisfaction, but fully shows how great a change all those wonders had wrought on both sides, and turned their strongest propensity to idolatry into a dread, and utter detestation of it. Upon the whole then, since this miraculous transaction of stopping the course of the two luminaries is recorded in words so express, so free from ambiguity, and so incapable of any other interpretation, without doing the greatest violence both to the text and to the character of the historian, we cannot see how it is possible to depart from the obvious meaning of the former without denying the authority of the

e latter.

Some other objections urged against our side of the question, such as the intolerable heat to which *Joshua's* army must have been exposed, had the sun continued so long over their heads; the necessity there was of their stopping to refresh themselves with some sustenance; and lastly, that, had *Joshua* wrought a miracle which so far exceeded those of *Moses*, he would have been greater than he: these, we say, would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to show to what strange shifts a favourite notion or system will drive men of the greatest learning. For 1st, the excessive heat of a vertical sun might be allayed by inter-

f posing clouds and refreshing winds: none certainly ought to be more ready to grant this supposition than they who think, not that that day was longer, but that more execution was done in it than usual † (L). As to the next, we need not tell our readers that nothing is more common in such exigencies as these, than

† Ita MASIUS, GROTIUS, LE CLERC post MAIMON. ubi sup.

(L) We may likewise add here, that the effects of such a violent heat, as is here supposed, might be nothing so dreadful or fatal as is pretended, especially to a people inured to it from their infancy, as the *Israelites* had been, during the space of forty years. History furnishes us with instances enough of marches and battles in as hot regions and seasons at least, though those excessive

heats were nothing so natural to the armies that were exposed to them. Even these more northern climates have sometimes, nay very lately, endured such a degree of sultry weather, during some weeks successively, as came little short of that of the torrid zone, without any of those ill consequences which are urged by the other side.

for the foldiers, who carry their provision in their snapfacks, to take a piece in their hands and eat it as they march. The laft thing objected, that fuch a miracle would make *Joshua* a greater man than *Moses*, contrary to fome exprefs texts of fcripture, is too jejune to deferve an answer. *Moses* and *Joshua* were both instruments in the hands of GOD, to whose glory alone the greatness of the miracle redounds, without adding any preference to the one over the other, fince one miracle cannot be faid to be greater than another, with refpect to an Almighty power.

IT is plain then, that, if we admit the divine authority of this book, we cannot but look upon this tranfaction as altogether fupernatural, and of the number of thofe many which GOD was pleafed to work in favour of the *Israelites*; it will be therefore needless to dwell long upon our next enquiry, how far the ftorm of hail-ftones that preceded it was fo or not?

The rain of  
stones which  
fell upon the  
Canaanites.

HOWEVER, though we have ventured to give it the name of hail, not fo much in compliance with the modern tafte, as becaufe the original is capable of that fenfe, without any great violence being done to it; yet it is plain to thofe that underftand it, that the moft natural one is, that it was a ftorm of real ftones (M). The miffortune is, that men, who are more afraid than hurted, are apt to run themfelves into greater difficulties, than thofe they endeavour to avoid; and whilst they take fuch care to fcreen themfelves from the fufpicion of being over credulous, efpecially in cafes which carry the appearance of a miracle, they not only call in queftion the moft pregnant testimonies of the like facts in profane hiftory, both antient and modern, but likewife caft a diftant reflection on the divine hiftorian, and thofe infpired writers who have mentioned the fame facts after him, as if they had defignedly made choice of fuch terms in their recording of them, as would make them appear more fupernatural than they really were. For if nothing had fallen on the *Canaanites* but a common ftorm of hail, in which there was nothing extraordinary but the fize, why muft they be fupposed to have exaggerated it at any fuch rate?

Le Clerc's  
notion con-  
futed.

BUT here our learned critics, *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, who ufed to go hand in hand before, have taken a feparate tract: the former believes them to have been real ftones, becaufe he finds many parallel inftances of it in profane hiftory; and indeed it is no more than what has been fully proved by feveral eminent authors on that fide of the queftion. However, *Le Clerc* has not fcrupled to affirm, that it was nothing elfe but a large ftorm of hail; to call testimonies alledged out of hiftory, mere forgeries, and the endeavours of fome authors to account for it in a natural way, trifling and not worth confuting. How eafy he would have found the task, had he gone ferioufly about it, will be beft known by an impartial view of the testimonies themfelves, and of what has been urged to prove the poffibility of the thing from natural caufes.

Instances of it  
out of Hiftory.

As to the firft, we hope our readers will think it fufficient for our purpofe, to inftance in two or three of the moft pregnant and unqueftionable facts recorded in antient hiftory, and back them with fome few of a more recent date, but too authentic to be fo eafily eluded: and if the latter are of fuch a nature as to lead us to an eafy difcovery of their caufe, we fhall not be at a lofs for a fufficient ground to admit the poffibility, if not the reality of the former. It is no wonder that they, who lived in the early ages of the world, did look upon a ftorm of great ftones as too miraculous to be credited without ocular demonftration. Such prodigies happen fo feldom, that we find the *Romans* above a

\*G. J. VOSS. in loc. CALM. Differt. on the fubject, and others.

(M) The text literally runs thus *And the Lord caufed great ftones to fall, or to be caft, upon them, and many more died by the אבני הברד, Abne habarad, the hail-ftones, than by the fword*; and it is this laft expreffion that made the *Septuagint*, and, after them, *Josephus* (17), and the author of *Ecclesiasticus* (18), to underftand them of a real hail of more than ordinary bignefs, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue. But on the other hand it is certain, that it is fo far from being the obvious

meaning of it, that the word *hail* feems rather to be ufed here to exprefs the vaft quantity, bignefs, vehemence, and execution of thofe ftones which then fell; and the expreffion of flying and falling as thick as hail is not only common to all the antient, but is likewife retained in moft modern languages; for which reason, feveral learned men have underftood it of a miraculous ftorm of real ftones, as being the moft eafy and natural meaning of the text (19).

(17) *Ant. lib. v. c. 1.* (18) *Ecclef. xlv. 6.* (19) H. GROTIUS, MARIUS, BONFRER, GER. VOSS. JUN. MURAT. & al. mult. *Vid. CALM. Differt. on the fubject.*

†

thoufand

- a thousand years after *Joshua's* time, very backward to believe the report of that which fell upon the mountain *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, successor to *Numa Pompilius*, 'till they had it confirmed by those whom they sent thither on purpose to examine it, who brought them word that the fact was not only true, but that those stones had fallen from the skies in the same manner as hail that is driven down by the wind'. They became in time more familiar and less questioned, especially after that remarkable one which fell upon the same mountain, and which the same author tells us 'lasted two whole days. The same, or something like it, is likewise affirmed to have been seen at *Rome*, *Capua*, *Lavinium*, and so many other places in *Italy*, by so many authentick authors', that we cannot see how they can with any modesty be called in question (N). We might here also take notice of some other kinds of stony rains, mentioned by ancient and modern authors, which are still more natural, as being occasioned either by vehement hurricanes, earthquakes, or by subterranean fires. Of the first sort were those which fell upon and routed the *Persians*, when they went to plunder the temple of *Delphos*, \*, and are affirmed by other travellers to be very frequent in some parts of *America* †. Those that fell upon the *Gauls*, upon the like attempt, are attributed to a vehement hurricane by *Pausanias*, but to an earthquake by *Justin* \*. The last sort is that which is caused by vulcanoes and subterraneous fires; and these are so well known, that we shall mention but two remarkable instances of it, of a very late date, namely, that which preceded the surprizing emersion of the isle of *Santorino* out of the *Archipelago*, in the year 1707, concerning which we have the following account: That a dreadful noise had been heard several days like that of thunder, or of great guns, during which volleys of stones all on fire were seen to rise out of the sea, and to fly up quite out of sight like so many rockets, and then fall into the sea again about five miles from the place whence they were thrown up. All this while the air was filled with a thick sulphureous smoke, mixed with cinders, which with much difficulty dispersed itself, and fell in such abundance, that the neighbouring countries were covered with it, and with small stones that fell with it. Something like this is what *Montfaucon* tells us happened in *Italy*, near the village *Tripertola*, where, after several terrible shocks and earthquakes, during which the air was darkened, and the ground was covered with stones and dust, which kept pouring down from the sky about the space of two days, at the end of which a mountain was observed to have reared

Some caused by hurricanes and earthquakes.

\* T. Liv. lib. i. dec. 1. † Id. lib. xxv, xxx, & xxxiv. Vid. CALM. ub. sup. \* Vid. & de Bell. Afric. c. 47. AMAN. Bell. Civit. lib. iv. AUGUST de Civit. lib. iii. c. 32. & al. \* Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Bybl. lib. xi. † Vid. CORSEAL and FEUILLEE's Voyages. \* PAUS. lib. i. JUST. lib. xxiv. sub fin.

(N) To these various instances, of which the authors, quoted above, have given us several other particulars, (such as that those stones that fell in that prodigious manner were sometimes red-hot, and at other times cold, sometimes like hard clods of earth, and sometimes like sand or dust;) we might add what is likewise recorded by others of equal credit, of stones that have been observed to be carried for some considerable time in the air, and thence fallen with great violence upon the earth. Such was that which is mentioned by *Plutarch* to have fallen in *Thrace* into the river *Argos* (20), which *Anaxagoras* fancied to have fallen from the sun (21), and which the author, from whom the former has it, tells us (22) was observed to fly about in the air like a luminous cloud, about the space of seventy-five days, during which time, several splinters did now and then break off and fly about like wandering stars before they fell down. The main stone itself was of such prodigious bigness, that *Pythagoras* could by no means think with *Aristotle* (23), that it had been broken off from some rock, and carried up into the air by some vehement wind, because, as he justly observes, it

would have been impossible for it to have kept itself so long suspended there, as *Damachus* affirms it to have done. *Pliny*, who tells us, that it was still carefully preserved in his time, says, that it was *magnitudine vehis* of the bigness of a four-wheeled cart, or rather of a loaded waggon, of a dark burnt colour. Such was that likewise which is recorded to have fallen in *Alsace*, in the midst of a storm of hail, in *November* 29, 1630, (24) which our author (25) tells us he has seen in the great church of *Anxiffem*, where it is still preserved, and is like a large, dark, flint-stone, whose surface has been splintered by the fire, and weighs near three hundred pounds. Of the same nature were those which count *Marcellin* relates to have fallen in *Thrace*, A. D. 1452, and several others. For if such prodigious stones could either be engendered in the air, or carried up thither by the force of vehement winds, or of subterraneous fires, the like may be more reasonably supposed of those which fell upon the *Canaanites*, which had nothing so extraordinary either in their size, appearance, or effects.

(20) In Vit. Lisand. (21) Vid. DIOD. in Anaxag. & Not. MENAG. in Laert. (22) DAMACHUS. ap. Plut. ub. sup. (23) Meteorolog. lib. i. c. 7. (24) GESNER. & ANS. de BOOT. Hist. Lapid. & Gem. (25) CALM. ub. sup.

itself in the midst of the lake *Lucrino*; this happened according to our author <sup>a</sup> in the year 1538 <sup>7</sup>.

THE reader may find several other instances of the like, and perhaps of a more surprizing nature, in some of the authors above-mentioned <sup>a</sup> which we forbear to dwell upon; all that we shall add at present, is a remark or two on the possibility of some sort of stones, different from those of hail, being ingendered in the air, according to the hint we have given in the last note. How common hail is formed in the clouds is too well known to want any explanation; that dust, sand, earth, and other such materials, may be carried up a considerable height into the air by a strong whirlwind, is no more than what is commonly observed; here then we need but suppose that these, mingling themselves with other exhalations, whether sulphureous, bituminous, oily, vitrioline, and with the moisture of the clouds, are there conglomerated and hardened by their own weight, by the pressure of the air and clouds, and thence fall down when they can be no longer supported (O). There is nothing in all this but what is natural, and might, for aught appears to the contrary, have been the case of that which is mentioned in *Joshua*. We see therefore no reason for having recourse to allegory for fear of admitting the fact to be miraculous, as *Le Clerc* has, nor to the assistance of good or bad spirits to prove the possibility of the supposed miracle, as others have done <sup>a</sup>, since, if any thing was supernatural in it, it was only the directing of that storm to fall just at that time and place <sup>c</sup> upon the flying *Canaanites*. However, the reader is at his liberty to attribute the phenomenon to which of these systems he pleases, though the season of the year, the nature of the soil, of which we are going now to give the geography and natural history, and many other circumstances do rather incline us to ascribe it to the last.

<sup>7</sup> Vid. MONTFAUCON'S *Diar. Ital.* <sup>a</sup> G. VOSS. *CALM.* ub. sup. GASSEND. in lib. x. DIOD. LIBERT. de Meteor. Epicur. <sup>a</sup> MASIUS, BONFRERIUS, & al.

## S E C T. III.

### A Description of the Land of PROMISE.

THIS remarkable country, the greater part of it at least, at first called the land of *Canaan* <sup>b</sup>, or *Chanaan* (A) has been successively known by several names; as the land of *Israel*, the land of *God*, the *Holy Land*, and simply the *Land*; as also *Judea* or *Judea*, *Palestine* or *Palestine*, *Syria Palestina*, *Syria*, *Cale-syria*, *Idumæa*, or *Idumæa*, and *Phœnicia* or *Phœnice*.

<sup>b</sup> See before, pag. 322.

(O) Of this nature seem to have been those which an author of credit (26) tells us did fall in the neighbourhood of *Abdus*, to the number of twelve hundred, which he says were of the colour of rusty iron, smooth and hard, and of a sulphureous smell, not unlike in all these respects to those which are commonly called thunder-stones, or bolts. These he adds were observed to fall from a vehement whirlwind, which appeared like an atmosphere of fire, and were so large and heavy, that one of them weighed six score, and another sixty pounds.

To all this we may add, that these rains of stones were so far from being questioned either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they were looked upon both by them, and by other less polite nations, as ominous; who therefore never failed of consulting the oracles, or endeavouring to avert the impending omen by sacrifices, and other religious rites, which are reported to have lasted nine days (27), inasmuch, that these kinds of heathenish expiations have induced some Christians to believe that the devil was the author both of those prodigious rains, and of the superstitious rites that were used to avert them (28), in order to con-

firm mankind in their idolatry. But as such overstrained notions need not to be confused in the age we live in, we shall close this note, and the subject, with observing, that it is not unlikely that the fabulous story of *Hercules* obtaining such a shower of stones from *Jupiter*, to crush those enemies, which his arm and valour could not overcome (29), might owe its birth to this we are upon. We have already observed under a former head, that the poets have joined in the character of that fabulous hero several characters and exploits, which seem plainly to have been taken from those of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samson*, and other Jewish worthies (30); what makes it very probable, that this rain of stones is of that number, is, that those enemies, against whom he procured it, are called the *sons of Neptune* (31), which expression, being divested of the fable, properly signifies any people that traffick by sea, and is very applicable to the *Phœnicians*, and to their neighbours the *Canaanites*. But this we submit to the reader.

(A) This name sometimes includes the whole land possessed by the twelve tribes; though it peculiarly belongs to no more than the country westward of the river *Jordan*. This being evident,

(26) CARDAN. de Variet. lib. xiv. c. 72. (27) ALEX. ab ALEX. Genial. Diet. l. v. c. 27. ap. CALM. ub. sup. (28) Vid. MAB. in Job. x. (29) MELA lib. ii. Gall. Narbon. Plin. lib. v. Aëschyl. ap. Strab. lib. iv. & al. (30) GROT. de Verit. HURT. Demonst. Evang. (31) Vid. MELA. ub. sup.



- a THESE are the various names that have in general been imposed on this small part. It was called the land of *Canaan*, as a great share of it was originally possess'd by the descendants of the son of *Cham* of the same name; who being expelled and cut off, to make room for the *Israelites*, it thence was called after their name; to which we shall also add, that it was sometimes called the land of the *Hebrews* and sometimes the land of the *Jews*. It was called the land of *God*, as it was immediately given by him to the posterity of *Abraham*, the place of his more especial choice, and as he caused it to produce in proportion as his worship was observed or neglected; as it was also the place which he selected for his royal seat, and as here it pleased him to dwell, and more particularly in the temple of *Jerusalem*. It was by the *Jews* first called the *Holy Land*, and since by the Christians. By the *Jews* it was so called, as *God* declared it to be particularly his own, to be as it were his only seat, and solely appropriate to his service; besides, that *God* had promised it to his own people, upon the expulsion of its degenerate and idolatrous inhabitants (B). By the Christians it obtained this same name, as it was the great and stupendous scene of what was wrought and suffered for their salvation, and that of the whole world. It is sometimes simply called the Land, by way of pre-eminence, and as above all others; as when at the crucifixion it is said, *there was darkness all over the land*, which is generally supposed not to have extended beyond the limits of this. Whence it derived its appellation of *Judea* we have elsewhere shewn; *Judab* being the head, or chief of the tribes, communicated its name to the rest; besides, that the kingdom of *Judab*, standing after the dissolution of the kingdom of *Israel*, may have given farther ground for the extensive (C) and general use of this name. There are other, but erroneous accounts of the

\* See before, pag. 322. † See before *ibid.* ‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 2 Kings vi. 23. Ezek. vii. 2. Matth. ii. 22. JOSEPH. Antiq. vii. 10, &c. &c. &c. § Idem *ibid.* l. xv. c. 7. ¶ PAUSAN. lib. vi. c. 24. JOSEPH. ubi sup. lib. vii. c. 9. † Vide RELAND. Palest. illust. lib. i. c. 3. ‡ Vide eund. *ibid.* c. 4. § Vide eund. *ib.* c. 5. † See before p. 421 A. ‡ See Numb. xi. 3. vii. 12, &c. Revel. vii. 5.

and agreed on, we shall only observe, that the *Jews* themselves make a distinction between the land of *Canaan* promised to their fathers, and recommended for its abundance of milk and honey, and the lands of *Sidon* and *Og*, which were to the eastward of the river (1). *Moses* plainly does the same (2) in this expression: *Until I shall pass over Jordan, into the land which the Lord our God giveth us* (3). But we must not forget that *Canaan*, in the general extent of it, may be divided into the larger and the lesser. The larger was to have extended to the *Euphrates* on the one hand, and the *Mediterranean* on the other (4). But though it was promised to the sons of *Jacob*, yet they never had peaceable possession of this wide dominion, not even when they had, in a manner, subverted all the *Syrian* powers (5). The lesser *Canaan* was confined to the land possessed by the nations particularly marked out for excision and expulsion (6). It is observed as an essential difference between the larger and the lesser *Canaan*, that in the former, when the *Jews* besieged a city, they were by *God* himself commanded to make offers of peace, while in the latter no conditions were to be granted on any account, but the people were to be destroyed, and utterly rooted out (7). Again, the land on this side *Jordan* was esteemed more holy than the land on the other; nay, such a wide difference was in this respect supposed to be between them, that the latter was even accounted unclean, if compared with the former, tho' possessed by the two tribes and a half (8). The one was barely called the land of your possession, the other, the land of the possession of the Lord (9).

(B) This region was holy to the *Jews*, as it

was *God's* chosen seat, and as it had been promised to their forefathers upon the expulsion of its first profane and unclean inhabitants; but much more to the Christians, as there it was their salvation was wrought and effected (10). But the *Jews* did not account their whole possession to be equally sacred, as we have observed in the note next above; and that the Christians, seemingly, at least, give preference to some places above others, it may be needless to say. But the *Jews* particularly exalt this land far above all others else in the world, as they believe that here is to be the resurrection of the dead, and that persons buried elsewhere cannot enjoy a re-union of the soul and body, 'till the body has been transferred to the land of *Israel* (11). *Abarbanel* (12) pronounces, that *whoever lives without the limits of the land of Israel is as he that is without God*.

(C) That the name of *Judea* not only comprehended what the *Jews* possessed on this side of *Jordan*, but also what they held on the other, is plain, from *Josephus's* (13) *Iudæa πέραν τῆς Ἰορδάνου*, or *Judea beyond Jordan*, or the *Judea of Jordan* (14), by way of distinction. For the portion of *Judab*, whence this general denomination derives its origin, was not bounded by that river, but by the *Dead-sea*, or *Asphaltite lake* (15.) The extensiveness of this name, in honour of the patriarch *Judab* and his posterity, is thus foretold by *Jacob*, according to those who favour this translation of the text, (16) *Juda, te confitebuntur (de nomine tui dicentur) fratres tui: Juda, thy brethren shall confess thee, or be called by thy name*. This version is approved by a man (17) of great eminence, tho' different from any other

we

(1) Vide RELAND. Palest. illust. c. 1. pag. 5. (2) Deut. ii. 29. (3) *Ibid.* See before, pag. 340. Vide etiam RELAND. ubi sup. (4) Deut. vi. 24. (5) See before, pag. 382. (6) See before, pag. 322. (7) See FULLER'S *Pisgab-fight*, lib. i. c. 3. (8) Vide RELAND. ubi sup. c. 4. (9) See *Joshua* xxii. 19. (10) Vide RELAND. ubi sup. (11) Vid. eund. *ibid.* (12) Apud eund. *ibid.* (13) Antiq. lib. xii. c. 5. (14) Vid. RELAND. ubi sup. c. 6. (15) Vid. eund. *ibid.* (16) Genes. xlix. 8. (17) RELAND. ubi sup.



origin of this name. In short it was called *Palestine*, as being a part of that tract<sup>a</sup> or region very early so denominated (D); and this is the name that has since particularly prevailed with the christian doctors, and mohammedan writers<sup>m</sup>. It has also passed under the names of *Syria Palestina*, *Syria*\*, and *Cælo-Syria*°, this being the ancient custom, as it is still at present with the *Arabian* geographers<sup>r</sup>. How this country came to be known by the name of *Phænice* we have sufficiently explained already<sup>q</sup>, and shall insist no farther thereon. We have already observed, that the whole nation of the *Jews* were sometimes called *Idumeans*<sup>s</sup>; and now add as consequential thereto, that the country of the *Jews* was sometimes called *Idumæa*; from the *Edomites* who seized on the southern parts of the country during the *Babylonish* captivity<sup>t</sup> (E). These have been, and are the several names of the land<sup>b</sup> promised to the descendants of *Abraham*, and these the best and most succinct reasons we have to assign for their variety.

Situation and  
Boundaries.

IT was a received opinion formerly, that this country was, as it were, the navel of the whole earth<sup>c</sup>, and exactly in the midst of the nations (F); a notion which may be well excused in those who had so slight a knowledge of the structure and extent of the world as the ancients. Its site, with regard to the several people round about, may be gathered from the geography of the several countries that precede in this history; wherefore we shall touch no farther thereon, than to exhibit the boundaries that have been assigned to this favourite land: but, not to enter into a long detail of critical niceties, we shall only say, that to the south it had the mountains or land of *Edom*<sup>v</sup>, and *Amalek*<sup>w</sup>; to the east it had the *Asphaltite* lake, the river *Jordan*, the sea of *Tiberias* or *Galilee*, and *Samacbonite* lake; to the north, it had the mountains of *Libanus*, or *Antilibanus* rather, or the territory of the *Phœnicians*; and to the west, it had the great or *Mediterranean*-sea. We forbear to set bounds to the *Peræa*, or land beyond *Jordan*, and content ourselves with what is more peculiarly the *Land of promise*. These were its natural bounds, which reached in length, that is, from south to north, about 3 degrees, or 180 miles; that is, from the 31st to the 34th degree of north latitude; but from east to west, that is, from

<sup>m</sup> Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 7. <sup>n</sup> See before, pag. 360. <sup>o</sup> STRAB. lib. xvi. <sup>p</sup> See before, pag. 361. <sup>q</sup> See before in the notes, pag. 392. <sup>r</sup> See before, pag. 510. <sup>s</sup> See before, pag. 317. Vide etiam RELAND. ub. sup. c. 9. <sup>t</sup> Vide eund. ibid. c. 10. <sup>v</sup> See before, pag. 308. <sup>w</sup> See before, pag. 318.

we have seen; but the completion of the prophecy in this sense, having been most remarkably made good, may incline us to embrace it. The common interpretation is, that his brethren should praise him, or pride themselves in him, which in the judgment of some may imply what is suggested above. Eusebius (18) attributes the prevalence of this name to the efficacy of the same prophecy. Alexander Polyhistor (19), derives the name from the children of *Semiramis*, *Juda*, and *Idumæa*; while Claudius Iulian (20) borrows it from one *Judæus*, the son of one *Sparto* who followed *Bacchus* to *Thebes*; absurd fables.

(D) We have elsewhere observed, that tho' this name properly belonged to no more than what is commonly called the *Pentapolis* of the *Philistines*, it had the fortune to spread itself over almost all the neighbouring regions (21). We have also touched on the vague and uncertain use of this name, together with those of *Syria* and *Phænice* (22). *Dio Cassius* (23), ignorant, as he himself confesses, of the origin of the name *Judæa*, tells us, that the name of *Palestine* was prior thereto; and *Julian* the apostate (24) speaks of the *Jews* as a handful of people, inhabiting a part only of *Judæa*. That the *Philistines* should have been considered above the *Jews* by the idolatrous nations of old, is no wonder, and thence it must seemingly have happened, that *Palestine* has been so much the name of all this tract for so many ages, and with such num-

bers of nations and sects as it has been.

(E) This is what we have formerly observed (25). It has been remarked a note or two higher (26), that *Alexander Polyhistor* derives *Judæa* from one *Juda*, the son of *Semiramis*, to whom he gives a brother by the same queen, called *Idumæa*, who according to him must have communicated this his name to his country. But not to insist upon such authorities, it is evident that this name naturally flows from the *Edomites*, who being vassals to those great monarchies, and ever active against the *Jews* (27), came into great consideration with the heathen, who may have accounted them more honourable than the *Jews*, and have therefore propagated their name beyond its natural bounds. Whence-soever it happened *Idumæa* was very often usurped for *Judæa* (28).

(F) This was also arrogated to themselves both by the *Athenians* and the *Delphians*. The *Jews* borrowed this notion from passages in scripture, such as these—*This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her* (29)—*that dwell in the midst*, or (as it is in the margin) *the navel of the land*. These expressions, taken in too vulgar and literal a sense, have tempted men (30) to pronounce the land of *Israel* to be in the midst of the habitable world, and to be the navel, as it were, of the earth. What the *Delphians* and *Athenians* had to say for themselves, as to this particular, may be best deferred till we come to treat of them distinctly.

(18) *Demonstrat. Evang. lib. viii.*

(20) *Apud eund. ibid.*

(23) *Hist. Rom. lib. xxxvii.*

(C).

(30) *KIMCHI & HIERONYM. in Exek. ub. sup.*

(21) See before, pag. 338.

(24) *Contr. Christianos.*

(27) See before, pag. 317.

(28) Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 9.

(19) *Apud STEPH. BYZANT. in 'Eðvivois.*

(22) See before in the notes, pag. 392.

(25) See before, pag. 316.

(26) *In fin.*

(29) *Exek. v. 4.*

the

- a the lakes of *Asphaliis* and *Genezareth*, to the *Mediterranean*, scarcely extended one degree towards the north, viz. from 37 to 38 deg. of north long. tho', on the south, it began much about the 36th degree. So that the broadest part was not much above 100 miles, and the narrowest about half that number. As to the boundaries of it after their several conquests and other acquisitions, they are not so easy to be settled (G).

- W<sup>e</sup> have already exhibited the division of this land by the *Canaanites*, its first inhabitants<sup>2</sup>, we are next to part it between the children of *Israel*. *Simeon* was the southermost of all: he had *Edom* to the south, the *Dead-sea* to the east, *Judab* to the north, to the west uncertain whether a desert tract, or inhabited land. *Judab* was the next: he had *Simeon* on the south, the *Dead-sea* on the east, *Dan* and *Benjamin* on the north, the *Philistine* on the west; *Dan* had the *Philistine* and *Judab* on the south, *Benjamin* on the east, *Epbraim* and the half tribe of *Manasseh* on the north, the *Mediterranea-sea* on the west; *Benjamin* had *Judab* on the south, the *Jordan* on the east, *Epbraim* on the north, *Dan* on the west; *Epbraim* and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, whom we join together in one common inclosure, had *Dan* and *Benjamin* on the south, the *Jordan* and part of *Issachar* on the east, part of *Issachar* and *Asher* on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the west; *Issachar* had *Epbraim* and the half tribe of *Manasseh* on the south and south-west, the *Jordan* on the east, *Zebulun* on the north, *Asher* on the west; *Asher* had the half tribe of *Manasseh* on the south, *Issachar*, *Zebulun*, *Naphtali* on the east, the *Phœnician* on the north, the *Mediterranean-sea* on the west; *Zebulun* had *Issachar* on the south, part of the *Jordan* and part of the sea of *Galilee* on the east, *Naphtali* on the north, *Asher* on the west; *Naphtali* had *Zebulun* on the south, part of the sea of *Galilee* and the *Samachonite-lake* on the east, the mountains of *Antilibanus* on the north, *Asher* on the west. To cross on the other side, *Reuben* and *Gad* had their portion along the eastern banks of the *Jordan*, between the *Dead-sea* and the sea of *Tiberias*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh* lay along the eastern shores of the sea of *Tiberias* and the *Samachonite-lake*; in this order was the land on this and that side of the river divided and distributed to the children of *Israel* under *Moses* and *Joshua*.
- d SOLOMON afterwards divided the land into twelve portions (H); but as the bare mention of this is sufficient for our present purpose, and as it is impossible, seemingly, to ascertain the limits and extent of each, we shall proceed to observe, that, under the second temple, it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies, greater and smaller parts; the greater were *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee* (I); the lesser were *Daroma*, *Geraristica*, *Sarona*, and others (K); these were on this side of *Jordan*. The other side of the river was divided into *Gilead*, the *Peræa*, *Gaulonites*, *Batanea*, and *Decapolis*.

In after times, and under the christian dispensation, it was comprehended for

<sup>2</sup> See before, pag. 323.

(G) We need only observe, that the river *Arnon* is supposed to have been the first northern boundary of the children of *Israel*, on the other side of *Jordan*. With regard to the boundaries on this side of the river, *Reland* (31) takes notice of a great difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan pentateuch; his words are, *Quod ad terminos Palaestinae attinet descriptos, Gen. x. 19. est observatum dignum pentateuchum Hæbreo-Samaritanum non nisi duos tresve extremos memorare, uti fluvium Ægypti & Euphratem vel mare magnum, licet in codice Hæbreo plurimorum aliorum locorum in finibus situm fiat mentio. Contextus Hæbræus ita habet; & termini Canaan sunt a Sidone, Geraram usq; Gazam, qua itur Sodomam, Gomorram, Adamam, & Tzeboim usq; ad Lefcha. Samaritanus hoc comma ita exhibet—Et fuit terminus Canaanæorum à fluvio Ægypti usq; ad flumen magnum Euphratem, & usq; ad mare posterius, i. e. occidentale. Vides insignem differentiam quæ inter Hæbræum & Samaritanum codicem intercedit.*

(H) It is said (32) he appointed twelve officers over *Israel*, to provide victuals for the king and his household: each man his month in the year made provision. Now there was great inequality, as to extent at least, between the portions of land belonging to the tribes; so that to have taxed them alike

had been a seeming hardship. It must therefore follow, that this new division was in equal parts, either in regard to extent or to production, and that this new division was very different from the old. *Reland* (33) has confronted *Josephus* with the Scripture as to this matter, and to him we refer the curious reader.

(I) *Reland* (34), in the map he gives us of this division, makes *Idumæa* encroach considerably upon *Judea*, but in his text takes no notice of it, either as a tetrarchy or toparchy. Perhaps he does this upon sufficient assurance that *Judea* and *Idumæa* were promiscuously usurped for each other, as we have observed before (35). To enquire farther into this were needless. We have only to add, that *Galilee* was twofold, the upper and the lower (36).

(K) *Pliny* (37) reckons up ten toparchies in this country; *Jericho*, *Emmans*, *Lydda*, *Joppa*, *Acra-batena*, *Gophna*, *Thamna*, *Bethleptephene*, *Orine*, *Herodium*. *Josephus* (38) has eleven, *Gophna*, *Acra-batna*, *Thamna*, *Lydda*, *Emaus*, *Pella*, *Idumæa*, *Engadæ*, *Herodium*, *Jericho*; a very obscure piece of geography, which we shall not take upon us to illustrate.

(31) *Ub. sup. c. 25.* (32) *1 Kings iv. 7.* (33) *Palest. Illust. lib. i. c. 29.* (34) *Ub. sup. c. 31.* (35) See before note P. (36) *Vide RELAND. ub. sup.* (37) *Lib. v. c. 14.* (38) *De Bell. lib. iii. c. 4.*

the most part, if not quite, under the denominations of *Palestina prima*, *Palestina secunda*, *Palestina tertia* or *salutaris*.

AGAIN, it is divided into the hilly country and the low (L), which will naturally lead us, and no place more proper, to take a survey of the more remarkable mountains, vallies, and plains. The midland between the *Jordan*, and the *Mediterranean*, is on all hands allowed to be particularly mountainous, while the land towards the sea, mount *Carmel* excepted, and towards the river, is flat, except some gentle risings as at this day.

Mountains.

It may be reckoned inaccurate in us to comprehend the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, or either of them within the district before us, seeing they might have been more properly described in our geography of *Syria*, or *Phanice*; and we in part submit thereto, and the rather as we have tacitly, as it were, admitted them to have been a part of the proper *Syria*, when we formerly described the cedars of *Lebanon* among the natural curiosities of that country\*. But having occasion to make mention of these hills once more, we would venture here to supply our former omission. These mountains, as to their extent and situation with respect to each other, have been very obscurely described by the ancients, and very confusedly understood by all the modern geographers, one seemingly excepted (M), who agrees very well with the only ancients (N), who have spoken with some degree of clearness relating thereto. It is a confirmed opinion, that, whether you call them *Libanus* (†) or *Antilibanus*, they derive their names from the whiteness of the snow, which lies upon them; which some seem to think it perpetually does (O); while others aver it is there but for a certain season only (P). St *Jerome* says, that no hill in the *Land of Promise* is more lofty, more woody, or thicker set than *Libanus*, and elsewhere\* it is said to be the highest of all *Palestine*. The cedars, once the great pride and ornament of these hills, are now, in a manner, extinct<sup>b</sup>, though some few there are among the pines, cypresses, and other noble vegetables, here produced. Finally, these mountains have, at several times, been a place of refuge and retreat for robbers, and other desperate people in great numbers.

MOUNT *Hermon* (Q) appears next, like *Libanus* capped with snow (R),

\* See before pag. 362. h. † Vide *RELAND. ub. sup. c. 48.* \* In *Zachar. ix.* \* *THEODOR. in Pal. lxxi.* <sup>b</sup> See before, sub. sup. <sup>c</sup> Vide *RELAND. ub. up. c. 49.*

(L) The *Jews*, in their *Talmud* (39) have a three-fold division of their country into mountains, vallies, and plains, allotting to each its peculiar produce (40); to the mountain the ash, to the valley the palm, and to the plain the mulberry.

(M) *Maunderell* (41) is the person we mean; who has very satisfactorily distinguished between the one and the other, which have been most unaccountably blended together, and confounded by all the geographers we have seen; but, as we shall copy these mountains from his map published by *Reland* (42), we may save ourselves the trouble of his verbal description.

(N) We mean *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who make them two distinct ridges running almost parallel with each other.

(†) Some have affected to derive it from *Λιβανός*, *Libanus*, the *Greek* for frankincense; but *Reland* (43) very justly remarks, that they should, in the first place, prove that any sort of that aromatic ever grew there.

(O) We have already touched (44) upon this; *Rauwolf* (45) will have it, that the snow rests on these mountains all the summer long. *Le Bruyn* (46) says, these hills are ever covered with snow. *Sandys* (47) observes, that, when he was in this neighbourhood, a Moor, returning from these snow-ropp'd mountains, in company with an *English* merchant, perished with the excessive cold, tho', at the same time, the heat in the vallies on both sides was excessive. Prince *Radziwille* (48) reports, that

the snows on the tops of these mountains never melt away, tho' the heats here be far more intense and scorching than in *Italy*. *Pheas* (49) speaks of the mountains as covered with snow from the head to the foot; which agrees well with what *Maunderell* (50) relates. We have been the more particular upon this, as well formerly (51) as now, because it has been roundly and formally contradicted by a traveller of more than ordinary reputation.

(P) The person who so differs from all the rest is *Monf. La Roque*, or rather the chevalier *d'Arvieux* (52); but, it being so common for snow eternally to lie on the summits of great hills, we know not well, what to attribute that pretended absence of it which our author did there observe.

(Q) It was also called *Baal Hermon* (53), and seemingly by other names, not strictly to our purpose. *Hilarius* (54) derives *Hermon* from *חרמון*, anathema. *Hermon*, says he (55), is a mountain in *Phanice*, whose interpretation is anathema—It is reported—that the angels, when they descended from heaven for love of the daughters of men, assembled together upon this very lofty hill. That it was a place of ancient superstition may be not only gathered hence, but is also confirmed by *Eusebius* (56), who says, that on the top of it there was a famous temple held in high veneration with the neighbouring Heathen about, in *Libanus* and *Paneas*.

(R) Travellers have but little on the remarkables of this hill.

(39) In *SHEVITH. c. 9. 2.* (40) In *GEMAR. Hierosolym.* (41) *Journey to Jerusalem.* (42) *Palestina. Illust.* (43) In *Palest. Illust. ub. sup. c. 48.* (44) See before pag. 362. (D). (45) *Itinerary into the East Count. part ii. c. 12.* (46) *Voyage au Levant, tom. 2. c. 57. p. 286. in 4to.* (47) In his *Travels, book iii. p. 163.* (48) *Peregrinat. Hierosolym. p. 27.* (49) *Apud RELAND. ub. sup. c. 48.* (50) *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* (51) See pag. 362. (D). (52) See before ib. (53) *Judges iii. 3.* (54) In *Pf. cxxxiii.* (55) *Ibid.* (56) In *Onomastico, ad vocem Asymon.*

but

- a but for nothing more remarkable than the abundant dews which fall upon and about it (S).

MOUNT Carmel (T) on the skirts of the sea is the most remarkable head of land of all the coast, at least southward of it, on all hands famed for its fertility (V); of particular note among the ancients, for being, above all others, the favourite place of Pythagoras (W); but, by far, more revered among the Christians, as here they supposed Elias sojourned in a cave, sometime before he was ravished into heaven (X).

- b THABOR is the next mount we are to survey. There was a city of the same name. It was also called *Itabyrion* and *Atabyrion* (Y), and borrows its Hebrew name from its form (Z). It is remarkable for the regularity of its form, and proportion of its parts (A); for its being seated in the midst of a plain, at a distance from

(S) *We were, says Maundrell (57), sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy Psalmist means by the dew of Hermon, our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night.*

(T) This was a name common to both a town and a mountain, and is equally applicable to any fertile and woody place; or it may be understood of purple, which was fished at the foot of this same mountain (58). It was also a name common both to a mountain and a god (59). Another author (60), observing there are two Carmels mentioned by St. Jerome, supposes they are both mountains.

(V) This mountain is rich in olives and vines when husbanded, and abounding with several sorts of fruit and herbs, both medicinable and fragrant; though now much overgrown with woods and shrubs of sweet savour (61). But according to another (62), this mountain is round about, towards the sea-coast, so very bare and rough, that we may very well say with the holy prophet Amos, *That the pastures of the herdsmen shall look miserably, and the top of the mountain dried up.* Others there are who do not speak of this place, as it is at present, with any greater advantage, than, as of a rugged and barren rock (63).

(W) It was anciently called *ἱεὺς Διὸς*, (64) the holy mountain of Jupiter, if not rather, as it is thought (65), *ἱεὺς καὶ ἱερὸς Διὸς*, the mountain and temple of Jupiter. The name of Carmel was common both to the mountain and a god (66). In short, in such high veneration it was, either for its advantages of nature, or the famed traditions of old Paganism, that Pythagoras is reported (67) to have taken particular delight in it, and to have frequently amused himself alone in the temple. But Tacitus (68) denies there was here any temple, or image of a god, but an altar only held in great veneration.

(X) This is on all hands allowed, and on this account it came to be in such high esteem with the Christians, that they seem to have began very early to distinguish it by particular marks of piety. There was here a very large monastery, which by the envy of time, and the rage of the enemy, being brought to decay, the ruins of it were, as we may say, a new consecrated, by a Calabrian priest, who urged hither to the work, by some revelation, gathered together about ten monks, and restored the venerable credit of the place (69). "From hence proceeded the order of the Carmelite friars, as successors to the children of the prophets there left by Elias. They had their beginning, in the

desart of Syria, in the year 1180, and were founded by Almericus bishop of Antioch; who is said to have received their white habit from the virgin Mary. This order Albertus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, transported first into Europe. There is yet to be seen the remains of their monastery, with a temple dedicated to the blessed virgin; and under it a little chapel, or cave, the ancient dwelling of Elias (70)—It must be a considerable number of years ago, without doubt, that a great many of this order lived hereabout, as still to this day doth appear, by their cloisters and churches, which by age are at present so mightily decayed, that they are left deserted and uninhabited (71). Their convent now is not on the top of the mount, where they had a lovely one, before the Christians lost the Holy Land, the ruins whereof are still to be seen; but there is a very little one somewhat lower, and needs no more but three monks to fill it, who would have much ado to subsist, if they had not some alms given them by the French merchants of Acre, who go often thither out of devotion.—Their church is said to be the very spot where Elias abode, and is very neatly cut out of the rock.—They have an excellent prospect, especially upon the sea (72). This mountain seems not to have much bettered its condition with regard to its religious state, tho' the late king of France did what he could to raise it to its former splendor (73); and the reason may be, because it has been pretty much the ordinary residence of an emir of the Arabs (74).

(Y) Names best known to the Greeks, and supposed to be derived from *ἄβυρρον*, *Ab-dabbyr* a place where cattle was led to pasture (75): Other places there were of the same name; in Rhodes there was a mountain called *Atabyrum*; in Sicily we meet with an *Atabyrium*; in Persia, with a city of the same name and another in Phenice (76). There was likewise a *Ζεύς Ἀταβύριος*, who was chiefly worshipped in Rhodes (77): but what relation this *Atabyrian* Jove may have had to our mountain, does no where plainly appear, tho' that some he had, may be easily concluded from what we lately observed of mount Carmel, that its name belonged both to the mount itself, and to a god (78).

(Z) *טבור* Tabor, is properly a navel.<sup>1</sup>

(A) In the seventh century, it is described to have been of wonderful regularity, verdant and florid, to have

(57) *Journey from Aleppo to Jerus.* p. 57. (58) BOCHART. *Hier.* pt. 2. lib. v. c. 9, &c. (59) TACITUS. (60) *Cosmog. de Levant.* p. 180. (61) SANDYS, *ub. sup.* p. 158. (62) RAUWOLF, *ub. sup.* p. 125. (63) THEVEN. *Voy. au Levant*, pt. 1. c. 58. (64) SCYL. CARYAND, in *Minor. Hudf.* vol. 2. (65) *Vide* RELAND. *Palæstin. Illust.* lib. i. c. 50. (66) *Vide eund. ibid.* (67) JAMBELICH. in *vita Pythag.* c. 3. (68) *Histor. lib.* 2. (69) JOHAN. PHOC. *ap. RELAND. ub. sup.* (70) SAND. *Trav. lib.* iii. p. 158. (71) RAUWOLF's *Itinerary*, pt. 3. c. 1. (72) THEVEN. *Voy. au Levant*, pt. 1. c. 59. (73) DE LA ROQUE *Voy. dans la Palest.* in the preface. (74) SAND. *ub. sup.* DE LA ROQUE, *ub. sup.* (75) *Vid. Mich.* ii. 12. & HILLER. in *Onomast. sacr.* ap. RELAND. *ub. sup.* c. 51. (76) STEPH. BYZANT. *Ἐβρύρα*. (77) POLYB. *lib.* ix. (78) See above note (W).

any other hill; for its fertility and beauty of production, and for its height (B),<sup>a</sup> but above all for being the scene of the glorious transfiguration (†), which has derived on it the particular veneration of Christians in almost all ages, but that here this splendid miracle was wrought is doubted by some (C).

MOUNT *Olivet*, or the mount of olives (D), is the next that claims a place, and indeed, on some accounts, may almost do so before all others. It is about a

have had an ample plain at top, surrounded by a great wood, with a large monastery, and many cells in the midst thereof (79). This monastery, or church, was dedicated to *Christ, Moses, and Elias* (80). The same author adds, it was by the inhabitants called *Age Mons*; which must have been, in some sort, a corruption of the Greek *ἁγίου ὄρους*, the *Holy Mount*, which denotes the veneration it was in, even in very early days, as well as at present. Sir *John Mandevill* tells us of an ancient tradition, "that upon this hill, at the last day, four angels will, with four trumpets, raise the dead from the beginning of the world, that they may appear alive before the face of our Lord, in the valley of *Jehosaphat* (81). But, not to insist farther on the received sanctity of the place, we will only add concerning its amenity as at this day, that "it has a plain area at top, most fertile and delicious, of an oval figure, extended about one furlong in breadth, and two in length. This area is enclosed with trees on all parts, except towards the south. It was anciently environed with walls, and trenches, and other fortifications, of which it exhibits many remains at this day (82)." Another traveller (83), describing the appearance of it more particularly, observes, that it seems to have been rather the work of art than of nature, and of wonderful beauty; that from the bottom to the top it looks like a continued spiral of cinder-coloured rock continually crowned with verdant trees, which agrees not amiss with the cut the former has given us to represent this same mount. A third (84) adds that most of the trees on this hill are *hard oaks*.

(B) *Josephus* writes, that this mountain is thirty stades or furlongs in height, and *Adamnanus* (85) agrees with him exactly therein; but, that it falls much short of this measure, whether considered perpendicularly, or obliquely, will appear by the undoubted testimony of modern travellers. *Maundrell* (86) says, he ascended it in less than an hour; and *Thevenot* (87) computes the ascent of it at not quite half a league, and at the same time observes, that some of his company went up on horseback; which plainly shews that the acclivity is nothing so abrupt as is commonly imagined by the sugar-loaf shape of this hill; so that, upon the whole, this modern account seems greatly to lessen the pretended perpendicular height of it. Before we close up this note, we must remember, that *Adamnanus* (88) likewise stretches the plain at top to twenty-five stades, which is very sufficiently contradicted by *Maundrell*, in the note above.

(†) This place having been had in great veneration by the Christians, as we have partly observed already (89), we have only to add, that there are still some remains of the religious state of it. Prince *Radziville* (90) writes, that, on the top of it, there is a middling sort of a church, between two cells, or chapels rather, according to him, erected by *St. Helen*, on the spot of the transfiguration.

*Thevenot* (91) on the contrary says, that there is here but one grott, and that but a little one, in which is a chapel, made up of four arches cross-wise; that the first is the entrance only; the second, opposite to it, the place where our Lord was transfigured; that on the right hand of this, the place where *Moses* stood; that on the left, where *Elias*; thus does he seemingly differ from the former traveller. A third there is (92) who varies from both, and tells us, that on the top of this mount there is a grott, which seems to be a part of some old ruins, all lined with great stones, and with many vaults still standing. The same author tells us the mount itself is so steep that there is no ascending it on horseback, which *Thevenot* contradicts (93.) Finally, we have a fourth eye-witness (94) who seems to vary from the three in the description he gives us of these remains, which is, that they are no more than three contiguous grotto's, made to represent the three tabernacles *St. Peter* proposed to erect, in the astonishment which possessed him at the glory of the transfiguration.

(C) Its being situated in such a separate manner has induced most authors to conclude, that this must needs be that holy mountain, as *St. Peter* (95) styles it, which was the place of our blessed Lord's transfiguration, related by *Matthew* (96) and *Mark* (97). There you read, that *Christ took with him Peter, James, and John into a mountain apart*; from which description they infer, that the mountain, there spoken-of, can be no other than *Tabar*. The conclusion may possibly be true; but the argument, used to prove it, seems incompetent; because the term *ἄπρῳ*, or *apart*, most likely relates to the withdrawing and retirement of the persons there spoken of, and not the situation of the mountain (98). *Reland* (99) thinks it in some sort rash to dispute a point, which has been so generally received for so many ages, but confesses himself in some doubt as to the thing, for many very strong geographical and other reasons, but particularly, because there is no mention made of the name of this hill, as there is of the mount of *Olivet*, mount *Carmel*, and others; tho' the sacred writers have been so very particular in naming the places where any thing memorable was wrought by *Christ*.

(D) By the *Greeks*, *ἁγίου ὄρους* or *ἁγίου ὄρους*; by the *Jews*, in their language, called the mount of *Unction*, or the mount of *Olives*, or oil. It was also called the mountain of *three Lights*, because it was lighted on the west by the fire of the altar; because on the east it received the earliest light of the sun, before the city; and because it produced much oil, an aliment of light (100). But it is rather supposed to have been called the mountain of three heads or tops, as *Sardus*, in the cut he gives us of it, describes it to be. For three summits it had, the first, in the middle, whence *Christ* ascended into heaven, the

second

(79) ADAMNAN. *de loc. sacr. lib. xi.* (80) *Itin. Sir WILLIBALD. ap. RELAND. ub. sup.* (81) MAUNDELL. c. 10. (82) MAUND. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 113.* (83) RADZIVIL. *Peregrin. Jerosol. p. 43.* (84) THEVENOT. *ub. sup. c. 55.* (85) *Ub. sup.* (86) *Ub. sup.* (87) *Ub. sup.* (88) *Ub. sup.* (89) See before in the last note but one. (90) *In Peregr. Jerosol. ub. sup.* (91) *Voy. au Levant, ub. sup.* (92) LE BRUYN *Voy. au Levant, tom. 2. in 4to.* (93) *In the note before this.* (94) MAUND. *ub. sup.* (95) 2 *Epist. i. 18.* (96) *cb. xvii.* (97) *cb. ix.* (98) MAUND. *ub. sup.* (99) *Ub. sup.* (100) RELAND. *Palæst. Illust. lib. i. c. 52. Idem ibidem.*



a mile distant from *Jerusalem*, and commands the best prospect over that city (E). It is said to have sometime been the residence of the *Shcinah* (F). It has been falsely, or rather inaccurately supposed to have been in, or on the skirts of *Galilee* (G). It was formerly famed for its fertility (H), and so it might still be if duly cultivated (I). It is likewise held in special veneration by the Christians (K) for what was there wrought, transacted, and fulfilled by our Saviour, and particularly for his ascension into heaven, nor is it much less revered even by the *Mohammedans* (L).

THE foregoing are the most considerable of the greater mounts, the more remarkable of the lesser are these; either on this, or on the other side of the river *Jordan*; mount *Gilead*, mount *Bashan*, mount *Gilboab*, mount *Gerizim*, mount *Ebal*, mount *Sion*, and others of lesser note.

WE will not enter into a nice disquisition of what were properly vales, <sup>Of the low-country, and first of the vales.</sup> and what were properly plains, in this country: whoever contemplates the face

second to the southward of it, called the mountain of *Offence*, the third to the northward, and highest of all (1).

(E) In this the bulk of travellers are agreed, it being the loftiest eminence in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, and overlooking the highest part of that city. But this must be observed, that, *Jerusalem* being itself seated high, it from thence looks to be no very lofty hill; tho' from other places it appears a mountain (2). Hence a poet (3) calls it a small hill.

(F) The *Jews* say it rested here during the space of three years and a half, to try whether or no the *Jews* would return to God, during which it cried out, *Return to me, O my children, and I will return to you*; and, that having expected in vain, it migrated again to its place (4). This is understood to have respect to Christ the true *Shcinah*, who often sojourned here, and continued so long his gracious endeavours to recal the *Jews* to the true worship of God (5).

(G) This mistake certainly arose from the disciples who were *Galileans*, tho' in a description of this mount it has been roundly asserted, that but two furlongs thence was *Galilee* and *Cana* where the marriage was, at which Christ turned the water into wine (6). Whence this extraordinary mistake arose is pretty well explained to us; for, on the highest ground of this mount, there was formerly erected an high tower, in memory of the apparition of the two angels to the apostles, after the ascension (7), from whence the tower itself, of which we shall speak in a following note, had the name given it of *Viri Galilaei* (8); and thence the mistake may very likely have derived its origin.

(H) It is thus described by an author (9) of the seventh century: few or no trees are there to be found, except the olive and the vine, according to the report of *Aculfus*; but, that wheat and barley might there flourish in a most kindly manner, may be plainly inferred from the nature of its soil which is quite productive.

(I) The west side of mount *Olivet* is "bedecked with olives, almonds, fig-trees, and heretofore, with palms; pleasant and rich, when husbanded but now upbraiding the barbarous with his neglected pregnancy (10).

(K) This mount is much resorted to by pilgrims, who visit *Jerusalem*; nor do travellers, who have been this way, forget to enumerate the several sanctuaries of this famous eminence; but it will be enough for us to consult one of them, who agrees with all the rest almost to a tittle as to what is here to be seen. He (11) tells us, they here shew, "about two thirds of the way up, certain grotto's cut with

"intricate windings and caverns under ground; these are called the sepulchres of the prophet. A little higher up are twelve arched vaults, under ground, standing side by side; these were built in memory of the twelve apostles, who are said to have compiled their creed in this place. Sixty paces higher you come to the place where they say Christ uttered his prophecy concerning the final destruction of *Jerusalem* (12). And a little higher, on the right hand of this, is the place where they say he dictated, a second time, the *Pater-noster* to his disciples (13). Somewhat higher, is the cave of St. *Pelagia*; and, as much more above that, a pillar signifying the place where an angel gave the *Blissed Virgia* three days warning of her death. At the top of the hill you come to the place of our blessed Lord's ascension. Here was anciently a large church, built in honour of that glorious triumph: but all, that now remains of it, is only an octagonal cupola, about eight yards in diameter; standing, as they say, over the very place, where were sat the last footsteps of the son of God here on earth. Within the cupola there is seen, in a hard stone as they tell you, the print of one of his feet. Here was also that of the other foot sometime since; but is has been removed from hence by the *Turks* into the great *Mosch*, upon mount *Morab* ——— About two furlongs from this place, northward, is the highest part of mount *Olivet*; and upon that was anciently erected the high tower we lately mentioned, ——— called *Viri Galilaei*. This ancient monument remained till about two years since, when it was demolished by a *Turk*, who had bought the field in which it stood." More of this sort is added by other travellers, but this shall serve our purpose.

(L) The *Turks* pretend so great a veneration for the building over the print of our Saviour's foot, on this mountain, that they have sometimes denied the Christians all entrance into it; so that they were allowed only to stand at the door, to perform their devotions, and view the holy stone of impression at the distance of about four cubits from them (14). This it seems was owing to the rigid humour of the then governor of those parts, tho' before it was free and open to both Christians and *Mohammedans* (15), as it has been so since (16). But notwithstanding this pretended veneration, on the part of the *Turks*, with regard to this and other places, it is shrewdly doubted (17), whether they do it "out of real devotion, or for lucre's sake, and to the end that they may exact money from the Christians for admission into them."

(1) *Vid. eund. ibidem.* (2) *PHOC. in Descript. Loc. Terr. Sanct.* (3) *PERDIC. EPHES. in Descript. Hierosolym.* (4) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (5) *Vid. eund. ib.* (6) *Anonym. ap. eund. ib.* (7) *A7s i. 10, 11.* (8) *MAUNDR. Jour. from Alp. to Jerus. pag. 105.* (9) *ADAMNAN. de Loc. Sanct. lib. i. ap. RELAND. ub. sup.* (10) *SANDYS ub. sup.* (11) *MAUNDR. ub. sup.* (12) *Mat. ii. 4.* (13) *Luke xi. 1, 2.* (14) *RADZIV. Peregrin. Hierosolym. pag. 74.* (15) *Idem ibid.* (16) *SANDYS ub. sup.* (17) *MAUNDR. ub. sup.*



of the country, so very remarkably distinguished into high lands and low, <sup>a</sup> may think it a needless task; and besides, it has been done to our hands with all the accuracy and industry imaginable <sup>1</sup>. To proceed then, the vale of *Gerar* was where *Isaac* sojourned, when he departed from *Abimelech* <sup>2</sup>. the vale of *Shittim*, whose situation is quite uncertain. The vale of *Hinnom* or the valley of the children of *Hinnom*, near the walls of *Jerusalem* (M), remarkable for the superstition there practised in times of old (N). The vale, or valley of *Salt*, of note for the overthrow of the *Edomites* <sup>3</sup> there. The vale of the *Rephaim*, called also the vale of the *Titans*, and of the *Giants* (O), of uncertain situation (P). The valley of *Jeboshaphat* (Q), mentioned but once in scripture <sup>4</sup>, close in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, and supposed to be <sup>b</sup> the place of the last and general judgment (R). The vale of *Berachab* or *Bles-fing* (S), in the wilderness of *Tekoa*. The valley of *Shaveb* (T), or the king's dale <sup>5</sup>, famous for the interview between *Abraham* and *Melchisedeck*. The valley of *Elab*, or of the *Terebinth* (U), where *David* slew *Goliath*. Others we forbear to mention.

#### Plains.

We shall only take a cursory survey of the plain part of this country, tho' a very considerable portion of it. In *Palestine* there are two great plains, the one properly so called, and divided by the *Jordan*, one hundred and fifty miles in length; the other called the great plain of *Esdraelon*, or of *Legion* <sup>6</sup>. The former of these, according to *Josephus* <sup>7</sup>, extended from *Scythopolis* on <sup>c</sup> the sea itself of *Tiberias*, to the *Asphaltite-lake*. In the New Testament <sup>8</sup> it is called the region about *Jordan* (W). Besides, there was, as we just now said,

<sup>a</sup> Vide *RELAND* ub. sup. c. 54. <sup>1</sup> See before, p. 346. <sup>2</sup> See before, p. 316. <sup>3</sup> Joel iii. 2, and 12. <sup>b</sup> Gen. xiv. 17. <sup>4</sup> Vide *RELAND* ub. sup. c. 55. <sup>5</sup> Antiq. lib. vi. c. 2. <sup>6</sup> Matth. iii. 5.

(M) *Eusebius* (18) writes, it was close, or near to the walls of the city on the east side; but *Reland* (19) is rather inclined to believe, it lay southward of the same (20).

(N) This superstition we have already (21) dwelt on, and given a sufficient description of the spot in general (22).

(O) So rendered, by the Seventy, and *Josephus*; whence *St. Jerome* (23) hastily supposes the *Rephaim* of scripture to have been the *Titans*, and giants of the fabulous ancients. But, that the *Rephaim* were one of the ten nations of the *Canaanites*, we have shewn elsewhere (24); nor have we forgot to observe all that can be well said of them down to their exit and migration (25).

(P) *Eusebius* (26) places it within the portion of *Benjamin*; but *Bonfrere* will have it to be in the tribe of *Judah*; but we forbear so useless and uncertain an inquiry.

(Q) According to *St. Cyril* (27), it was a few stades or furlongs eastward of *Jerusalem*, a bare spot, and fit for riding. *Aben Ezra* (28) takes it to be the same with the valley of *Berachab*, *Bles-fing*, or *Praise*, so called by *Jeboshaphat*, in memory of the signal victory we have mentioned above (29); and *Kimchy* (30) supposes it to have been situate in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, where, perhaps, *Jeboshaphat* erected some building, in memory of that action. Concerning the situation of this valley, *Sir John Mandeville* (31) expresses himself thus, "Between *Jerusalem* and the mount of *Olyvate* is the vale of *Josaphat*, under the walls of the cytee." What he adds afterwards of its being so called from a fabulous king of that name, said to have been converted by a Christian hermit, is ridiculous; but, with respect to the situation of the vale, *Thevenot* (32), *Radzi-*

*ville* (33), and, if we except *Reland*, we may add the whole class of travellers, ancient and modern, agree with him.

(R) This tradition took birth from this text of scripture (34), *I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and soon*. Which expression might have been more properly taken in a symbolical sense: *Jeboshaphat* signifying the judgment of God. But hence, says *Reland* (35), the *Jews* have gathered, that the general judgment is to be on mount *Olivet*; adjoining to which many have persuaded themselves, this valley of *Jeboshaphat* to be, tho' upon a very slender argument. *Reland* then is not satisfied with the situation of this valley, so universally laid down by travellers; and no body has ever considered the geography of these parts like him.

(S) Called from them in the *Latin* of the *Vulgate*, *Vallis Benedictionis*; and in the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, *Κοιλάς Ευαγγελίας*, the valley of *Bles-fing*, or *Praise*, which name was given to it on account of the overthrow and miraculous rout of the *Moabites* (36), *Ammonites* (37), and of the *Edomites* (38), or inhabitants of mount *Seir*, in their war combined against *Jeboshaphat*.

(T) In the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, it is called, *Κοιλάς τῆ Σαβῆ*, or *τῆ Σαβῆ*; the valley of *Saba*, or *Saby*; which by the same is interpreted to mean τὸ πεδίον τῶν βασιλέων, the Field of Kings.

(U) By *Aquila* and *Theodotian* rendered *Κοιλάς ὁ ὄρεος* (39), the Valley of the Oak.

(W) So the *Greek* interpreters have rendered it, *περίχωρος τῆ Ἰορδάνῃ* (40), and *τὰ ἔρημα τῆ Ἰορδάνῃ* (41), or the wilderness of *Jordan*, and that such it might, properly enough, be called, or at least comparatively, will hereafter appear.

(18) *Ad vocem Γαζερών*. (19) *Ub. sup. c. 54*. (20) See before, pag. 294. (21) *Ibidem*. (22) See before in the notes of pag. 322. (23) In *Comment. ad Gal. iii.* (24) See before in the notes of p. 322. (25) *Ib. p. 324*. (26) In *Onom. ad voc. Εμπερ Πάφιν*. (27) *Comment. in loc. Joel.* (28) *Ap. RE-LAND. ub. sup.* (29) 2 *Chron. xx. 26*. (30) *Ap. RELAND. ub. sup.* (31) *Cap. 8.* (\*) *Vide etiam MAUND. ub. sup. pag. 103.* (32) *Cosmog. de Levant, pag. 177.* (33) *Peregrin. Hierosolym. p. 60.* (34) *Joel. iii. 2.* (35) *Ub. sup.* (36) See before in the notes of page 291. (37) See before, p. 297. (38) See before, p. 315. (39) *EUSEB. in Onomast. ad vocem Ηλᾶδ.* (40) 2 *Chron. iv. 17.* (41) *Isa. xxxv. 2.*

a another great plain, which from the city of *Jezreel*, and *Legion* (X); is called the plain of *Jezreel*, or *Esdraelon* (Y), or the great plain of *Legion* (Z). Besides these which are most remarkably distinguished as flat parts of the country, the whole coast from mount *Carmel*, to the southernmost borders of the land, is a plain and a level; excepting here and there a gentle hill, or sand-heap. This great extent was not at all known by the same name under the second temple°. The northern part of it, from *Joppa* to *Cæsarea*, and no more, as some will have it, was called *Saron* and *Saronas* (A). To the southward of this, was the plain of *Sephela* (B). The other plains, as that of *Jericho* (C), which may be included into the great plain, properly so called, we forbear to mention.

b Of the wildernesses, or deserts of this country, we shall not have much to say; *Wildernesses and deserts.* though by these we are not always to understand places quite uninhabited, and destitute of all useful production (D); since in the very first and chief of them, which is the wilderness of *Judab* (E), we find the cities of *Beth-arabab*, *Middin*, and *Secacab*, and *Nibshan*, and the city of *Salt*, and *En-gedi*; six cities with their villages. The wilderness of *Gibeon*. *Josephus* represents all the mountainous tract, from *Jericho* to *Scythopolis*, as quite barren and uninhabited, and under the same character includes all the space washed by the *Jordan* from the sea of *Tibe-*

° Vide *RELAND*. ub. sup. ° Vide eund. ibid. ° Vide eund. ibid. ° *Judg.* i. 16. ° *Josh.* xv. 61, 62. ° 2 *Sam.* ii. 24. ° *De Bell. Judaic.* lib. iii. c. 8.

(X) Now supposed to be called *Legune* (43). *Reland* (44) thinks this great plain, was partly in *Samaria*, and partly in *Galilee*, and that thence we have the *μὴν πᾶσι Σαμαριτῶν*, *Magnus Campus Samaritidis* of *Josephus* (45).

(Y) So the seventy call it *Πεδίον μὴν Ἐρζεν-λῶν*, with a little variation, the name either way being supposed to have been moulded by the Greeks, from the Hebrew name *Jezreel* (46). *Eusebius* places it in the tribe of *Issachar*, and adds, that it extended from *Scythopolis* to mount *Carmel* †. If it be objected, that no such great extent is given to it, either in scripture, or by *St. Jerome*; we answer, that to this great level it may have happened as to seas, which are divided into many portions, distinguished by different names, borrowed from the considerable places on the coasts (47); so that the plain of *Esdraelon*, or *Jezreel*, peculiarly so called, may have been of small circumference, while the name itself, by a usual custom among men, may have extended itself over the whole of what it was only a part; instances of which it were needless and endless to give.

(Z) *Eusebius* calls it, *μὴν πᾶσι ὁ Λεγεῶν*, *Campum Magnum Legionis*; and *St. Jerome* calls it, *Latissimum Campum*, vel *Campum Maximum*, or, adding the name, *Grandem Campum Legionis* (48).

(A) In our version *Sharon*, it afforded excellent pasture, and is by the prophet (49) compared with *Carmel*, *Bosban*, and *Lebanon*, for beauty and fertility. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* mention three plains of that name (50), one situate between the lake of *Genesareth*, or sea of *Tiberias* and mount *Taber*; and the other situate between the *Cæsarea* of *Palestine* and the city of *Joppa*. Besides these, we read of a third (51) belonging to the tribe of *Gad*, and consequently on the other side of the *Jordan*. *Reland* indeed is unwilling to admit of this last; his reason for it is, that the *Gadites* are there said to have dwelt in *Gilead*, and in *Bosban*, and in her towns; but, of *Sharon*, it is only said that they dwelt in her suburbs (52), which being appointed chiefly for cattle (53), he supposes they crossed the *Jordan*, to feed their cattle, in one or other of the two *Sharons* on this side (54). But whoever considers, that their own land of *Bosban* was to the full as

fertile and fit for pasture, will scarce imagine that they would bring their cattle so far into other tribes on this side, merely for the sake of food; and since *Sharon*, in the places above quoted, seems to be used proverbially to express the beauty and fertility of a region, why may not we suppose it to have been given to many more places than these, on either side *Jordan*, since both abounded with such fertile plains.

(B) So called from the Hebrew *שפלה*, *Shephelah*, properly signifying a low land, and is equally applicable to the one plain and the other (55); this extended itself eastward and southward of *Eleutheropolis*.

(C) *Josephus* (56) writes, that *Jericho* stood in a plain, which others (57) call a vale; but, whether vale or plain, it must, by its situation, have been a part of the great plain divided by the *Jordan*; and may have been called the vale or plain of *Jericho*, by the rule we have observed five notes above, in speaking of the great plain of *Jezreel*.

(D) *Reland* (58) observes, that the Hebrew word, which the Greeks render *ἡμίμυς*, and the Latins, *Solitudines*, does, in its strictest import, mean no more than barely an uncultivated place; and thereupon remarks, that, tho' *St. John* is said to have proclaimed the gospel in the wilderness of *Judea*, it is plain it was not such a desert as was quite wild and inhospitable, for that it had cities, whose inhabitants were the first auditors to whom the *Baptist* foretold the immediate advent of the Messiah. He then quotes Jewish doctors (59), who acquaint us, that the smaller cattle, as sheep, goats, and the like, were not fed in the land of *Israel*, but in *Syria*, and the wildernesses, as we render the original word, of the land of *Israel*. Upon the whole he supposes, that all such places were by the Jews considered in opposition to those which afforded corn, wine, and oil.

(E) Many, says *Reland* (60), are of opinion, that the wilderness of *Judab* was on the other side of *Jordan*, and there placed the wilderness of *St. John the Baptist*. But, by the authority of the Jews themselves, he sufficiently evinces this to be a mistake.

(43) See *MAUNDER. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* (44) *Ub. sup.* (45) *De Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. c. 2.* (46) See *WELL's Geog. voc. 2. sub fin.* † *Sub voc. Jazreel & Arbela, Vid. & Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 2.* (47) *RELAND. ub. sup.* (48) *Vide eund. ibid.* (49) *Vid. int. al. Isai. xxxiii. 9. xxxv. 2. Cantic. ii. 1.* (50) *Sub. voc. Sharon.* (51) *1 Chron. v. 16.* (52) *Ibid.* (53) *Numb. xxxv. 3. Josh. xiv. 4.* (54) *Ub. sup.* (55) *Vide RELAND. ubi sup.* (56) *De Bell. Judaic. lib. v. c. 4.* (57) *Vide RELAND. ubi sup.* (58) *Ibid. c. 56.* (59) *In Cod. Bava Rama.* (60) *Ub. sup.*

rias, to the *Asphaltite-lake* (F). To these we may add the forests or woods of <sup>a</sup> this land; as the forest of *Hareth* (G), whither *David* retired. The wood of *Ephraim*<sup>1</sup>, where *Abalom* perished on an oak; and the forest of *Lebanon*<sup>2</sup>, where *Solomon* built him a house. Others we pass over.

Seas.

HAVING thus taken a transient view of the mountains, plains, dales, and solitudes of the country before us, order requires us next to consider the waters which are properly said to have belonged to it; and first of the seas. Of these are commonly and more accurately reckoned but four, the *Mediterranean*, the *Dead-sea*, the sea of *Tiberias*, and the *Samachonite-sea*. The *Mediterranean* was by the Jews called the *Great-sea*, the sea of the *Philistines*, the *Salt-sea* (H).

THE *Dead-sea* (+), or the *Asphaltite-lake* (I), called also the *Salt-sea* (K). Much has been said and supposed of this famous, or as most will have it, infamous lake; as that nothing will sink in it, and that it rose up from the submerision of the vale of *Siddim*<sup>3</sup>, where once, as is most generally concluded, stood the five cities of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, and the other three. On this account has it been abhorred and detested, and represented as a prodigious and everlasting monument of the just judgment of God, to deter mankind from the sins committed by those, who thus drew down on them the fierce wrath and vengeance of the Almighty. Now, tho' it were a seeming rashness to contradict what has been so very universally advanced, and received among Christians, with relation to the origin of this lake, it has all been very solidly contradicted, and, if it were lawful so to say, refuted even by the authority of scripture itself<sup>4</sup> (L). But travellers, misled by the common tra-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xvii. 6—9. <sup>2</sup> 1 Kings vii. 2. <sup>3</sup> See before, p. 323. <sup>4</sup> Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 38.

(F) Hence *Reland* (61) takes occasion to condemn the geographers who rashly, and presumptuously crowd both sides of the *Jordan* thick with cities and villages; but, at the same time, makes allowances for their zeal, and warmth of imagination, unguided by documents, or the least degree of certainty.

(G) This forest was evidently within the tribe of *Judah*, by the words of the prophet *Gad*, who said unto *David*, abide not in the bold, depart, and get thee into the land of *Judah* (63).

(H) *Bockart* (64) is angry with *Mamonides* for saying, the purple fish was found in the *Salt-sea*, imagining he thereby meant the *Asphaltite lake*; but that he meant the *Mediterranean*, and expressed himself not improperly, has been sufficiently shewn (65).

(I) It is so called for that it breeds no fish, nor sustains any thing that has life, because of its excessive saltiness (66). A late traveller (67), however, says, he has some reason to suspect this, observing, among the pebbles on the shore, two or three shells of fish resembling oyster-shells; and, "that they were thrown up, by the waves, at two hour distance from the mouth of *Jordan*," which he mentions, lest it should be suspected they might have been brought into the sea that way. As for the common tradition, that birds, attempting to fly over this sea, drop down dead into it, the same traveller (68) saw it actually confuted by several birds who flew over and about it, without the least visible harm.

(K) So called from the quantity of bitumen in and about it. It was anciently supposed, that great quantities of this combustible substance were thrown up by this sea (69). And travellers (70) represent it as in great plenty on the shores of it. Whatever there might have been formerly, it seems it is not now to be found every where upon the shore, tho' it is gathered in great quantities near the mountains on both sides. It exactly resembles pitch, and can-

not readily be distinguished from it, but by the sulphureousness of its smell and taste (71). This bitumen seems not to have been sufficiently or at all distinguished from a sort of combustible stones found on the shore which are a black sort of pebbles, and, being held in the flame of a candle, soon burn, and yield a smoke of an intolerable stench (72); but have this extraordinary property, that by burning they lose only of their weight, and not at all of their bulk.

(L) It is to the highest degree impregnated with salt; inasmuch, that *Galen* (73) supposes it in specific gravity to be as much beyond other sea-water, as sea-water is beyond the water of rivers, and that it was impossible to immerge in it; and elsewhere adds, that, by the addition of salt, it would be possible to make any water as bouyant as this. The same physician elsewhere has it, that the saltiness of this sea is attended with a bitterness and unpleasantness. All this agrees well enough with what we are told of it at present, except that bodies will immerge in it, tho' not so easily as in other water (74).

(M) It is *Reland* (75) who professedly undertakes this task. To enter into a detail of his arguments would exceed our bounds, we shall therefore only touch on some principal heads. 1. He observes, that the five kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, and the rest, are said to have met in the vale of *Siddim*, as if it was the place of their rendezvous and not of their immediate abode. 2. The sacred penman nowhere says, the five cities were in the vale of *Siddim*. 3. In the whole series of scripture there is no mention made of the submerision of the same five cities. 4. He proves, that this supposed submerision is contradictory to many passages he cites of holy writ. He contends, that some, if not all of the five cities, were not on the spot where now stands the *Dead-sea*. The scripture itself is what he chiefly builds on throughout this whole argument; tho' he finds no mean authorities elsewhere to support him in his opinion, which

(51) *Ibid.* (63) 1 Sam. xvii. 5. (64) In *HIERONIMO*, pt. 2. lib. 5. c. 9. (65) Vide *RELAND. Pal. Illustr. lib. i. c. 37.* (66) Vide *HIERON. in Comment. ad Ezek. xlvii.* (67) *MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerusalem*, p. 84. (68) *Ibid.* (69) Vide *RELAND. ub. sup.* (70) *BROCARD. Descrip. Terr. Sanct. c. 7.* (71) *RADZIV. Jerosolim. Pereg.* p. 95. *BROCARD. ub. sup.* (72) *Idem ibid. cude etiam RADZIV. ub. sup.* (73) *Apud RELAND. ub. sup.* (74) *MAUND. ub. sup.* (75) *Ub. sup.*

a dition, and blinded by an irregular zeal, have for the most part (M) represented it as a place dismal to behold, all sulphureous, bituminous, and combustible. Nor has it been less seriously averred, that the ruins of the five cities have been actually seen in the water even in these latter times (N). This sea, in its present state, is inclosed on the east and west with exceeding high mountains; on the north it has the plain of *Jericho*, or, if we take in both sides of the *Jordan*, the great plain properly so called; on the south it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. In length it is said to be twenty four leagues, and in breadth six or seven. Its water is limpid and clear. On the west side of it is a promontory, where they pretend to shew remains of *Lot's* metamorphosed wife \* (O).

b THE sea of *Tiberias*, called also the sea of *Kinnereth*, *Kinneroth*, *Gbinnereth* <sup>a</sup>, *Sea of Tiberias*, *Cinneroth* <sup>b</sup> (P), the water of *Genesar* <sup>c</sup>, lake of *Genesaret*, and *Genesareth* (Q), <sup>21</sup> was also called the sea of *Galilee*. According to *Josephus* \* it was one hundred furlongs in length, and about forty in breadth. The same historian <sup>d</sup> commends it for the temper of its water, which exposed in the night to air, as the inhabitants near were wont to do in summer-time, became as cold almost as snow itself. It is every way by the same author set in opposition to the *Dead-sea*; especially as this afforded no sort of fish, and the other abounded with it. The one is represented as a water every way pleasant and agreeable, the other as every way forbidding and horrid.

c THE *Samachonite*-lake is next in order. Whence it derives its name is uncertain <sup>e</sup> *Samachonite-lake* (R). It is chiefly remarkable for the thickness of its waters \*. Its length was sixty furlongs or about fifteen miles; its breadth thirty furlongs, or about seven miles and half <sup>f</sup>. It is supposed, that this may be the lake mentioned by *Pliny* † on account of its odoriferous reeds; but this is mere conjecture.

Not far from this is the lake of *Phiala*, the true source or fountain-head of the river *Jordan*, tho' whether it was so or no was long disputed <sup>g</sup> (S). This

<sup>a</sup> MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 84, 85. <sup>b</sup> Numb. xxxiv. 11. <sup>c</sup> Josh. xii. 3. <sup>d</sup> 1 Macc. xi. 67. <sup>e</sup> De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c. 18. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 1. <sup>i</sup> Lib. xii. c. 22. <sup>j</sup> RELAND. Palest. Illust. l. i. c. 41. p. 264.

which we leave to be discussed by such as think it of importance sufficient to require it.

(M) Geographers, says *Maunderell* (76) in their writings and maps, generally describe a smoke ascending from the surface of this lake, but for his part he could see nothing of the kind. It is also observed, as a most wonderful circumstance, that this lake, as *Josephus* (77) observes, should change colour three times a day, which prince *Radziwille* (78) confirms as an eye-witness: in the morning, says he, it was blackish, at noon bluish, in the evening yellowish, and as it were mixed with ooze (79). A variety which plainly proceeds from natural causes, and is easily accounted for by the nature of its situation, and the land about it, with the help of a little optic. The infernal apples also mentioned by *Josephus* (80), and *Tacitus* (81), to be on the borders of this lake, all fair and beautiful without, and all foot and ashes within, which have against all experience existed in the sickly imagination of the superstitious votaries, who have fondly resorted hither, are now concluded never to have been in nature (82); for nothing, not the least trace of that kind, is now to be found.

(N) Concerning this, we shall give you *Maunderell's* own words (83): "I diligently surveyed the waters, as far as my eye could reach; but neither could I discern any heaps of ruins, nor— But yet I must not omit what was confidently attested to me by the father *Guardian*, and procurator of *Jerusalem*, both men in years, and seemingly not destitute either of sense and probity, viz. that they had once actually seen one of those ruins; that it was so near the shore, and the waters so shallow, at that time, that they, together with some French men, went to

"it, and found there several pillars, and other fragments of buildings". *Maunderell* has, at least, as much weight with *Reland* (84) as any modern traveller whatsoever, and perhaps more, but yet is this last very loath to admit of such visible remains of the original five cities.

(O) It seems the natives here have different stories, at different times. They told prince *Radziwille* (85), there was no such thing as *Lot's* wife's pillar of salt to be found, and about a century afterwards they tell *Maunderell* (86), that there is a stump of it still left, and point out to him the very place where it is. In short, it is somewhat wonderful they cannot always find a lump of salt in such a place as this, to pass current for what has been so eagerly inquired for, and sought after.

(P) These names are thought to be derived from a musical instrument which is supposed to have been nearly of the form of this sea: but *Reland* (87) chuses rather to borrow them from the city of that name, in the tribe of *Naphtali*, on the borders of the lake.

(Q) These names are supposed to have been formed from the foregoing; but *Reland* (88) is rather inclined to have them from the country of *Genesar*, or the borders of this same lake; celebrated by *Josephus* (89) for fertility of soil, and felicity of climate.

(R) In the Greek of *Josephus*, it is written, *Σαμαχωνίτις λίμνη*, and *Σαμαχωνίσις*, which some derive from *Samach*, a fish, or from the *Samachon* (90).

(S) This doubt was settled by *Philip the Tetrarch*, who casting straws or chaff into the former, they were found to come out of the latter at *Panion*.

(76) *Ubi sup.* (77) *De Bell. Judaic. l. v. c. 5.* (78) *Ubi supra.* (79) *Ibid.* (80) *Ubi supra.* (81) *Hist. l. v.* (82) *Vide MAUND. ubi supra; vide etiam RADZ. ubi sup.* (83) *Ubi sup.* (84) *Ubi sup.* (85) *Ubi sup.* (86) *Ubi sup.* (87) *Ubi sup. c. 39.* (88) *Ibid.* (89) *De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c. 8.* (90) *Vide RELAND. Palest. Illust. l. i. c. 40. p. 262.*

name, which signifies a vial, was common to other waters of the same kind. <sup>a</sup> It is situated in the midst of a most delightful country, which is also so very commodious for traffick, that marts or fairs are held all the summer long, by the neighbouring people <sup>b</sup>.

The Jordan.

To pass over other lakes and waters of inferior note and degree, we will proceed to the river *Jordan*, which, rising from the lake of *Pbiala*, enters the *Samachonite*-lake, whence gliding along it divides the sea of *Tiberias*, and thence discharges itself into the *Dead-sea*. The origin of its name, or names, is somewhat obscure (T), and scarce worth dwelling upon; this being by far the principal stream of these parts, it is by way of eminence called the *River*<sup>c</sup>: the rest of this country being mere brooks in comparison of it. *Josephus*<sup>d</sup> makes mention of a *lesser Jordan*, whose fountain-head he places about *Panion*, while he derives the other, or greater *Jordan*, from mount *Libanus*<sup>e</sup>; but he is not to be understood here as meaning two distinct rivers; but as dividing the same river into two parts, which are greater or less, as nearer to or farther from the original spring (U). To have a just idea of the course of this river, we must remember<sup>f</sup>, that, taking its rise from *Pbiala*, it runs under ground for the space of one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, and, breaking forth at *Paneum*, goes through the *Samachonite*-lake; whence proceeding again to the distance above-mentioned of fifteen miles, it streams through the sea of *Tiberias*, and thence holds its course through a vast and horrid desert, till it loses <sup>c</sup> itself in the *Asphaltite*-lake. Here it is noted<sup>g</sup>, that *Josephus* speaks but of one original spring belonging to this river, a demonstrative proof that this lesser *Jordan* is no river distinct from his greater, and that no more than different parts of the same main stream are to be understood thereby. It is remarkable of the *Jordan*, that, in the time of harvest, it is most full, and apt to overtop its banks<sup>h</sup>; contrary to the general nature of rivers, which are most full in time of winter: whence it may possibly have been that some have imagined that there was some kind of subterraneous communication between this river and the *Nile* of *Egypt* (X). But, to wave so unlikely a matter, the banks of this stream are a harbour for lions, and other wild beasts who take shelter amidst the reeds and canes<sup>i</sup>, <sup>d</sup> which here so remarkably abound; and not only abound, but also grow so thick and tall, as to obstruct the sight of the river (Y); together with the willows,

<sup>a</sup> SANCH. Secret. Fid. Crucis, apud RELAND. ub. sup. <sup>i</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. v. c. 1. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 2. and l. viii. c. 3. <sup>c</sup> Antiq. l. v. c. 1. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. l. iii. c. 18. <sup>e</sup> Vide RELAND. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> Vide RELAND. ub. sup. and before p. 553. d. <sup>g</sup> MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.

(T) It has been a commonly received opinion, that this river is called יַרְדֵּן, *Jarden*, as if it derived from יָרַן, *Jor* and דָּן, *Dan*, or the *River of Dan*, because it took its rise near the city of *Dan*, or because it had its rise from two springs, the one *Jeor*, the other *Dan*. That the first of these derivations is unlikely we shall now attempt to shew, and that the second is false has been partly demonstrated in the note above. To suppose it to have received any part of its denomination from the city of *Dan* is very unlikely, seeing it was called *Jorden* long before the city of *Dan* was built. But you may say, it may have been so called by way of prolepsis. But why *Den* should be changed into *Dan* may be difficult to account for; so that, after all, it is most natural to borrow this name from יָרַן, *descendit, labitur*. The *Arabs* call it *Arden*, and *Ordonnon*; the *Persians*, *Herdum*; and the *Nubian* geographer (or the *Sharif Edrisi*) *Zacchar*, which in *Arabic* signifies *tumid, full, or overflowing its banks*, and therefore a name properly enough applied to the *Jordan* (91).

(U) Examples of this kind might be quoted in great number to confirm this (92), as in the *Vetus Vechta*, and *Vetus Renns*, and the *Α-ναγινωσκων*, and *καινως*, mentioned by *Vibius Sequester*; by which it was never understood, that

these rivers, so distinguished into old and new, were to be deduced from different springs, but to be upper and lower parts of the same.

(X) The more to confirm this, it has been reported, that the *Coracinus*, a fish reputed to be peculiar to the *Nile*, has been taken in the *Jordan*. But this concludes nothing positively; for the *Coracinus*, as much as it is a native of the *Nile*, is to be found elsewhere (93).

(Y) Prince *Radziwille* (94) writes, that on this side of the river, in the place where *Chriit* was baptized, there is a shady thicket, about half a mile (a *German* one we suppose) in length, and a bow-shot in breadth; and that here were trees which bore the likeness of willows, but, upon a nice examination, proved not exactly so in fact. He adds, that he could perceive nothing of the locusts and wild honey, which afforded sustenance to *St. John*, whom, with others, he supposes to have sojourned in this wilderness. *Maundrell* (95) also observes, that this part is so beset with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, willows, and others, that you can see no water till you have made your way through. — He adds, that on the other side there seemed to be a much larger thicket, than on the side they were. To this effect do the travellers this way in general deliver themselves.

(91) Vide eund. ibid. c. 43. p. 271, 272.  
(94) In Peregrin. Jerosolym. p. 98.

(92) Apud eund. ibid. (93) Vide Athenæum.  
(95) Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 81.

tamarisks,



a tamarisks, and other native vegetables of these banks (Z). The stream of this river is so strong and rapid, that a man cannot stem it in swimming; but the dimensions of it are by no means large, the breadth of it, where it should be seemingly greatest, not exceeding sixty foot (A). It was formerly fordable in some places, and may be so still, tho' we know of none that particularly takes notice of it. It seems also to have been formerly crossed in boats or ferries.

To describe, or even to enumerate the other rivers, either on this or that side of the *Jordan*, were too minute, and indeed needless, and contrary to our custom hitherto; for which reason we shall only add, that the *Arnon* seems to deserve the place next to *Jordan*; and proceed to observe, that the productions of this land b were many, excellent, and in great plenty. This country was anciently much renowned for its fertility, and well corresponded with the figurative description of it, that it flowed with milk and honey; nor at this day are there wanting signs and sufficient indications thereof, tho' now it is as it were decayed and neglected. But the present barren state of this country having prevailed on some to imagine, it never was what the scripture represents it to have been, we shall, with the same design, and in the same order, observed by a learned man, who has made this favourite region his study more than ever any body did before, and to sounder purposes, proceed to display what it affords for the use of its inhabitants.

c AND here it may be necessary to observe, that, as fine a country as *Egypt* *Fertility.* is on all hands allowed to be, it submitted, and still submits, to this, in some very noble productions, and particularly wine and oil, two of the most useful liquids to man, next to water; to go about to prove which, were to suppose the reader ignorant of what he cannot possibly but know, and be convinced and assured of (B); as for water it is plain, there could have been no excessive want of that, for how should the men and cattle have subsisted at all without it? That they had sufficient for their use, at least, must be readily granted, and has been so fully proved to our hands, that it were needless for us to add any thing to it. Then for meats, and wherewithal to relish them, and serve them d up; the *Asphaltite*-lake produced a salt, which, in the judgment of *Galen*, was for digestion and extenuation preferable to all other salts whatsoever. As for wheat and barley, and other kinds of corn and grain, they had them in such abundance, that it is in scripture (C) particularly denominated the land of wheat, &c.

<sup>a</sup> GULIEL. TYRIUS. Hist. xxii. 20. apud RELAND. ubi sup. LAND. <sup>b</sup> Vide eund. l. i. c. 46.

<sup>c</sup> Vide RELAND. ibid. <sup>d</sup> RELAND.

(Z) *Maunderell* distinguishes the banks of this river as twofold: these are his own words (96): "On the farther side of the forementioned convent [dedicated to St. *John*] there runs along a small descent, which you may fitly call the first and outermost bank of *Jordan*; as far as which it may be supposed the river does, or at least did anciently flow, at some seasons of the year, viz. at the time of harvest, *Job*. iii. 15. or as it is expressed, 1 *Chron*. xii. 15. in the first month, that is, in *March*. But at present, [whether it be because the river has, by its rapidity of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way] it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness: for we could discern no sign or probability of such overflowsings, when we were there; which was the thirtieth of *March*, being the proper time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two two yards below the brink of its channel." The *Jordan* seems then to be very different from the river it was formerly.

(A) This is *Maunderell's* measurement (97), in which the most sincere travellers are pretty nicely

of a mind with him. As for depth, the same pilgrim says, it was deeper than his height. The water is turbid, the natural consequence of its rapidity; to which *Radersville* (98) adds, it is very wholesome, and incorruptible in its nature, as he sufficiently found by the experiment of some of it he brought away with him.

(B) This land was among other things preferred to *Egypt*, in that it enjoyed the benefit of rain (99); and that it exceeded this last for wine and oil is no less certain; for tho' it cannot be denied, but *Egypt* had her olives (100), they were certainly inferior to those of *Palestine*. Hence the adage among the *Talmudists* (1), *What did the ten tribes? They sent oil into Egypt. Solomon*, we know, sent yearly to the king of *Tyre* twenty cors or measures of pure oil (2). Then for vines, the *Egyptians* had none at all. *Herodotus* says (3), they drank a liquor made of barley, to supply their want of wine (4). Accordingly *Judea* is by *Rabshakeh* called, a land of vineyards, a land of oil olives (5). In a word, says *Reland*, who knows not, that the wine of *Ascalon*, the wine of *Gaza*, and *Sarepta*, were famed among the most remote nations?

(C) It is there called, a land of wheat and barley (6).

(96) *Ibid.* (97) *Ibid.* (98) *Ubi sup.* (99) *Vide Proc. GAZ. ad Deuteronom.* (100) *Vide THEOP. de Conf. Plant. lib. vi. c. 12.* (1) *In Icha Rabbah. fol. 85. 3.* (2) 1 *Kings* vi. 11. (3) *Lib. ii. c. 77.* (4) *See before p. 5.* (5) 2 *Kings* xviii. 32. (6) *Deut. xiii. 8.*

(D). That



(D). That oxen, sheep, goats, and the like, together with fowl, were in no degree wanting, appears by the frequent sacrifices, and by the pasture grounds occupied by the two tribes and half on the other side of *Jordan*, not to mention the pastures of *Sarona*, and the plains about *Lydda*, *Jamnia*, and elsewhere. For fish, the *Jordan* and sea of *Tiberias* yielded a sufficient supply, as may be gathered from the New Testament, nor are we told, that they are at this day deficient therein. Besides the sea not only afforded quantities sufficient for the people on the coast, but helped to subsist even the citizens of *Jerusalem*, from whence they had according to St. *Jerom*\* a gate called the *fish-gate* in their metropolis, to say nothing of the fish that was certainly taken in the other streams and waters of this land. Plenty of honey, besides what was collected by the bee, was there to be had in the woods, and flowing from trees (E). Of trees, the palm, of this country, and of shrubs, the balsam, are eminent above all others. The fruit of the palm of this country was thought the only one of the sort capable of being kept for a future store (F). The balsam of *Jericho* (G) is famous beyond any thing of its kind, and applauded as the peculiar product of this happy country (H); and a most precious drug it was among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as every ordinary scholar cannot but know. Wool must have been a natural commodity in a country which fed such flocks of sheep, and cotton is the common product of these parts, and of this country particularly about *Lydda*, and the plain of *Esdraelon*. To go about to prove all this by authorities, ancient and modern, were endless, and mere affectation. Let it suffice, that we observe of this small region, that to have sustained such numbers of inhabitants, who, in a manner, lived upon their own growth, without any considerable assistance, by foreign commerce, it must have been by far a more noble and fertile place, than it is by some, at present, absurdly enough represented.

Extent.

THIS once happy land being situate between the fourth and fifth north climate †, its soil could hardly be other than fertile, tho' greatly diversified, as the country happened to be mountainous or plain, close or

\* Apud RELAND. Pal. Illust. lib. i. c. 57. p. 382. † See pag. 569. a.

(D) And well it seems to have deserved it, seeing *Solomon* could annually afford to send the king of *Tyre* a present of twenty thousand *cors* or measures of wheat (7).

(E) This seems to be an extraordinary production; but is nevertheless supposed to have been the μέλι άγριον, or wild honey St. *John* found in the wilderness (8). Our author cannot agree with *Bochart*, that this wild honey was gathered by the industrious bee; but recurs to *Diodorus Siculus*, who speaking of the *Nabataeans*, who inhabited these parts, tells us what this wild honey, or μέλι άγριον, may have been, where he says that, in their trees they have a honey they call wild, which they drink mixed with water; as also to *Pliny*, who, speaking of what he calls the *Elacomeli* or oil-honey, says, that it flows from the olive; and that, in the maritime parts of Syria, it comes spontaneously, flowing from the trees, of a fat substance, thicker than honey, finer than rosin, and sweet of taste: and hence infers why *Maunderell* (9) was so sensible of a strong smell of honey in the maritime parts of Palestine. We have had occasion formerly to speak of a honey made dates †, probably the same sort which *Jacob* sent to *Joseph* into Egypt. But whatever this wild honey was, we may guess at its abundance by that which *Jonathan* found flowing from the trees and received such refreshment from\*.

(F) This is the opinion of *Theophrastus* (10); and doubtless he had good ground for what he says. In three sandy places only, says he, is the fruit of the palm fit to be laid up for store. These places

are *Jericho*, *Pbasaelis*, or *Archelais* and *Livias*.

(G) *Theophrastus* (11) leaves us in some doubt, as to the spot which produced this precious balm, saying, in general, that it grew in the valley of Syria; which is thus particularized by *Justin* (12): "There is a valley surrounded by mountains, as it were with a wall--and the extent of the place may be about two hundred acres. Its name is *Hiericho* [*Jericho*]. In this valley there is a wood most famous for the fertility and amenity of its trees, but, above all, for the balm and opobalsam." The same is attested by *Strabo*, *Josephus*, and others.

(H) So writes *Josephus*, *Pliny*, and *Dioscorides*. But [says *Reland*] (13), *Prosper Alpinus* and *Peter Bellonius*, will have it, that these are mistaken, because it now grows in *Judea* nowhere but in gardens; and requires there to be tended very carefully; whereas balsam of every sort comes from *Arabia*, as from its native soil, and is thence conveyed into other regions. But I, for my part, [continues he] am of opinion, that *Josephus* and *Dioscorides* wrote nothing but the truth; for there is no reason why plants, which seventeen hundred years ago flourished in one country, may not, in length of time, be produced in countries far distant therefrom. But supposing even the nature of the soil to have changed? it would be no such great wonder. We shall have occasion to say something more of this valuable plant in the sequel.

(7) 1 Kings ubi sup.

(8) Vide RELAND. Pal. Illust. lib. i. c. 57. p. 382.

(9) Journ. from A-

lep. to Jerus. p. 66.

† See before p. 455. in fin. (Y)

\* 1 Sam. xiv. 26. & seq.

(10) De Hist.

Plant. lib. xi. c. 8.

(11) Ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 6.

(12) Lib. xxxvii.

(13) Ubi sup.

- a open, bordering on salt waters or fresh, with several circumstances of situation, must naturally have propagated an almost endless variety of things pleasant and useful, necessary for life, and incentive to luxury. In short, such a country it must have been, as *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (I) would have preferred in his choice. But to recur to authorities for all this, even from the most approved writers of antiquity, *Greek and Roman*, would be, as we apprehend, to no purpose, and draw us into a length we would avoid as much as possible; we shall therefore content ourselves with this general summary, which will raise a sufficient idea of this chosen seat, that, when carefully husbanded, it was inferior to no place else in the world. We would only add, that the soil is so very
- b light, that it is ploughed with the least labour, tho' returning an exuberant increase (K), and that the nature of it is such, that to plough it deep were to destroy almost the hopes of any tolerable crop (L).

How it has happened, that this country has changed face from such beauty to such deformity, may be with no great difficulty understood; for overwhelmed by calamities of the most bitter and destructive sort, and its natives driven out to wander the wide world over, and the very soil itself groaning under the heavy pressure of divine vengeance, it became quite another place. And more particularly after the merciless and mutual devastations during the holy war between the *Christians* and *Mohammedans*. This great and blindly zealous

c strife has ever since subjected this now unhappy spot to perpetual ravages and insecurity, from the *Arabs* and other wandering tribes; so that, upon the surface of the whole earth, there is not a place more dangerous or comfortless to travel in, than is now this promised land, as by every traveller we are told. How then can we, with any justice, compare the present with the ancient aspect of this country? So that it is vain to object the sterility and naked rocks now beheld, and the rather as nothing we are told is plainer, than that these stony heights were once covered with soil (M). But what must this country have been, to have withstood the unparalleled and continued rage of the enemy it has so cruelly suffered? or what cannot an enemy do to destroy and utterly

\* See MAUND. pag. 64.

(I) He says (14) he should not so much value a country for one production only, nor would chuse to dwell where, at the same time the fields should be fruitful, there should be a total want of all the other necessities of life, or at least a scarcity of them; but that he would chuse a country which should be as much as possible sufficient of itself, or stand the least in need of foreign assistance. This he thinks to have been the happy lot of *Italy*.

(K) *Brocard* (15) says he has often with his own eyes seen two oxen only at the plough; and that the land stands in need of manure of no sort, being naturally very fat and rich.

(L) The soil being shallow, if the plough went deep, the clods would dry up by the heat that would be reverberated from the stony bottom. In *Syria* therefore they make use of small ploughs, says *Theophrastus* (16).

(M) *Maundrell's* words upon this occasion being very remarkable, and particular, we cannot help transcribing what he says (17). — "All along this day's travel — the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before, presenting nothing to the view, in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which pilgrims are apt to be much astonished, baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas, from the description given of it in the word of God: inasmuch that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect how it could be possible for a land like this to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum

" given in by *Isaiah* (18) amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain, that any man, who is not a little byassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples. — For it is obvious, for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain: nay, perhaps, much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level — For the husbanning of these mountains, their manner was, to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders they supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains — Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps, wherever you go in all the mountains of *Palestine*. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful: and perhaps there is no spot of ground in this whole land, that was not improved, to the production of something or other ministering to the assistance of human life; for, than the plain country, nothing can be more fruitful, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of milk." — He then proceeds to shew how this whole country, so wild at present, may have been, as it doubtless was, a paradise both for pleasure and production.

(14) In *Antiq. Rom. lib. i. p. 28.* (15) In *Descript. Terr. Sanct. c. 11.* (16) *Ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 25.* (17) *Journey from Alep. to Jerusalem.* (18) 1 Sam. xxiv.

lay waste a country? *Josephus*\* to our purpose writes, "The marching of  
 "his army [*Simon's*] was the same thing to the people, that a flight of locusts  
 "are to a wood: not a leaf, not a spire of grass was there left; not any  
 "thing more than a desert, that they left behind them — Then the malicious  
 "rage of *Simon*, and his keen animosity against the *Idumeans* was still a farther  
 "aggravation — In fine, what with burning, demolishing, devouring the fruits  
 "of the earth, or trampling them under foot, *Simon's* troops did not leave so  
 "much, even in a fruitful well cultivated country, as the least sign or memo-  
 "rial of what it had formerly been." This, and much more, is to be found in  
 this and other authors; and, if after this any one should think fit to object to  
 us, what is said by *Strabo*, relating to *Jerusalem* (N), as if it included the  
 whole country; we shall answer, that they deal expressly against the plain  
 sense of *Strabo*, who confines himself to a space only of sixty furlongs, which  
 the more rocky and inaccessible it had been, so much the more apt and conven-  
 nient to be the seat of the metropolis, and great arsenal of the nation, as ex-  
 perience evinced.

*The Cities.*

The cities of this land we shall forbear to describe, tho' few cities have  
 been of greater splendor, or on all accounts more worthy of notice: but as,  
 in our larger geographical sections, we have avoided the task, as too tedious,  
 and exceeding the bounds we prescribe to ourselves, as well as to avoid repeti-  
 tion, and anticipating what may be more properly mentioned in the body of  
 our history † we shall do by these now as we formerly † did by those of *Egypt*,  
 refer them till they come to be occasionally mentioned, or described, and proceed  
 to what is more immediately to our present purpose.

*Natural rari-  
ties.*

Meaning the more remarkable things and rarities of this country, which as  
 nicely as we can distinguish, and separate them, we will divide into the *natu-  
 ral* and *artificial*; though we might also, with great reason, divide them  
 in general into the *false*, *doubtful*, and *certain*; but we shall leave that to the  
 reader's own discretion or discernment. Upon mount *Carmel* they find melons,  
 olives, and such like fruits in stone, most exactly imitating those vegetable pro-  
 ductions, both within and without, and the melons even when opened emitting  
 an agreeable smell; our author † adds, that here also are found a kind of oysters  
 of the same nature, and even, as reported, bunches of grapes of the same stony  
 consistence; but whether owing to petrification, or the wanton imitation of nature,  
 is left undecided — Near *Rachel's* tomb, not far from *Bethlehem*, is a small  
 spot of ground, whereon are picked up a little sort of small round stones, exactly  
 resembling peas; owing, as they pretend, to a miracle wrought by the blessed  
 virgin, who, to punish a surly rustick who refused her a handful of that pulse,  
 converted them into stones\*. The sand of the river *Belus*, as supposed, not  
 far from *Acra* or *Ptolemais*, is famous for being an excellent material for the  
 making of glass, and not only so, but for having ministered the first occasion and  
 hint of that fine invention †. (O) — In the way from *Jerusalem* to the *Jordan*,  
 descending a steep hill they shew what they call the fountain of the apostles;  
 so called from a tradition current, that here the apostles were wont to refresh  
 themselves in their frequent journeyings between *Jerusalem* and *Jericho* † —  
 Soon after, on the same road, they shew the mountainous desert where our sa-  
 viour was led by the spirit to be tempted of the devil; a most miserable and  
 barren place, so seemingly torn and disordered, that the beholder is ready to

\* De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 7. † See e. g. the city of *Jerusalem* describ'd in the appendix to this  
 volume. † See before p. 176. d. \* *LE BRUN*, Voyage au Levant, &c. vol. iv. pag. 308, in 4to.  
 † *MAUNDER*. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 87. *SANDYS*, &c. † *MAUNDER*. ubi sup. pag. 56.  
 † Idem ibid. pag. 79.

(N) He mistakenly says (19), that *Moses* led  
 them to the place where *Jerusalem* stood, which he  
 easily obtained, as it was a place not worth the  
 contending for; for that it was rocky, though it  
 abounded with water; and the country about, for  
 the space of sixty stades or furlongs, dry, barren,  
 and rocky. But what is this to the purpose? this  
 was but a small part of the country, and concludes  
 nothing in prejudice to the rest; for what country  
 is there that wants its deserts, wilds, and rocks?

(O) The *Sidanians* are reported to have taken

the first hint of this noble invention from the fol-  
 lowing accident: A band of travellers having, as  
 was then usual, reared an itinerary hearth with  
 some large pieces of nitre upon this sand, and  
 set some fern on fire under a kettle to boil their  
 victuals, perceived the sand and nitre to melt and  
 incorporate with the fern ashes, and presently af-  
 ter to run into a liquid and transparent stream  
 which hardened as it cooled, (20) and has been  
 since improved to the degree of use and beauty in  
 which we now see it †.

(19) *Lib. xvi.* (20) *JOSEPH. de Bell. Jud. l. 1. Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. 5 & 36. † Vid. Sz-  
 EEC. Epist. 90. Hist. of human industry, Ch. 9.*

believe,

- a believe, the earth had suffered some extraordinary convulsion, in which its very bowels have been turned outwards <sup>4</sup>. ——— Next to this, which is seemingly a part of it, is a mountain called *Quadrantana*, or *Quarantania*, of steep and most dangerous ascent, where, as they say, the devil took our blessed saviour to tempt him with the delusive sight of the earth and its glories <sup>5</sup>. And here they shew also a number of stones, which they will have to have been the very same the devil would have had converted into loaves <sup>6</sup> (P). On the top of this same mount is a small chapel, and on the prominence of it another, about which are many caves and holes where, as hideous as the place was, hermits and anchorites took up their solitary abode <sup>7</sup>. ——— At the distance of some
- b leagues from the *Dead-sea* there are such saline efflorescences, as are observed in the valley of *Salt*, near *Aleppo* <sup>8</sup>, after the winter's inundation; a demonstrative sign that the whole plain about must be, in an extraordinary manner, impregnated with that mineral <sup>9</sup>. ——— At about an hour's distance from the *Dead-sea*, the ground is uneven, and varied into hillocks, and much resembling the places in *England* where there have been anciently lime-kilns; which are suggested to have been the pits where the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* were overthrown by the four kings <sup>10</sup>. ——— In the plain of *Jericho* is a very remarkable fruit, called by the *Arabs* *Za-cho-ne*, it grows on a thorny bush, with small leaves; and both in shape and colour resembles a small unripe walnut. The
- c kernels of this fruit the *Arabs* bray in a mortar; and, putting the pulp into scalding water, skim off an oil, which rises to the top; which oil taken inwardly for bruises, or applied outwardly for green wounds, is preferred to balm of *Gilead* <sup>11</sup>. ——— In the same plain also are found what they call roses of *Jericho*, of a very miraculous nature. They are said to give ease to women at the time of delivery <sup>12</sup>; and to blow only on *Christmas-eve*, according to some <sup>13</sup>, or on all the festival days of our lady, according to others <sup>14</sup> (Q); notions now on all hands exploded (R). To these we may add the wood olive of the same place. The outward coat of it is green, and like that of the common olive we eat; but, being taken off, you find a nut of woody consistence. This has ribs

<sup>4</sup> MAUNDREL *ibid.* pag. 79. <sup>5</sup> Idem *ibid.* p. 80. <sup>6</sup> RADZIV. Peregrin. Jerosolym. pag. 99. <sup>7</sup> Vide eodem in loc. sup. cit. <sup>8</sup> See before, p. 310 b. <sup>9</sup> MAUNDR. *ubi.* sup. pag. 81. <sup>10</sup> Idem *ibid.* pag. 83. <sup>11</sup> Idem *ibid.* pag. 87. <sup>12</sup> RADZIV. *ubi.* sup. p. 98. <sup>13</sup> THEVEN. Voy. au Levant, p. 4. l. lib. i. c. 41. LE BRUYN, Voy. au Levant, vol. 4. pag. 277. in 4to. <sup>14</sup> THEVEN. *ubi.* sup.

It is by this excellent invention (in which the artist doth as it were imitate the great Creator in forming by his breath an infinite variety of creatures for use and pleasure, of which our drinking and looking glasses make up but the most inconsiderable part) that we are able to confine the most volatile spirits, the greatest corrosives, the finest perfumes, and even irrefragible mercury.

It is by this metal that we are enabled to supply the loss of the crystalline moisture, and as it were renew our sight in proportion to its decay either by age or study. It helps us to bring distant objects some hundreds of times nearer, and to appear some hundreds of times larger than they do to the naked eye: And to discover new worlds and new stars in the infinite space round us.

What useful discoveries have been made by microscopes not only in the animal and vegetable, but in the other, especially the till then invisible part of the creation, were endless as well as needless to enumerate.

In a word, by our barometers and thermometers we can sit at home and observe, and even foresee the changes that happen in the atmosphere. By the air-pump an infinite number of discoveries have been made on the nature and qualities of the air, and by our burning-glasses we can *Prometheus* like, fetch fire from heaven, melt, burn, calcine, or vitrify the hardest bodies; all which and an endless train of other useful inventions do owe their rise to this accidental discovery, and will we hope atone for our dwelling so long upon it.

(P) The same author observes, in the same

place, that those, who would have this desert to have been what we commonly call a wilderness or wood, are most egregiously mistaken; for that nothing like a tree is here to be seen, but rocks only, and most rugged cliffs.

(Q) The property of these roses, as they are called, seems to bear some affinity with *Sir John Maundeville's* (21) fabulous origin of roses in general, which is in substance as follows: That a young maiden, having been unjustly condemned to be burnt for incontinence in a field near *Bethlehem* called *Floridus*, prayed to God that he would give the spectators some miraculous tokens of her innocence. Accordingly, the wood about her was no sooner kindled but it was miraculously quenched. With this surprising addition, that the sticks that had been burnt were turn'd into red; and the rest into white rose-trees. Which according to this tradition were the first white and red roses, that ever man saw.

These legends, absurd as they are, serve, however, to shew the superstitious credulity of those times, and the advantages which the mercenary priests made of it; for if so sincere, so worthy, and so sensible a man as *Sir John* most plainly appears to have been, by that part of his travels which is properly his own, and which is not commonly half so much valued as it ought to be, could be so monstrously gulled of his senses, in this and other respects, what must we conceive, think ye, of the common rate of his contemporaries?

(R) It seems they will not blow, except they are put into water; but, in that case, they will blow in any

length-ways, and is of the thickness of an almond-shell, and the kernel within a is like a pistachio, within side of a chestnut brown, and insipid to all likelihood<sup>2</sup>. — Between *Jerusalem* and *Betlechem* was the valley of *Rephaim*, so famous for the overthrow of the *Philistines* by *David*<sup>3</sup>. — Between the same places is shewn the turpentine-tree, in the shade of which the blessed virgin is said to have reposed (S), when she was carrying Christ in her arms, to present him to the Lord at *Jerusalem*<sup>4</sup>. — Between *Betlechem* and the convent of *St. John the Baptist* is that famous valley, where the angel made such prodigious havock of the great *Sennacherib's* mighty army in the space of one night<sup>5</sup>. — Either in or close upon the skirts of this same valley is a village, called *Bootesbellab*, which is reported to have this strange property, that no *Turk* or *Mohammedan* b can live in it above two years<sup>6</sup> (T). — In less than an hour from this same place is the fountain where they falsely (V) say, *Philip* baptized the *Ethiopian* eunuch. — Somewhat beyond this is the wilderness of *St. John*; a wilderness it is called, because very rocky and mountainous, tho' when well cultivated, it will produce plenty of corn, wine, and oil<sup>7</sup> (X). — An hour within this wilderness is the cave and fountain, where, as they say, *St. John* exercised those severe austerities related of him by the evangelist *Matthew*<sup>8</sup>. — Not far from this same cave are some old locust-trees, which our author<sup>9</sup> calls the

<sup>2</sup> LE BRUYN, ubi sup. pag. 278. <sup>3</sup> MAUNDR. ubi sup. pag. 87. <sup>4</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>5</sup> Idem ibid. pag. 91. <sup>6</sup> MAUNDR. ubi sup. pag. 92. <sup>7</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>8</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>9</sup> Idem ibid.

any season, and at any hour (22.) Besides they are not peculiar to the plain of *Jericho*; they are to be found elsewhere, and particularly in the deserts about mount *Sinai* (23); and yet people are still so fond of this idle notion, that they are resolved never to part with it; some of these we know, but their names must be a secret in this case, tho' well known in others.

(S) The tradition of the country goes, that this tree bent itself, to afford the virgin a more perfect shade than it could otherwise have done (24).

(T) Where strength can be of no avail, art, they say, may be used. In this instance, the *Christians* have, it seems, out-witted the *Turks*, who, weak enough to believe, there may be truth in the story, leave the village to them, without molestation (25). *Sandys* (26) takes this same place to be called *Rezec*, and adds, that the *Christians* have the good luck to keep it to themselves; the place having, as the report went, actually proved mortal to such *Mohammedans* as had attempted to make it the place of their abode: So that, if actual experience has given birth to this notion, it may be doubted, whether the *Turks* took the fright of themselves, or whether it was artfully injected by the *Christians*. *Thevenot* (27) calls it, *Boticella*, and tells us, a report goes, that no *Turk* can live there above eight days. *Prince Radziwille* calls this village, *Bethagil*: but that it is the same place meant by the three former travellers is evident, by the situation he gives it, agreeing therein with them, tho' at the same time he magnifies the miracle still more than *Thevenot* (28). He says, no one circumcised can survive the third day here; but that on the third night they would surely die; which, he says, was most solemnly affirmed to him, even by two *Arabians*, who had almost experienced the truth of it to their cost. The same *Arabs* told him, that the first night they were taken with a violent pain in the head; that, on the second, their whole body so swelled up, that, for fear of immediate death, they were obliged to be removed; and that the one of them was four, the other six, months ere they were restored to their former health. In fine, that, when he arrived near the place, no *Mohammedan* that was

with him would venture in, but, to avoid the danger, chose rather to go round about. As it were to confirm this marvellous relation, he instances another place indued with the same destructive property to all the circumcised, which is a nunnery about three miles from *Damascus*, where none under the circumstances of circumcision can outlive the third day. This, he says, is ordered, as many affirm, by the special grace and favour of God, in order to protect the chastity of the virgins from the unpar-  
ing lust of the *Pagans* or *Infidels*. Stories most religiously cultivated, and, by the weak, as greedily swallowed.

(V) False it seemed to our traveller, and a thing impossible. His objection is the inaccessibility of the place, for an horseman, and much more for a chariot, such as the eunuch rode in. However he grants, that the road to it may have been smoother formerly than now, and thinks there are some indications which seemingly declare it to have been so (29). *Prince Radziwille*, (30) not so free with his objections to the most palpable fallhoods imposed on him in these parts, his superstition devouring his great good sense, takes occasion from the nature of this fountain to combat the doctrine of the *Anabaptists*. They, says he, cite this baptism of the eunuch as an example to justify their practice; but continues, that had they seen the place they would be of another mind; that the spring is so inconsiderable, as scarce to afford water enough to wet both feet together; and thence concludes, that *Philip* only took up the water, and poured it on the eunuch's head, and in that manner baptized him. *Le Bruyn* (31) seems to destroy this piece of criticism, by saying, that the water of this same spring falls into a basin made of very large stones; by which description we might imagine it to be a very handsome and convenient dipping-place. It is strange, that, when travellers take upon them to describe a place, they cannot do it to purpose.

(X) We know of no traveller but our author, that takes notice of this; the rest speak of it as of a compleat desert or wilderness. *Radziwille* (32) takes notice of nothing here in the vegetable way, except a few small tufts of poor bushes.

(Y) These

(22) THEVEN. *Voy. au Lev. part 1. lib. ii. c. 41.* LE BRUYN, *Voy. au Lev. vol. 4. pag. 278. in 4to.* (23) THEVEN. ubi sup. (24) LE BRUYN ubi sup. pag. 234. (25) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 91.* (26) *In his Travels, pag. 142.* (27) *Voy. au Lev. part 1. lib. ii. c. 47.* (28) *In Peregrin. Jerusalem. pag. 88.* (29) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 92.* (30) Ubi sup. (31) *Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. pag. 207. in 4to.* (32) *Peregr. Jerusol. pag. 89.*



- a monuments of the ignorance of the middle times (Y). ——— A little from hence is the valley of *Elab*, where *David* slew the giant; as also *Modon*, on a high hill, the burying-place of the *Maccabees* \*. ——— Between the convent of *St. John* and *Jerusalem* in the convent of the holy cross; as by the *Greeks* it is called, they shew you the earth which nourished the root that bare the tree, which yielded the timber that made the cross. The hole in the earth where stood this tree is shewn, under the high altar; and marvelously revered by the pilgrims, who are such very stocks as to fall down and worship it \*. ——— About a furlong from the church of the holy sepulchre, they shew the place where stood the house of *Zebedee*. The *Greeks*, who have possession here, pretend, that *Zebedee*, being  
b a fisherman, was wont to bring fish from *Joppa* hither, and vend it at this place. ——— A little farther on is the place where anciently, as they say, stood the iron gate which opened to *Peter* of its own accord \*. ——— In *Jerusalem* also they point out the very place where, as they say, our Lord appeared to the three *Maries*; as the friars there will have it, tho' the evangelist *Matthew* records but one \*. ——— In the *Armenian* church, in this same city, built upon that part of mount *Sion* within the walls, they shew the place where *St. James*, the brother of *St. John*, was beheaded; and in a small chapel, on the north side of it, the very spot of his decollation \*. ——— In the same church they shew three large rough stones, held in great veneration, for that  
c one of them was the very stone on which *Moses* cast the two tables, when violently moved with indignation at the idolatry of the *Israelites*; and the other two, for that they were brought, the one from the place of *Christ's* baptism, the other from the place of his transfiguration \*. ——— A little farther, they shew the place where stood the house of *Annas* the high-priest \*. ——— A little without *Sion-gate*, under the altar of a small chapel, belonging to the *Armenians*, they boast of the very stone that was laid to secure the door of our Saviour's sepulchre (Z) \*. ——— In the court of the chapel, built where *Annas's* house is said to have stood, they have an olive-tree, of which they have a tradition (A), that *Christ* was for some time chained to it, by the order of *Annas*,  
d to prevent his escaping \*. ——— Near a little cell belonging to a chapel, built where stood the house of *Cajaphas*, which they will have to have been the prison where *Christ* was kept, till the next morning, they point out the place where *Peter* by a threefold perjury denied his master <sup>b</sup> (B). ——— Not much farther,

\* Idem ibid. \* Idem ibid. pag. 94. RADZIV. Peregr. Jerosol. pag. 90. LE BRUYN, &c. \* MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 98. <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. \* Idem ibid. RADZIV. &c. \* MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 99. \* Idem ibid. \* Idem ibid. \* Idem ibid. \* Idem ibid. pag. 100.

(Y) These trees the friars aver to be the very same that yielded sustenance to the *Baptist*; and the credulous pilgrims, who dare not be wiser than their blind guides, gather the fruit of them, and carry it off with great devotion (33). This being the case we can by no means suspect our author of saying more than he saw or heard, we only wonder there should be such a silence as there is with the other pilgrims of note, concerning these extraordinary trees. Prince *Radziville* (34) is at a loss to know how *St. John* subsisted here, so far was he, seemingly, from hearing of, or seeing these locust-trees. Possibly it may be a new device.

(Z) "It was a long time kept in the church of the Sepulchre; but the *Armenians*, not many years since, stole it from thence by stratagem; and conveyed it to this place. ——— It is two yards and a quarter long, high one yard, and as broad as much, ——— plastered all over except in five or six little places, where it is left bare to receive the immediate kisses and other devotions of pilgrims (35)."

(A) A tradition, it seems, which varies a little. This tree, which, by our traveller, stands in the court before what was the house of *Annas*, is, by prince *Radziville* (36), removed to the house of *Cajaphas*; and this he not only does, but also

forgets the story of *Christ's* having been chained to it. But *Thevenot* and *Le Bruyn* continue the tree in its first place, the former (37) saying, that he was bound to it, till he received sentence; the other (38), that here he was made fast, when *Malchus* gave him the buffet; for *Malchus* they will certainly have this anonymous person to have been.

(B) Travellers all agree, that this happened at what they shew for the spot where *Cajaphas's* house once stood; but they differ a little in the description of the spot. Prince *Radziville* (39) tells us, there is an olive-tree on the supposed spot; *Thevenot* changes it for an orange-tree (40); *Le Bruyn* (41) mentions no tree at all. There is also some variation, as to where the cock was perched when he crowed; prince *Radziville* (42) talks of both an olive and an orange-tree in this same court, and says, the cock crowed upon the latter; *Thevenot* (43) writes, that some seven or eight steps from the orange-tree, he mentions, is the place of the pillar where the cock crew: *Le Bruyn* (44) tells us, they shew a piece of the pedestal of the pillar, whereon the cock crew twice; and that in memory thereof the cock himself is represented in marble upon the wall.

(33) MAUND. ubi sup. (34) Ubi sup. (35) MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 100. (36) Peregr. Jerosol. pag. 99. (37) Voy. au Lev. par. 1. lib. ii. c. 49. (38) Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. pag. 177. in 4to. (39) Ubi sup. (40) Ubi sup. (41) Ubi sup. (42) Ubi sup. (43) Ubi sup. (44) Ubi sup.



without the city-gate, near the church of the *Canaculum*, is a well which is a said to mark out the place where the apostles divided from each other, in order to go every man to his charge<sup>1</sup>. — On the west of the valley of *Hinnom*, is the place called anciently the *Potter's-field*, but since, the *Field of Blood*, and, for the particular veneration it has obtained among *Christians*, the *Campo Sancto*: a small spot of ground, not above thirty yards long, and half as much in breadth<sup>2</sup>, whose earth is of so extraordinary a nature, that if a dead body be but laid upon it only, and not at all covered, it will consume it away to the bare bones, within less than twenty four hours, say some<sup>3</sup>, or within eight and forty, according to others<sup>4</sup> (C); but the suddenness of this effect is disputed (D). — In the valley of *Jebosaphat* is, 1. The well of *Nebemias*,<sup>b</sup> so called, because it is reputed to be the same place whence that restorer of *Israel* so miraculously recovered the fire of the altar, after the *Babylonish* captivity, as mentioned in the first chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees*<sup>5</sup>. 2. A little higher on the left hand, in this same valley, is a tree, supposed to mark out the place where the prophet *Isaiab* was sawn asunder<sup>6</sup>. 3. About a hundred paces higher on the same side, is the pool of *Siloam*<sup>7</sup> (E). 4. About a furlong farther, on the same side, is a fountain called after the blessed virgin; because, as reported, she was wont to resort to this water; but at what time, and upon what occasions, is not agreed<sup>8</sup> (F). 5. Over-against this fountain, on the other side of the valley, is the place called *Siloe*, where *Solomon* is said<sup>c</sup> to have kept his strange wives; and above it a hill, which they will have to have been the *Mountain of Offence*; because *Solomon* there built his high-places<sup>9</sup>. 6. On the same side, and not far from *Siloe*, they shew another *Aceldama*, or *Field of Blood*; so called, because here, as they pretend, *Judas*, by the just judgment of God, met with his compounded death<sup>10</sup>. — In the side of the ascent from the valley of *Jebosaphat* to the city of *Jerusalem*, they shew a broad stone, on which they will have it the protomartyr *St. Stephen* was stoned to death; and not far from thence a grott where, they tell you, the outrageous zealots threw his body, after they had sated their cruel rage upon him<sup>11</sup> (G). — Between the foot of mount *Olivet* and the brook *Cedron*,<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. pag. 101. <sup>3</sup> RADZIV. Peregr. Jerosol. pag. 64. <sup>4</sup> SANDYS, pag. 145. <sup>5</sup> MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 102. <sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>7</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>8</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>9</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>10</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>11</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>12</sup> MAUND. ubi sup.

(C) Prince *Radnville* (45) professes to have been an eye-witness, that this earth performs the effect within twenty four hours; and *Sandys* (46) verily believes, it will perform what is said of it, in eight and forty hours. A greedy grave he (47) calls it and great enough to devour the dead of a whole nation. It is now the great sepulchre of the *Armenians*, who, for a small gratuity, admit the dead bodies of other nations; so that it may be still called a place of burial for strangers. It is walled in, that the bones of the *Christians* may not be abused by the *Turks* (48); and the one half of it is taken up by a building in the nature of a charnel-house, square, and twelve yards high, with little open domes at top, convenient to let down the dead bodies. This charnel-house is the proper place of burial (49).

(D) *Maundrell* (50) tells us, the earth here is, as he expresses himself, of a chalky substance; and that, looking down through the holes formerly mentioned, he could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; and that thence he conjectured, and, seemingly, with good reason, that this grave does not make the very quick dispatch commonly reported.

(E) From this pool all the gardens in the valley of *Jebosaphat* are said (51) to be abundantly watered. The *Turks*, it seems, hold this water to be

sacred, and a number of them, almost every day, wash themselves therein. For, tho' by the ablution of any water they fancy themselves to be cleansed from sin, they particularly expect it here. It has a descent to it by steps (52); and contains not above half an acre of ground. How much sooner its water may be valued, (53), it seems to be sometimes wanted; for we have a witness (54), who saw it dry in the bottom.

(F) As there is nothing too ridiculous to be expected in the traditionary stories here, it need not be wondered, that they are silly enough to say, that here the virgin was wont to wash her clouts (55). *Sandys* (56) is ashamed to account for the name this spring is honoured with; but *Le Bruyn* (57) has a cleaner reason than is assigned above, and only says, that the same holy person was here wont to draw water, as she returned from mount *Sion*. It was also called the fountain of the dragon (58); and the descent to it is pleasant and commodious, by several steps, (59). It is replenished with pleasant waters (60), which are said to be an immediate cure for fevers, if either bathed in or drank of (61).

(G) The stones hereabouts have a red rust upon them, which, they say, gives testimony of the bloodshed of this holy person (62).

(45) Peregr. Jerosol. pag. 64. (46) Travels, pag. 145. (47) Ibid. (48) RADZIV. ubi sup. (49) MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 101. Vide etiam SANDYS, ubi sup. (50) Ubi sup. (51) RADZIV. Peregr. Jerosol. pag. 63, 64. (52) Vide eund. ibid. pag. 64. (53) SANDYS, pag. 146. (54) Idem ibid. (55) RADZIV. ubi sup. pag. 63. THEVEN. par. 1. lib. ii. c. 49. (56) In his Trav. pag. 147. (57) Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. pag. 184. in 4to. (58) RADZIV. ubi sup. (59) LE BRUYN, ubi sup. (60) SANDYS ubi sup. (61) THEVEN. ubi sup. (62) Vide SANDYS, ubi sup. pag. 145.

- a they shew you *Getbsamene*, an even plat of ground, not above fifty seven yards square, of great fame for its olive trees, which are said to be the very same which stood here in the days of our Saviour \* (H).— At the upper end of this garden is a flat naked ledge of rock, reputed to be the place on which the apostles, *Peter, James, and John* fell asleep during the agony of our Lord; and a few paces thence, a grotto, where they say *Christ* suffered the bitter pangs of his approaching passion †, — About eight paces from the place where the three apostles slept, they shew a small shred of ground, twelve yards long, and one broad, supposed to be the very path on which the traitor *Judas* walked up to *Christ*, saying, *Hail master, and kissed him* ‡ (I). — Not far from the gate of *St. Stephen* they shew the palace of *Pilate*, or place rather, where it stood § (K). — From this spot you have a fair prospect of the place where the temple stood, on the top of mount *Moriab* ¶. — Coming out from the house, pretended to have been *Pilate's*, is a descent, where was anciently the *scala sancta* ††. — From this same house they carry you along the *Dolorous Way*, as it is called; in which walk they first shew the place where *Pilate* brought forth our Lord to present him to the people, with that mystic saying, *Behold the Man!* Secondly, where *Christ* fainted thrice under the weight of the cross. Thirdly, Where the blessed virgin swooned away at so tragical a spectacle. Fourthly, Where *St. Veronica* presented to him the handkerchief to wipe his bleeding brows. c And, Fifthly, where the soldiers compelled *Simon the Cyrenian* to bear his cross ‡‡. — At *Nazareth*, they shew the place of the annunciation §§, to be resumed hereafter. — Not far from mount *Hermon* appears the mount of *Beatitudes*, where our Saviour delivered his sermon recorded in *Matthew* ¶¶. — Lastly, In this same neighbourhood they shew the *Mount of Precipitation*, as they call it, or the brow of the hill, from whence the *Nazarites* would have thrown down *Christ*, incensed at the sermon he preached to them, recorded by *St. Luke* †††. These, with those we have occasionally mentioned before, in the course of this section, are the more remarkable natural curiosities of this country; we now proceed to the artificial, as well as we can distinguish or separate them.

- d \* Idem ibid. † Idem ibid. pag. 106. ‡ Idem ibid. § Idem ibid. ¶ Idem ibid. †† Idem ibid. ††† Idem ibid. pag. 107. § Idem ibid. pag. 112. § Idem ibid. pag. 115. § Ch. v. & seq. ap. eund. ibid. pag. 115. ¶ Ch. iv. 24. & seq. ibid. pag. 116.

(H) In virtue of this tradition the olives, and olive stones, and oil, here produced, became an excellent commodity in *Spain* (63). But that these trees cannot be any thing like so ancient as pretended is evident by the repeated testimony of *J. Sephus* (64), that *Titus*, when he besieged *Jerusalem*, felled all the trees, within about an hundred furlongs of that city; and that, in consequence of this, the soldiers were obliged to go to that distance for timber, to make their mounts when they assaulted the temple. But, after all, they have seemingly more to say for themselves, in support of what they give out concerning these olive-trees, than of many other important matters they are very confident of; for, the olives here being of an extraordinary size, they, according to the philosophy of these parts, conclude the trees that produce them must be of an extraordinary age (65).

(I) Our author (66) observes, that this narrow path is separated by a wall, from the midst of the garden, as a *terra damnata*; “a work the more remarkable, says he, as being done by the *Turks*, who, as well as *Christians*, detest the very ground on which was acted such an infamous treachery.”

(K) Prince *Radziwille* (67) talks of the palace of *Pilate* itself, as still standing, or at least in his days, and particularly takes notice of a court belonging to it, paved with marble, which he supposes to be the very same *St. John* (68) calls the

pavement; and adds, that it had on each hand a portico supported by porphyry columns, where that *Roman* governor was wont to sit in judgment, and observes, it was then the residence of the *Turkish* chief. *Sandys* (69) also makes mention of this same palace, which he will have to have been the same; but, according to him, the chief remains of it are, at the west corner, a pair of stairs, which lead to *Pilate's* place of judgment; an ancient arch that supports a ruined gallery; and in the east side a two-arched window, where, as they say, *Pilate* presented *Christ* to the people. *Thevenot* (70) adds, that under this two-arch'd window there is this inscription *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum*. *Le Bruyn* (71) delivers himself exactly to the same purpose, and they all agree the place in their time to have been the residence of the *Turkish* basha, and the place of judgment for the city. But it is possible they may have been misled, and confounded the palace of *Herod* with that of *Pilate*, just by it; for *Maundrell* (72) takes notice of little more than an ordinary *Turkish* house, on the spot when he was there. He adds (73) that, among other remarkables in this pretended house, they shew a room, where, they say, our Saviour was scourged; but that, when he was there, it was no better than a weaver's shop. All our travellers agree, that from this house you have the fullest and most commodious prospect of the ground whereon stood anciently the temple.

(63) MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 105. (64) De Bell. Judaic. lib. vii. c. 15. (65) Vide LE BRUYN, Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. p. 191. in 4to. (66) MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 106. (67) Peregr. Jerosol. pag. 91. (68) C. xix. v. 13. (69) In his Trav. pag. 150. (70) Voy. au Lev. par. 1. lib. ii. c. 37. (71) Voy. au Lev. vol. ii. pag. 180. in 4to. (72) Journ. from Alep. to Jersal. pag. 106. (73) Ubi sup. pag. 107.

Artificial  
rarities.

Worthy of notice are the ruins of *Ptolemais*, or *St. John d'Acra*, or *Acra*, <sup>a</sup> from the Hebrew name *Accho*. These ruins look as if the city had consisted of castles only, without the intermixture of private dwellings; it had two walls well fortified with bulwarks and towers, and each wall had a ditch lined with stone, and many secret posterns beneath; but now the huge walls and arches, turned topsy turvy, lie like rocks upon the foundation <sup>b</sup>. In the fields without these, once extraordinary works, are seen scattered up and down great balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter, part of the ammunition used in battering the city, the use of guns being then unknown <sup>c</sup>. Of the ruins within these broken walls, which, by some tokens of more than ordinary magnificence and strength, appear above the rest, are, 1. The cathedral dedicated to *St. Andrew*, not from far the sea-side, and high and conspicuous above the rest. 2. The church of *St. John*, the titular saint of this city. 3. The convent of the knights hospitallers, whose remaining walls bear sufficient testimony of its former strength. 4. The palace of the grand master of the order, still exhibiting a large and noble stair-case, and part of a church, still remaining in it. 5. Some remains of a large church formerly belonging to a nunnery <sup>d</sup>. Some pretend to farther and greater discoveries of particular places (L): but all we think worth adding is, that there are here ruins of a palace which had our king *Richard* for founder, as is not only acknowledged on all hands, but confirmed also by the passant lion <sup>e</sup>. ——— *Sebesta*, or the ancient *Samaria*, which, tho' now as it were wholly obliterated, and turned into garden-ground, yet retains some token of what it formerly has been; for on the north side of it is a large square piazza, incompassed with pillars, and on the east some poor remains of an old church, said to have been built by the empress *Helena*, over the place where *St. John the Baptist* was both imprisoned and beheaded <sup>f</sup> (M). ——— Just without the city of *Naplouse*, in the narrow valley between mount *Gerizzim* and *Ebal*, is a small mosch, called by the name of *Joseph's* sepulchre, it being a tradition current in these parts, that the bones of that patriarch were here interred, after their transportation out of *Egypt* <sup>g</sup>. ——— About the third part of an hour from the same town of *Naplouse* they shew <sup>d</sup> *Jacob's* well, not more famous for its author, than memorable for the conference our Saviour here had with the woman of *Samaria* (N). This well is at present covered with an old stone-vault, into which being let down through a very strait hole, the mouth of the well itself is discovered. It is hollowed out of the firm rock, is about three yards in diameter, and thirty five in depth, five of which our traveller <sup>h</sup> found full of water, and thereby confutes a superstitious story that has taken root among *Christians* (O). ——— The next thing that, most deserves our attention, is the stately and much frequented church of the holy sepulchre in *Jerusalem*. But as it may be needless to describe it in words, when we have so many exact plans and draughts of it, we shall hasten to what is remarkable in and about it. 1. Mount *Calvary*, with the very individual hole where the cross of

<sup>a</sup> SANDYS, lib. iii. pag. 159. <sup>b</sup> MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 54. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>d</sup> SANDYS, ubi. sup. pag. 160. <sup>e</sup> MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 59. <sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. pag. 62. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. pag. 63.

(L) *Thevenot* (74) reckons there are the remains of about thirty churches still to be seen, and particularly of one above the rest, where the knights had a treasure (which they distinguished with a piece of marble) and which, says he, not many years ago was brought away in a ship, which came for that end to *Acra*, tho' pretending only to buy goods. *Sandys* (75) relates, that this treasure was in a vault of the same church, which, being known to the successors of these knights, was, about forty years before his time, fetched away by the galleys of *Malta*, the inhabitants forsaking the town as soon as they landed. By *Maunderell* (76) it appears, that this same church was the cathedral itself of *St. Andrew*.

(M) "In the body of this church you go

"down a stair-case, into the very dungeon "where that holy blood was shed." The *Turks* hold this place, and over it have erected a small mosch; into which they will admit a *Christian* for a little piece of money (77).

(N) This well seems at present to have been too far from *Samaria* for women to come thither to draw water; but it is pretty evident to the curious observer, that the city extended much farther this way formerly than it does now (78).

(O) It has been idly reported, and as simply believed, that this well is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of the day our Saviour sat on it; but then bubbles up with abundance of water (79).

(74) *Voy. au Lev. part. 1. lib. ii. c. 53.* (75) *In his Trav. lib. iii. p. 160.* (76) *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 55.* (77) *Ibid. pag. 59.* (78) *Ibid. pag. 63.* (79) *Ibid.*

- a our Lord was planted, and the very cleft (P) said to have been caused by the earthquake at his passion<sup>\*</sup>. 2. The stone of unction, or the very place where his body was anointed and prepared for burial<sup>†</sup>. 3. The sepulchre where he was deposited to the hour of his resurrection<sup>‡</sup>. ——— A little without that gate of *Jerusalem*, called the *Damascus-gate*, they carry you to a large grot, which they pretend to have been some time the abode of *Jeremiab*: On the left side of it, they even point at the prophet's bed, which is no more than a shelve from the rock, about eight foot from the ground; and not far from hence is the place where they say he wrote his *Lamentations*<sup>§</sup> (Q). ——— Not far from hence are the famous grot, called the *sepulchres of the kings*, but of what kings is uncertain (R); but, that they were used as repositories of the dead, appears sufficiently by some coffins at present there, and which we shall take notice of in the sequel of this description. The whole is a work of such vast labour and expence, that it may fairly be pronounced a royal work, being all hewn out of the natural rock, and consisting of an entrance made through the rock, a court of about forty paces square, hollowed out of the same, on the south side of which is a portico, nine paces long, and four broad, wrought also out of the same. This portico has a kind of architrave in front, once adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, but now defaced; and on the left of this portico you descend towards the sepulchres. First you come into a large room, about seven or eight yards square, exactly and most exquisitely formed, so that it may be called a fine chamber, hollowed out of one solid piece of marble. From this you may pass into six rooms more, one within another, and all of the same fabrick with the first; but the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them. In every one of these rooms, the first excepted, are stone coffins placed in niches in the sides of the chambers; once covered with handsome lids and carved with garlands; but now most of them (S) are broken to pieces. But what most of all surprizes the observer, is the artifice of the doors of these chambers, all cut out of the same rock, and turning upon hinges of the same stone with the rest. This ingenious contrivance which, at first, appears so very puzzling to understand (T), has
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<sup>\*</sup> Idem *ibid.* pag. 72. <sup>†</sup> Idem *ibid.* pag. 73. <sup>‡</sup> Idem *ibid.* <sup>§</sup> Idem *ibid.* pag. 76. <sup>\*</sup> Vide RADZIV. LE BRUYN, MAUND. &c.

(P) "This cleft, as it now appears, is about a span wide, at its upper part, and two deep, after which it closes: but it opens again below, (as you may see in another chapel contiguous to the side of *Calvary*) and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake, that happened at our Lord's passion, there is only tradition to prove: But that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense of any one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other; and yet it runs in such intricate windings, as could not be counterfeited by art, nor within the reach of any instruments (80)."

(Q) "This place is at present a college of *Derwises*, and is held in great veneration by the *Turks* and *Jews*, as well as the *Christians* (81)".

(R) Prince *Radziwille* roundly pronounces the kings of *Judab* to have been interred here; imagining they were formerly within the wall of the city, tho' now without it (82). Other travellers (83) give into the same seeming mistake; while *Maundrell* (84) considering more maturely of the thing concludes it certain, that none of the kings of *Judab*, or *Israel*, were here intombed, unless, perhaps, *Hezekiah*, and is not certain that these may

not be the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, mentioned in scripture, (85).

(S) *Maundrell* (86), by this, seems to insinuate, that several of these coffins were still entire, and *Radziwille* (87) observes, that he also saw bones remaining in several of them; so that, whether broken or entire, one would naturally imagine there was a greater number; while *Le Bruyn* (88) takes notice of no more than three, the one broken, and the other two entire. *Radziwille*, (89) computes, that about forty odd might have been here conveniently deposited in the cells or niches in the sides of these chambers, each containing two coffins. *Le Bruyn* (90) computes, that about fifty might have been here received in the same manner; but as, in such obscure and damp places, people are a little uneasy, and, however great their curiosity may be, somewhat in a hurry to get out, we are not to expect, but travellers will, in such cases, vary a little, if not a great deal, from each other.

(T) Travellers are quite lost in admiration at it, and, particularly, *Le Bruyn* (90), who may have had some judgment in things of this nature, is astonished, that they should be done of one and the same piece of hard rock, and especially by lamp-light, for no other was here to be had.

(80) MAUND. pag. 73. (81) *Ibid.* pag. 76. (82) *Peregr. Jerus.* pag. 104. (83) Vide LE BRUYN, THEVEN. &c. (84) *Journey from Alep. to Jerus.* pag. 76. (85) 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 33. (86) *Ubi sup.* pag. 77. (87) *Ubi sup.* (88) *Voy. au Lev. vol. ii.* pag. 195. in 4to. (89) *Ubi sup.* (90) *Ubi sup.*

been, seemingly, well explained of late (U), and the thing appears no longer a mystery, tho' otherwise very extraordinary in itself. — Returning from hence to the city of Jerusalem, not far from Herod's gate, is shewn a grotto full of filthy mire and water, which passes for the dungeon in which Jeremiab was kept by Zedekiah. — Going out of St. Stephen's gate to Bethany, they, at the entrance into that village, point at an old ruin, which they call Lazarus's castle, and suppose to have been the habitation of that favourite of Christ; and, at the bottom of a small descent, not far from the castle, is shewn the sepulchre where he was raised from the dead (X). — About a bow-shot from hence they point at Mary Magdalen's habitation. — Within about a furlong of the river Jordan, is an old ruined church and convent, dedicated to St. John, who is supposed, here, or hereabouts, to have baptized our Lord. — On the road between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, they still shew, 1. The house of Simeon. 2. The impress of Elias's body. 3. The well where the star appeared to the eastern magi. 4. Rachael's tomb. — At Bethlehem they shew the very place of our Saviour's nativity (Y); the very manger in which he was laid (Z); the chapel of Joseph his supposed father; the school of St. Jerome, and other such places. — In the neighbourhood of this place are pools and gardens, said to have been the contrivance and delight of King Solomon (A); the pools are three, in a row, one above another, so disposed that the water may from the uppermost descend into the second, and from the second into the third. They are quadrangular, and all of the same breadth, being about ninety paces; but in length they differ, the first being about one hundred and sixty paces long, the second two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty; all lined with wall, and plastered, and containing a great depth of water. At the distance of about one hundred and sixty paces, is the spring whence they derive their waters, which the monks here will have to have been the Sealed Fountain (B). The gardens may be said to be now no more, and the spot, at present, seems to be but little adapted to such a use (C). — On the west, as the former on the south side of Bethlehem, they shew you the well David so passionately thirsted after; but it is rather a mere cistern supplied with rain, and, otherwise, of no particu-

\* MAUND. pag. 176. † Idem ibid. pag. 78. ‡ MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 79.  
 § Idem ibid. ¶ Idem ibid. pag. 81. †† Idem ibid. pag. 87. ‡‡ Idem ibid. §§ Cant. iv. 15.  
 • MAUND. ibid. p. 88. • 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

(U) Maundrell (91) took notice, that the only door, left hanging, did not touch its lintel by at least two inches, and believes it might have been easily lifted up and unhinged; and that the doors, which had been thrown down, had their hinges at the upper end twice as long as those at the bottom, by which the whole artifice very plainly discovers itself.

(X) In this sepulchre you descend by twenty-five steep steps, which letting you down into a small square room, you thence creep into a lower and lesser room, about a yard and a half deeper, in which the body is said to have been laid. This place is in great veneration with the Turks, who use it as an oratory, and demand a small caphar of such Christians as desire to see it (92).

(Y) The church of the nativity, or manger, at Bethlehem, is a most sumptuous and elegant structure, tho' unfortunately subject to the insults of the Infidels of those parts (93). The spot, where Christ is supposed to have been born, is marked out by a marble slab; and over it, upon the altar, is another, with this inscription, HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA IESUS CHRISTUS NASCIDI GIGNATUS EST (94). But to enter into a detail of all the costly particulars of this sanctuary, or of the church, and other parts belonging to it, would by far exceed our length.

(Z) It is cut out of the rock (95), about two foot from the floor; but now flged with white marble, as well as the rock that roofs it (96).

(A) He is supposed to allude to these works, where (97), among the other instances of his magnificence, he reckons up his gardens, vineyards, and pools (98).

(B) In confirmation of this opinion, they pretend a tradition, that king Solomon shut up these springs, and kept the door of them sealed with his signet; to the end that he might preserve the waters for his own use, in their natural freshness and purity. Our author (99) adds, it was not difficult thus to secure them; they rising under ground, and having no avenue to them, but by a little hole like the mouth of a narrow well. The whole, as described by travellers, must have been a stupendous work.

(C) The soil is rocky, and so bad, that our author (100) thinks Solomon displayed his wealth more than his wisdom, if he made choice of it for the purpose supposed; tho' after all, if it is so very plain, that here was his sealed fountain (1), it is not unlikely, that here also was his enclosed garden (2). The situation seems to correspond with this description, the spot being a rocky valley, descending from the pools, and inclosed on each hand by high mountains (3).

(91) Ubi sup. pag. 78. (92) MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. pag. 97. (93) Vide RADZIV. LE BRUN, THEVEN. &c. (94) Vide RADZIV. (95) Idem. pag. 84. (96) SANDY'S Trav. pag. 146. (97) Eccl. ii. 5, 6. (98) MAUND. ubi sup. p. 88. (99) Idem ibid. pag. 89. (100) Idem ibid. (1) Cant. ubi sup. (2) Ibidem. (3) MAUND. ubi sup.



- a lar estimation. But, about two furlongs from thence, you behold the remains of an old aqueduct, which anciently conveyed water from *Solomon's* pools to *Jerusalem*, and which, very much to the honour of that great monarch, is reckoned to be a work of his. It goes along the surface of the ground; and consists of large stones (D) perforated and let into each other, after the manner of pipes; and, for the greater security, covered with a course of smaller stones, firmly cemented together with a very strong mortar; a work which formerly extended five or six leagues, and, seemingly, designed for eternity; tho' now so destroyed by violent hands (E), that there is only a fragment of it here and there remaining. In *Bethlehem*, they shew a grotto cut out of a chalky rock; where they pretend the blessed virgin concealed herself and her child, to avoid the murderous fury of *Herod*, some time before she fled into *Egypt*; but the whiteness of this place they will have to have been, not natural, but miraculous. (F). Between *Bethlehem* and *Jerusalem*, in what is sometimes called the *Desart of St. John*, is a convent called after the name of that saint, supposed to stand on the spot where he was born. This convent has, of very late years, been re-built from the ground; and is, at present, a large, square building, uniform and neat all over, but chiefly remarkable for its church; consisting of three isles, and, in the midst, an handsome cupola; and under that a mosaic pavement, equal to, if not surpassing, the finest works of the ancients, in that kind. At the upper end of the north isle, by a descent of seven steps, you come down to a very splendid altar, erected, as they say, over the very place where the *Baptist* was born. About three furlongs distant from this convent, they point at what they call the house of *Elizabeth*, the *Baptist's* mother (G); formerly a convent, tho' now an heap of ruins, and only remarkable for a grotto, in which, they tell you, the blessed virgin saluted *Elizabeth*, and pronounced her *magnificat*. At the distance of about three quarters of an hour from the convent of *St. John*, in the way to *Jerusalem*, is a convent belonging to the *Greeks*, and called the convent of the *Holy Cross*, a neat structure, and pleasantly situated, but chiefly to be taken notice of, as they pretend it to stand over the very spot where grew the tree that supplied the timber that made the cross. In *Jerusalem*, close by the church of the holy sepulchre, is what they shew for the prison of *St. Peter*. It is a prison still. About a furlong from thence, is a small church, as they say, built over the house of *St. Mark*. It is in the possession of the *Syrians*, who venture to shew you the very window at which *Abdiah* looked out, while *Peter* knocked at the door; and in this same church they let you see a folio manuscript of the *New Testament*, in *Syriac*, which, if they are to be believed, is now about nine hundred years old; and a still greater curiosity, namely, a little stone font, used by the apostles themselves in baptizing. Upon that part of mount *Sion*, which is within the walls of the city, stands a con-

\* MAUND. *ibid.* pag. 90. \* *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 91. \* *Idem* *ibid.* p. 92. \* *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 93. \* *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 94. \* *Idem* *ibid.* 99. † *Acts* xii. 13. \* MAUND. *ubi* sup.

(D) Our author (4) leaves blanks for the dimensions of these stones, and we know of none that has been curious enough to supply the defect; but that they are very considerable appears by his manner of expressing himself.

(E) The blame is, in this case, thrown upon the *Arabs*, who, for the sake of an immediate and ready supply of water (5) make no scruple to tear up all before them, and, by degrees, entirely to demolish this solid and magnificent work.

(F) They say the stone of this grotto owes its chalky and extraordinary whiteness to some milk, which fell from the virgin, while she was giving suck to the holy infant, which converted the colour of the native rock. And so possessed are they here with this chimerical notion, as to imagine, the chalk of this place has a miraculous virtue of increasing the milk of women. And for this supernatural pro-

perty is the same highly valued, as well by *Arabs*, and *Turks*, as by *Christians* (6). This notion having taken such root with all ranks, and sects, lumps of this chalk are carried to *Jerusalem*, and there impressed with the seal of the city, to be thence sent into *Europe*. Our author adds, that he met with a physician at *Venice* simple enough to ask him for some of it for a lady, a patient of his, who was defective in her milk.

(G) "If you chance to ask, how it came to pass, that *Elizabeth* lived in one house, when she was big with the *Baptist*, and in another when she brought him forth? The answer you are like to receive is, that the former was her country, the latter her city habitation; and that it is no wonder for the wife of one of the priests of better rank (such as she was, *Luke* i. 6.) to be provided with such variety (8).

(4) *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 90. (5) *LE BRUYN*, *ubi* sup. pag. 216. (6) MAUND. *ubi* sup. pag. 91. (7) *LE BRUYN*, *ubi* sup. pag. 221. (8) MAUND. *ubi* sup. pag. 93.



vent of *Armenians*, whose church is built over the very place where *St. James*, the brother of *John*, was beheaded. In this church are two altars of extraordinary splendor, decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, crosses both of silver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utensils without number. In the midst of this same church is a pulpit made of tortoise-shell, and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it, of the same fabric; the tortoise-shell and mother of pearl being so very exquisitely blended together, that the workmanship far exceeds the materials'.----- A little without *Sion* gate, is the church of *Canaculum*, where, they say, *Christ* instituted his last supper" (H).----- At a little distance from hence are the ruins of an house where the blessed virgin is said to have breathed her last: and, a little farther b down the hill, is a grot, where, they say, *St. Peter* so bitterly lamented his inconstancy to his master".----- From a garden on the south side of mount *Moriab*, they conduct you to several large vaults, annexed to the mountain, on that side, and running, at least, fifty yards under ground. They were built in two isles, arched at top with huge firm stone, and sustained by tall pillars, each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter; conjectured to have been some subterraneous work made to enlarge the *area* of the temple "(I).----- To these may be added, the beautiful gate of the temple (K), which, says our author, can be only observed by a transient survey, because of the superstition of the *Turks*" (L).----- At the bottom of mount *Sion*, is what they c call *Bathsheba's* pool, supposed to be the same she was in when *David* was so smitten with her beauty; but others suppose it to have been a smaller one in a garden just within *Beitlehem* gate, and both, perhaps, equally right".----- At a small distance from the first of these pools, a little below the *Campo Sancto*, or *Field of Blood*, as it was anciently called, is an intricate cave or sepulchre, consisting of several rooms one within another, in which the apostles are reported to have hid themselves when they forsook their master, and fled. Its entrance discovers signs of its having been anciently adorned with paintings".----- In the valley of *Jehosaphat* are two noble antiquities called the sepulchre of *Zachary* (M), and the pillar of *Abfalom* (N), as also the sepulchre of *Jehosa-* d *phat*".----- Near the corner of the city wall, on the opposite side of this valley,

<sup>1</sup> Mavuo. *ibid.* pag. 99. " *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 100. " *Idem* *ibid.* " *Idem* *ibid.* " *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 101. " *Idem* *ibid.* " *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 102. " *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 103.

(H) " It is now a mosch, and not to be seen by "*Christians* (9)."

(I) Our author (10) thinks *Josephus* (11) seems to describe some such work as this, erected over the vault, on this side of the temple.

(K) Travellers are somewhat short in their descriptions of this gate. Prince *Radziwille* (12) represents it as lofty, great, and ascended to by steps, which he went up, but dared not go over the threshold, for fear of polluting the *area* of the temple of *Solomon*.

(L) Whatever may have been the milder temper of these people, when they permitted prince *Radziwille* to ascend the steps leading up to it, as in the note above, they are since, it seems, grown to that height of jealousy, that they will scarce admit of a stranger's turning his eyes towards it, as he passes by. The reason is, the *Turks* have a strange notion of the more than ordinary sanctity of the *area* or place within it, where stands a beautiful mosch, which they have erected, as they pretend, on the very spot where stood the temple of *Solomon*. They have a notion, that if a *Christian*, or any other, does but set foot in the *area* it stands upon, his prayers will have such irresistible prevalence with God, that nothing he could ask of heaven could be refused him; and fondly imagine, that, as *Christians* would not fail to pray, that the *Turks* might be driven out, and the *Chri-*

*stians* enter again into possession of the city, the prayer would be infallibly heard, and inevitably granted (13); so that they cannot bear to see a *Christian* so much as offer to look that way.

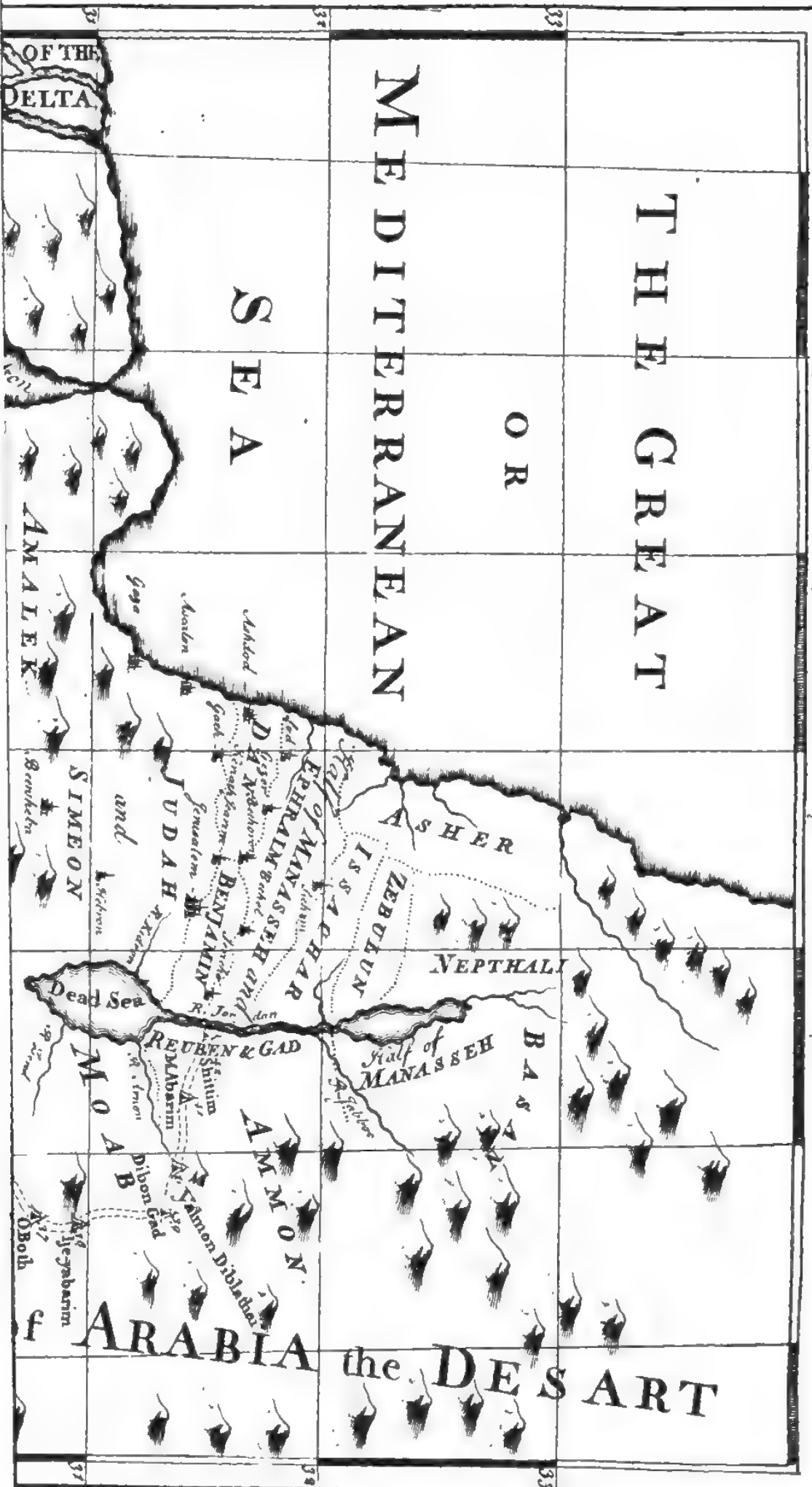
(M) Supposed to be the same who was slain between the temple and the altar. " All of the natural rock, eighteen foot high, four square, and " beautified with doric columns of the same unparaded stone, sustaining the cornish, and topped " like a pointed diamond (14)."

(N) It is sometimes called the tomb or sepulchre of *Abfalom* (15); and it hath, indeed, rather the looks of such, than of, what it is otherwise commonly called, a pillar. He was not buried there, but it is imagined, he erected, or rather, had it wrought out of the stone, in his life-time, " to " preserve the memory of his name, after the " death of his three sons", -- yet entire of a good " fabric, rising in a lofty square; below adorned " with half columns, wrought out of the side and " corners, of the doric form; and then changing into " a round, a good height higher, doth grow to a " point, in fashion of a bell; all framed of the " growing stone (16)."

Travellers for the most part observe, that there is always a great and daily encreasing heap of stones lying near it, thrown thereat, both by *Jews* and *Turks*, in detestation of *Abfalom's* rebellion against his father *David*.

(9) *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 100. (10) *Idem* *ibid.* (11) *Antiq. lib. xv. c. ult.* (12) *Perogr. Hierosol.* p. 117. (13) *Ibid.* pag. 118. (14) *SANDYS*, pag. 147. (15) *RADZIV. Peragr. Jerosolym.* pag. 62. (16) *Compare a Sam. xiv. 27. & xviii. 18.* (16) *SANDYS*, *ubi sup.*

Plate 12. Vol 1.



vent of *Armenians*, whose church is built over the very place where St. *James*,<sup>a</sup> the brother of *John*, was beheaded. In this church are two altars of extraordinary splendor, decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, crosses both of silver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utensils without number. In the midst of this same church is a pulpit made of tortoise-shell, and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it, of the same fabric; the tortoise-shell and mother of pearl being so very exquisitely blended together, that the workmanship far exceeds the materials'.----- A little without *Sion* gate, is the church of *Cenaculum*, where, they say, *Christ* instituted his last supper<sup>m</sup> (H).----- At a little distance from hence are the ruins of an house where the blessed virgin is said to have breathed her last: and, a little farther<sup>b</sup> down the hill, is a grot, where, they say, St. *Peter* so bitterly lamented his inconstancy to his master<sup>n</sup>. ----- From a garden on the south side of mount *Moriab*, they conduct you to several large vaults, annexed to the mountain, on that side, and running, at least, fifty yards under ground. They were built in two isles, arched at top with huge firm stone, and sustained by tall pillars, each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter; conjectured to have been some subterraneous work made to enlarge the *area* of the temple<sup>o</sup> (I).----- To these may be added, the beautiful gate of the temple (K), which, says our author, can be only observed by a transient survey, because of the superstition of the *Turks*<sup>p</sup> (L). ----- At the bottom of mount *Sion*, is what they<sup>c</sup> call *Bathsheba's* pool, supposed to be the same she was in when *David* was so smitten with her beauty; but others suppose it to have been a smaller one in a garden just within *Bethlehem* gate, and both, perhaps, equally right<sup>q</sup>.----- At a small distance from the first of these pools, a little below the *Campo Sancto*, or *Field of Blood*, as it was anciently called, is an intricate cave or sepulchre, consisting of several rooms one within another, in which the apostles are reported to have hid themselves when they forsook their master, and fled. Its entrance discovers signs of its having been anciently adorned with paintings'.----- In the valley of *Jebosaphat* are two noble antiquities called the sepulchre of *Zachary* (M), and the pillar of *Abfalom* (N), as also the sepulchre of *Jebosaphat*<sup>d</sup>. ----- Near the corner of the city wall, on the opposite side of this valley,

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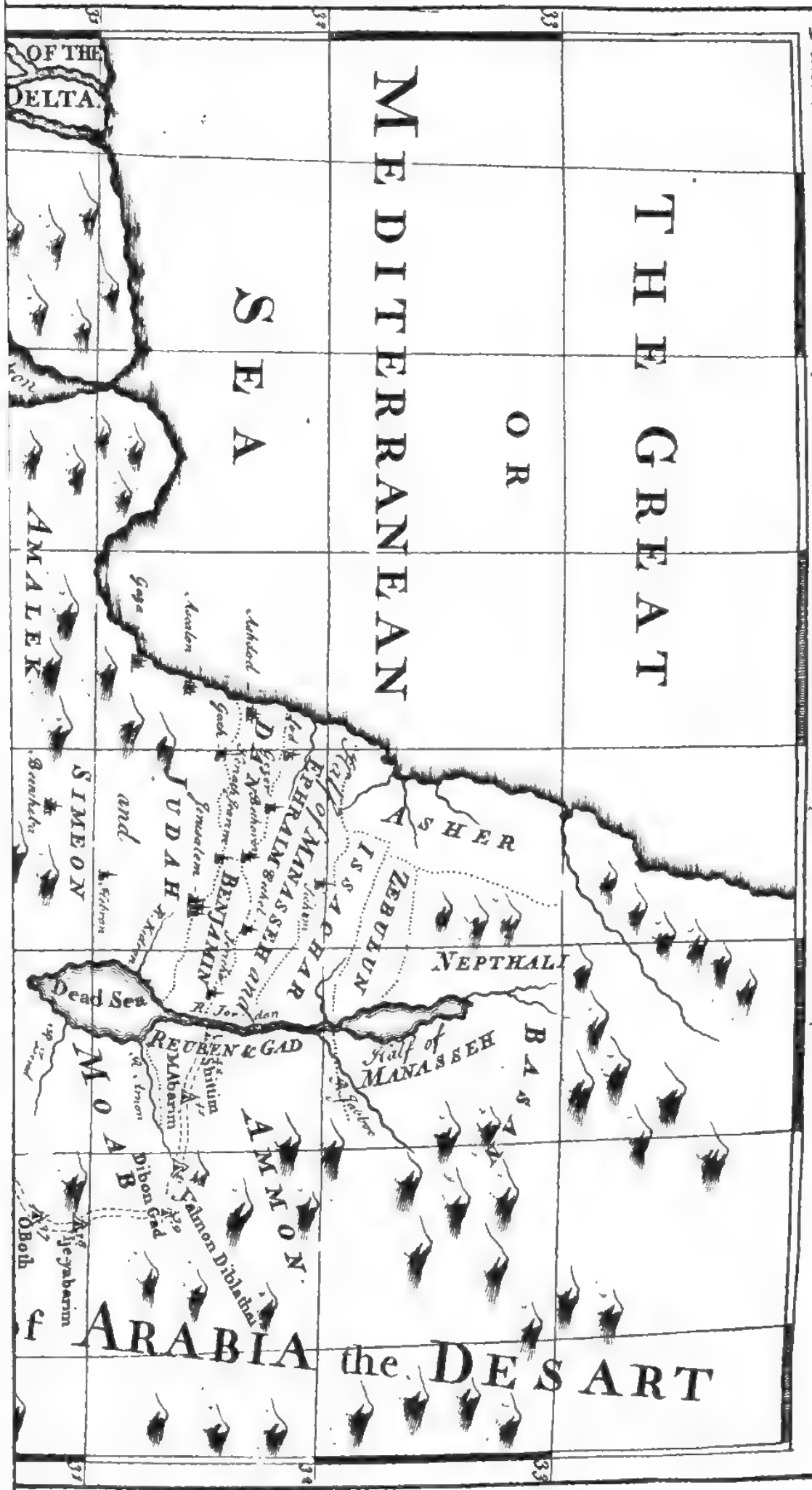
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A MAP of the Journey in the Wilderness, and of the Conquest and Division of the Land of CANAAN,  
by the Children of Israel according to this History.  
*Plate 12. Veli.*





- a is a short end of a pillar, jetting out of the wall: whereon the *Turks* fable, *Mohammed* shall sit in judgment, at the last day, the whole world being gathered together in the valley below, to receive sentence from his mouth <sup>1</sup> (O). ----- A little further northward, is the gate of the temple; at present walled up; the *Turks* having a prophecy, that their destruction is to enter by that gate; the completion of which they endeavour to obviate by this means <sup>2</sup> (P). ----- In the bottom of this same valley is what they will have to have been the sepulchre of the blessed virgin; with a magnificent descent of forty-seven stairs: on the right hand, as you go down, is the sepulchre of *St. Anne*, the mother, and, on the left hand, that of *St. Joseph*, the husband, of the blessed virgin <sup>3</sup>. ----- In the pretended house
- b of *Pilate*, they shew the room where *Christ* was mocked with the ensigns of royalty, and buffeted by the soldiers <sup>4</sup>. ----- They pretend likewise still to shew the pool of *Bethesda*, one hundred and twenty paces long, forty broad, and at least eight deep, but void of water. At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up <sup>5</sup> (Q). ----- As also the pool of *Gibon*, about a quarter of a mile without *Bethlehem* gate, westward, a stately relique, one hundred and six paces long, sixty seven broad, lined with wall and plaister, and, when our author was there, well stored with water <sup>6</sup>. ----- At *Nazareth*, besides the church which stands in a cave, supposed to be the place where the virgin *Mary* received the angelical salutation (R), they shew the house of *Joseph*, the very same as they tell you, where the Son
- c of God lived for near thirty years, in subjection to man <sup>7</sup>. These and other particulars, we have occasionally mentioned before, both in the text and the notes, are the more noted remarkables of this promised and destined land; whereon we leave the reader to make his own observations.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.  
ibid. pag. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. pag. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Idem ibid. pag. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Idem

(O) To this the *Mohammedans* add, it seems, a most ridiculous tradition, but first, we are told (17) they also report, that *Mohammed* is to sit on the end of this pillar, to observe whether our Lord judge the *Christians* well or not; that, if he judge them righteously, *Mohammed* will give him his sister in marriage, together with a great dowry; that, this done, *Mohammed* shall turn himself into a sheep, and the *Turks* nestle into his wool, like so many fleas; that, thus incumbered, he shall fly into the air, and shake himself very hard; that those who stick fast to him shall be happy, and those that fall from him shall be damned (18); so very ridiculous a story, that, had we not met with it in so grave an author, we should ne'er have taken notice of it; and, after all, we are afraid this is a story fathered upon them; but what can't men be brought to believe!

(P) All travellers this way take notice of this particular, and most add, that for the very same reason, and out of the same superstitious dread, they shut up all the other gates of the city, every Friday, 'till morning-service is over, adding, that on

that day the destined work of their expulsion is to be effected.

(Q) "These some will have to be the five porches, in which sat that multitude of halt, lame, and blind, [*John v.*] But the mischief is, instead of five, there are but three of them (19).

(R) "Just at the section of the cross [of this church] are erected two granate pillars, each two foot and one inch diameter, and about three foot distance from each other—supposed to stand on the very places, the one where the angel, the other, where the blessed virgin stood at the time of the annunciation. Of these pillars, the innermost, being that of the blessed virgin, has been broke away by the *Turks*, in expectation of finding treasure under it; so that eighteen inches length of it is clean gone, between the pillar and its pedestal. Nevertheless, adds our author, it remains erect; tho' by what art it is sustained, I could not discern. It touches the roof above, and is, probably, hanged upon that; unless you had rather take the friars account of it, viz. that it is supported by a miracle (20).

(17) THEVEN. *Voy. au Lev. lib. ii. par. 1. c. 50.*  
pag. 187. (20) MAUND. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* pag. 112.

(18) Idem ibid.

(19) MAUND. *ubi sup.*



## S E C T. IV.

*The religion, government, laws, customs, learning, arts and commerce of the J E W S.*

*The Jewish government was a Theocracy.*

**T**HE institution of the *Jewish* religion and commonwealth is by *Moses* <sup>a</sup> attributed wholly to God; for which reason *Josephus* makes no scruple to distinguish the latter from all the other governments in the world by the name of *Theocracy*<sup>b</sup>, or a government under the immediate command and direction of God: and, indeed, tho' this theocracy has often varied under *Moses*, *Jeshua*, the judges, kings, and high-priests, and the divine authority differently interposed during those revolutions, yet God was still looked upon as the supreme monarch of the *Israelites*. We have seen, in a former section, that he was the sole director of every momentous transaction under *Moses*, and the dictator of the main body of his laws. *Jeshua*, though not honoured so far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet always consulted <sup>b</sup> him by the *Urim*, upon all emergencies. The judges were valiant and wise men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them from time to time, from those thraldoms which their frequent rebellions brought upon them. Accordingly, when *Gideon* had delivered them from the *Midianites*, and the people offered the government to him and his posterity, he modestly replied, that neither he nor his sons<sup>c</sup>, but the Lord God should rule over them. When, in process of time, their desire for a king was grown to such a height, that all *Samuel's* expostulations could not divert them from it; tho' he told them, that by so doing they rejected the Lord from ruling over them; God was pleased to nominate *Saul*, and, after him, *David*, to the regal dignity, <sup>c</sup> and to make it hereditary in the posterity of the latter, reserving to himself, nevertheless, the power of altering the succession from the eldest to a younger branch, whenever he saw fit, as he actually did in his immediate successor *Solomon*. Nay, we may say, that God himself, foreseeing that they would be for a kingly government, did reserve to himself the choice, and prescribed some wholesome laws for the conduct of those who should enjoy the regal power<sup>d</sup>; and if, at any time, either the kings or the people refused to be directed by him, or disobeyed the laws which he had given them, they never failed of some severe punishment, to remind them of their dependence, and to recall them to their duty. The kings of *Israel*, indeed, after their revolt from those of *Judah*, <sup>d</sup> did reign more arbitrarily, but their endeavours to shake off the yoke of God proved a source of endless evils to the rebellious tribes; till, at length, when neither his prophets exhortations and threatenings, nor his severe judgments, could bring them to obedience, he entirely cast them off, and condemned them to an endless captivity. Thus not only the kingdom of *Judah*, but even that of *Israel*, corrupt and idolatrous as it was, continued still under a kind of *Theocracy*, until its dissolution. This is what will more evidently appear by the sequel of this history.

*Their laws.*

As for their laws, the greatest part of them were given to *Moses* on mount *Sinai*, and the rest, at different times, and as occasion required, as we have seen <sup>e</sup> in a former section †. Whether, therefore, we look upon them as the first body of laws that ever was compiled, (whilst other nations had not so much as a name for it, as *Josephus*<sup>d</sup> had endeavoured to prove against his learned antagonist, from the writings of *Homer*, the most ancient writer, in which the word *Nomos* [law] is not so much as once mentioned;) or whether we suppose, with others<sup>e</sup>, that the *Egyptians* and other nations had already laws of their own, and that *Moses* was permitted by God, to model and improve his own by them, by altering or retaining what he liked or disliked, concerning which we shall not repeat what has been already said upon that head<sup>f</sup>; it is plain, that

<sup>a</sup> Cont. Apion, lib. ii. <sup>b</sup> Judg. viii. 22, 23. <sup>c</sup> Vide Deut. xvii. 14. & seq. † Vide sup. pag. 519. b, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Cont. Apion, ibid. <sup>e</sup> SPENCER, de Leg. Ritual. Jud. pass. LE CLERC, & al. <sup>f</sup> Vide sup. pag. 198. d. § 16. (Y) & alib. pass.

- a the greatest part of them were dictated by God himself, and that the rest received; if not the finishing hand, yet at least their sanction and approbation from him. And indeed if we consider that they extended to all duties, cases, and exigencies, whether moral, political, or ceremonial; that the moral were to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to endure as long as the *Jewish* polity; that great part of the ceremonial were typical of, and consequently to last, at least, till the coming of the *Messiah*; if we consider further, that the priests and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and that they were forbid, under pain of death, and of the divine curse, to add, diminish, or alter the least part of them; it will be scarce credible that *Moses* would have given them such a firm and durable sanction, and backed it with the divine authority, had any but God been the author or confirmer of them.

- OUR design, however, is not to dwell here upon the display of their excellency above those of all other nations, much less to confute all the empty cavils that have been raised against them from different quarters. This has been already done by *Josephus*, *Philo*, *Maimonides*, *Moses Gerundensis*, and a great many more among the *Jews*, and by a greater number of learned divines, both of this and other churches, to whose province it belongs more particularly<sup>a</sup>. We might indeed conveniently enough have followed their distinction of them into moral, political, and ceremonial, and so have given the following body of them under those three heads: especially because such a distinction is generally thought to be hinted at by the three different terms which *Moses* makes use of, *laws* or *precepts*, *judgments* and *statutes*<sup>b</sup>; but if we consider, that *Moses* makes use of some other terms likewise to express them by, such as ordinances, testimonies, and some others in a very undeterminate sense; that he calls the same laws sometimes by one, and sometimes by another of these names; and, lastly, that this distinction will not hold with respect to very many of those laws, which are partly moral, and partly ceremonial and political, and so *vice versa*, we shall have little ground to think, that the *Jewish* law-giver designed to intimate any such distinction of those terms. Thus the law concerning the seventh day, or day of rest, is partly ceremonial and typical, and partly moral and political, as it was designed as well for the ease and rest of the labourers, servants, and slaves, as for that of their masters<sup>c</sup>. To this we may add here, that these laws did likewise differ with respect to their observance and obligation. Some of them, such as the making the tabernacle, altar, setting up the blessings and curses on mount *Ebal* and *Gerizzim*, were to be observed but once for all; others were to last no longer than the time of the *Messiah*, and others to the end of the world. When therefore they are commanded to observe all the laws and ordinances of *Moses*, some of which were of no force out of the land of *Palestine*, the *Jews*, in those cases, understand the precept, not of an actual observance, but of a constant remembrance, and readiness to obey them, whenever they shall become in force again<sup>d</sup>.

BESIDES, as we are writing the history of the *Jews*, it may perhaps be thought more proper that we should give the body of their laws in the same order and method in which they themselves have collected and digested them out of the five books of *Moses*, in which they lie scattered, and which they call, by way of excellency, *Ha-thorab*, the law (A); but the truth is, they have jumbled them so together, without order or method, and blended them so with those which they pretend were delivered by God to *Moses*, and conveyed by oral

<sup>a</sup> Vide inter al. GROT. SELDEN, PUFF. CUMBERL. GASTREL, LABBAD. CUN. BASNAG. <sup>b</sup> BASNAG. Republ. Hæb. lib. i. cap. 18. <sup>c</sup> Confer Exod. xx. cum Deut. v. 19. <sup>d</sup> Vide MURST. præf. in lib. sequent.

(A) This תורה *Thorab*, or law, they divide, as we do, into five books, which they call by the first word of each: thus, they call *Genesis* בראשית *Beresbith*, that is, in the beginning; *Exodus* they call אלה שמות, *Elle-shemoth*, these are the names; *Leviticus* ויקרא *Vajiera*, and he called; *Numbers* וידבר, *Vaidabber*, and he spake; and, *Deuteronomy* אלה הדברים, *Elle-badevarim*, these are the words. These five books, or *pentateuch*, are again subdivided into fifty four פרשות *parashoth*, or sections,

of unequal lengths, according to the subject; so that, by joining two of the shortest together, they read the whole law once a year. The generality of the *Jews* attribute these divisions, and the constitution of reading them on the sabbath, to *Moses*; but the *Christians*, with more probability, to *Esdra* (1), from whom it was continued, even to the times of the apostles, if not longer (2). The first *parasha* reaches from

(1) Vide PACKHURST *Alazrab. sect. de Parashab.* (2) Vide *Act. xiii. 15, & 27. xv. 21.*

oral tradition (B), that our readers would be rather confounded, than instructed by them. Those that are willing to be further satisfied about it may see the abridgment which *Munster* has given us of them, and of the *Jewish* comments upon them, with his version of each, as he has collected them from their *Talmud* and other rabbinic works. All, therefore, that we shall say further of it is, that they divide these laws only into negative and affirmative (C,) in imitation of the decalogue, which not only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of three hundred sixty five, and the affirmative to two hundred and forty eight; in all, six hundred and thirteen: and as they have a wonderful skill in fetching some significant mysteries out of every text and subject, they have not failed to apply the first number to the days of the year, and the second to the number of parts in a human body; and to affirm, that God designed thereby to inculcate, that not a day of our life ought to pass without meditating upon this law of God, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not consecrated and employed in his service, according to that saying of *Ecclesiastes*, *fear God and keep his commandments, for that is the whole [duty] of man*. These, and all such like moralising reveries, is what they have drawn from their *Cabbala*, or oral tradition, of which

from *Gen. i.* and *1.* to *Gen. vi. 9.* and is called *Bereishith*; the second reaches to *Gen. xii. 1.* and is called *Noach*, from *Noah* being the chief person mentioned in it; the third, which reaches to *Gen. xviii.* is called *Lek Leka*, go thy ways, from the command of God to *Abraham* to go out of his native land; and so of the rest.

The *Jews* have always expressed a greater veneration for these five books, than for any of those which they received afterwards, tho' they look upon the latter as divinely inspired: the reason they give for it is, that *Moses*, being in many respects, vastly superior to all the other prophets, and inspired writers, a great preference ought to be given to his writings, upon that account; and they have been so superstitious in this respect, that they look upon it as a crime to lay any of the sacred books upon those of *Moses*; whereas, they think, the latter may be laid upon any of the others.

(B) To the written law the *Jews* do likewise add the oral one, which, they pretend, was also given by God to *Moses*, during his abode on mount *Sinai*. For first they think it absurd to suppose, that he spent all that long interval of twice forty days in the bare writing of the written-law, for which less than one quarter of that time was more than sufficient. They affirm therefore, that he was taken up all the rest of that while in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards did carefully deliver by word of mouth to *Aaron*, *Eleazar*, and to his servant *Joshua*, and these to the seventy elders, from whom it passed to all the prophets, the three last of whom, *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, delivered it to the grand *Sanhedrin*; from whom the wise men of *Jerusalem* and *Babylon* received it. Thus they affirm, that this oral law, given to *Moses*, was transmitted from one generation to another, entire and uncorrupted, under the name of קבלה *Cabbalah*, or tradition, which was afterwards committed to writing by several hands in that volume which they call the *Talmud*, consisting of two parts, the *Mishnah*, and *Gemarrab*, to which they give, by far, the preference to the written books; whence comes that saying of theirs, the *Mikdash*, or *Old Testament*, is like water, the *Mishnah* like wine, and the *Gemarrab*, being more plain and perfect, like *Hipocras*, or the richest of wines. For they add, secondly, that the obscurity of the written law, its seeming inconsistency in several respects, and the ill use which God foresaw would be made of it by the wicked, rendered the oral one very necessary,

since without it the other would have proved in many respects useless, if not dangerous. These learned gentlemen, who love to call themselves מרביצי התורה, *Merabitzze bathora*, fixers of, or givers of, rest to the law, do tell us that the obscurity of it is obvious to every reader: as for the inconsistencies, they are such as these; that in one place it is said, *thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven*, and in another *six days*: in one place it is said, *thou shalt offer the passover to the Lord thy God, sheep, oxen, &c.* and in another, *only a male lamb without blemish*: one text says, that the Lord came down upon mount *Sinai*, to speak to the people; and another says, that he spoke to them from heaven. These are the mighty contradictions which they pretend cannot be reconciled without the help of the oral law (3). Well might *Christ* say of them, that they strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel (4), since these are but trifles, compared to those which we meet with among these learned compilers of the *Talmud*, and their commentators, tho' they all pretend to expound all these seeming difficulties, and pretended contradictions of the written, by the help of this oral law: for this reason we shall not spend any more time in confuting this vain pretence of theirs, nor the absurd and fabulous comments with which it is stuffed, but shall content ourselves with giving now and then a sketch of them, in a note, as we go on with the body of their laws, as well when they are judicious and right, as when they are superstitious or wrong, and deserving of the censure which our Saviour pass upon them, that they had made the word of God of none effect by their tradition (5).

(C) These they call, according to the genius of the Hebrew tongue, מצוות לא תעשה *Mitzvotb la taghaffeh*, and מצוות עשה *Mitzvotb ghaaffeth*, that is, commandments, thou shalt, or shalt not do, or, as we render it, negative and affirmative; concerning which they make this difference, that, if a man sin against the latter, it will be forgiven him upon his repenting or doing some penance for it; but he that sins against a negative precept cannot be cleared by any acts of repentance, but continues under the guilt of it until the day of expiation, at which time it will be forgiven. He that commits a sin worthy of death cannot be sufficiently cleared on the expiation day, or by any thing but by God's severe chastisements; but as for those that prophane or blaspheme the name of God, nothing can expiate their sin, but their being put to death for it.

(3) Vide *MAIMON. prefat. in Mishn.* *MUNST. prefat. in Mitzvotb-bathora.* *CUN. BARNAG. & al.*  
(4) *Matt. xxiii. 24.* (5) *Mark vii. 13, & alib.*

- a we have given an account in a late note : however, it must be owned, that their *Caraites*, a wise and ancient sect among them, did always reject it, and applied themselves wholly to the plain meaning of the text ; but these are but few, in comparison of the rest, and are mortally hated by them ; the reader may be convinced of it, by one instance, among a thousand. The *Caraites* are all very rich, and are so often at a loss for a wife among themselves, that they would gladly purchase one at any rate, from their other brethren, the *Talmudists* ; but, as well as these love money, they never could yet be persuaded to give one of their daughters to any of them, tho' never so rich, and themselves never so indigent.
- b BUT here it will be necessary to observe, that tho' this *Jewish Cabbala*, or oral tradition, is justly rejected by all the *Christians*, as being stuffed with the most carnal and ridiculous notions ; yet there is another *Cabbala*, which has been received by some of the ancient fathers, and is to this day strenuously defended by many learned moderns. This they call, by way of distinction, *Kabbla*, or *reception*, and contains that mystical sense of the *Old Testament*, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the *New* understood and explained it, which sense they affirm has been conveyed to them from *Moses* by the prophets, not by a human tradition, but by divine inspiration, as being very different, if not contrary, to the obvious and literal one. This, they think, is plain from the interpretation, which some of the evangelists, particularly St. *Matthew* as well as St. *Paul*, give of several prophecies quoted by them, particularly those which the reader will find in the margin †, †, in a sense so foreign from the literal one, that it cannot, in their opinion, be justified without having recourse to this Christian *Kabbla*, as they term it. We have no business to enter into the merits of this question, which has been so lately and so learnedly debated by the writers for and against the accomplishment of *literal prophecy*. All that we shall venture to say farther is, that, if such a mystical and primary sense be admitted, it must be confined to the writers of the *New Testament*, who, besides their being inspired, could prove their interpretations by miracles ; for it is plain, that some of the primitive fathers have gone such great lengths in that way, that *Origen*, learned as he was, has made himself ridiculous by them, and saint *Jerom* and *Austin*, tho' more moderate than he, have in many cases over-shot the mark †† ; but to return to the written laws, we shall endeavour to give the main body of them under such distinct heads and classes, as shall give our readers a clear idea of them, and, to avoid prolixity, we shall take the liberty to abridge some, and to omit those that are either of small consequence, or whose design is not sufficiently understood. For the same reason we shall subjoin to every law the ceremonies, customs, and usages that relate to it, as well on the account of the immediate connexion they have to one another, as because the latter are often explanatory of the former ; that so the reader may at one view have a compleat system of the *Jewish* laws, religion, government, manners and customs, as they all flowed from the same divine original. As for the laws, they generally run in the stile of the five or six following ones, which we give only as a specimen of it, but which for that reason shall follow no further.
- c
- d
- e
- f

*Laws against idolatry, and for the pure worship of the only true God.*

THOU shalt have no other Gods before, or besides, me <sup>1</sup>.

YE shall not profane or take in vain (D), but hallow, God's holy name <sup>a</sup>.

*Laws against idolatry.*

YE shall utterly destroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of *Canaanitish* idolatry <sup>a</sup>.

YE shall not tempt the Lord your God (E), as ye did in the wilderness <sup>a</sup>.

f YE shall make no image or representation of God, from the likeness of any of the celestials, terrestrial or aquatick bodies <sup>a</sup>.

†, † Matt. ii. 15, 17, 23. Rom x 6. & seq. comp. with Deut. xxx. 12, and Eph. v. 31. with Gen. ii. 24. Hebr. ii. 6. with Ps. lxxxiv. & al. †† Vide int. al. HIERON. in Matt. xxvii. 51. Vide BASNAG. ex CANAEN. RHENFORD, Op. Philolog. & al. Vide MUND. חֲסוֹת הַתּוֹרָה מִשּׁוּם חֲסוֹת הַתּוֹרָה. <sup>1</sup> Exod. xx. 3. <sup>a</sup> Exod. xx. 7, Levit. xvii. 32. & al. <sup>a</sup> Deut. xii. 2. & seq. <sup>a</sup> Deut. vi. 16. <sup>a</sup> Exod. xx. 4. Deut. iv. pass. & v. 8.

(D) That is, as the *Jews* understand it, rightly enough, by giving it to idols, as *Aaron* did, when he called the molten calf the Gods that brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This is one of those sins which they think cannot be expiated but by the death of

the sinner ; and for which *Aaron* must have undergone that fate, had not *Moses* interceded for him.

(E) This precept they understand of those who serve God only in hopes of some temporal advantage, which they look upon as a lesser kind of idolatry.

YE shall not bow down nor worship any kind of idol (F) <sup>a</sup>.

WHOSOEVER enticeth another to commit idolatry shall be stoned as soon as he is convicted of it <sup>c</sup>.

THE spoil of an idolatrous city shall not be saved upon any account, but be publickly burned. The inhabitants of it shall be put to the sword, and the place shall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap for ever <sup>c</sup>.

THE silver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols shall not be turned to advantage, but be destroyed with the utmost abhorrence <sup>c</sup>.

WHOSOEVER sacrificeth his seed to *Moloch* (G), whether he be an *Israelite* or a sojourner in the land, shall be stoned to death <sup>c</sup>.

THERE are several more to the same purpose interspersed and often repeated <sup>b</sup> in the four last books of *Moses*, which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the same nature are also those which forbid all commerce, intercourse, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations, and all kind of imitation of their ways, lest they should insensibly draw them into their idolatries; of the same kind were those which condemned the use of familiar spirits, enchantments, observing of times and omens <sup>a</sup>, divinations, resorting to wizards and necromancers, and such like, under pain of death <sup>a</sup>; as also the rounding of the corners, or temples, of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their flesh, or making any marks upon it <sup>a</sup> for the sake of the dead; and lastly the promiscuous use of apparel in either sex, in imitation of the *Canaanites* <sup>c</sup>.

*Positive laws concerning the worship of the one true God.*

*Laws concerning the true worship of God.*

THAT the Lord, who delivered his law from mount *Sinai*, is the only God in heaven and earth (H) <sup>b</sup>.

THAT he alone is to be loved with all one's heart, mind, and strength <sup>a</sup>; that he only is to be feared above all things <sup>a</sup>, and his name to be sanctified.

THAT they shall engrave his laws in their hearts, diligently teach them to their children and grand-children; and wear them for a sign upon their head, as frontlets between their eyes, and write them upon the gates, posts, and other parts of their houses <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9. & alib. <sup>b</sup> Deut. xiii. 1. & seq. & alib. pass. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. 15. & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. vii. 25, 26. <sup>e</sup> Levit. xx. 2. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xix. 26, 31, & alib. <sup>g</sup> Deut. xviii. 9. & seq. <sup>h</sup> Levit. xix. 27. & seq. <sup>i</sup> Deut. xxii. 5, &c. <sup>j</sup> Exod. xx. 1. Deut. vi. 4. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. ver. 5. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. ver. 13. <sup>m</sup> Exod. xiii. 9 & 16. <sup>n</sup> Deut. vi. 8. & seq.

(F) A man is not, according to them, to stoop down before an idol, tho' it were to take a thorn out of his foot, or to take up any thing that he has dropped, or even to take up a little water to drink, tho' ever so thirsty, lest it should be looked upon by any by-stander as an act of respect to it; in all such cases therefore they must sit down upon the ground, with their backs to it, and then no such scandal can be taken (6). However no idolatry was deemed capital, unless accompanied with one of these four things, rearing an altar, offering sacrifice, burning incense, and adoration (7).

(G) We have already given an account of this *Ammonitish* deity and its worship, in the history of *Ammon* <sup>†</sup>. All that needs be added here, with respect to the different opinions of authors, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, concerning the meaning of the phrase of making their sons and daughters to pass through the fire, which we there took notice of, is, that there are several express texts of scripture which prove, that it was neither a bare leaping over a fire, nor a being carried between two fires set close by one another; but a real burning of them to death (8). In the second book of *Kings* it is said, that the *Seppharvantes* burnt their children in the fire, to *Adramelech* and *Anammelech* their gods (9); which we have shewn elsewhere were, in all probability, the same with *Moloch* <sup>‡</sup>. 'Tis plain from the prophet *Amos* (10) and *St. Stephen* (11), that the *Israelites* had been much addicted to the worship of this idol,

whose tabernacle they are said to have carried about with them in the wilderness, but that they should continue it in *Canaan* after *Moses* had made it capital, and God had expressly told them, that he would set his face against such offenders, and exterminate them from the midst of his people (12), is somewhat surprizing, and yet the sequel of this history will shew, that several, even of the kings of *Judah*, were guilty of that abominable cruelty. How it came to be at the first introduced into the world, we have elsewhere endeavoured to account for <sup>\*</sup>. As for what is commanded concerning the destroying of all the monuments of idolatry, the *Jews* understood it only of those places which became theirs by conquest, beyond which the command did not extend; and as to the idolatrous cities, they affirm, that they were first of all to forewarn them, and if they forsook their idolatry, they were to be spared, but if they persisted, they were then to be destroyed. They likewise understood the prohibition of turning any of the spoil to their advantage in so strict a sense, that they thought it even unlawful to sit under the shade of any of their trees. But it is plain, that this great aversion to idolatry and idolatrous things did not shew itself, till they had severely smarted for their too great propensity to it under the *Babylonish* captivity.

(H) This precept in one place <sup>†</sup> begins thus: שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אחד Hear O *Israel* the Lord our God, the Lord [is] one; — where it is observed, that the *y ain* in the first, and the

<sup>†</sup> *Deuter*

(6) Vide Tractat. *Abodah Zarah* seu de Idololatria. (7) Vide Munnst. in præc. 17. neg. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 393, 394. (8) Vide Pf. cvi. 37, 38. *Ijai*. lvii. 5. *Jerm.* xix. 4, & seq. *Ezek.* xvi. 21. xxiii. 29. & alib. (9) 2 *King.* xviii. 31. <sup>‡</sup> *Ubi sup.* (10) *Amos* w. 26. (11) *Act.* vii. 43. (12) *Levit.* xx. 3, & seq. <sup>\*</sup> Vide sup. p. 472. e, f. <sup>†</sup> Deut. vi. 4.



7 *Daleb* is the last words, are majuscule, or letters of a larger size than the rest. Whether they were originally written in that manner, as containing some important mystery, as the *Jews* pretend, or whether altered afterwards by accident, or with design, is not easy to determine: sure it is, they not only urge it as an unanswerable argument against the *Christian* doctrine, of the Trinity, but from too literal an interpretation of the verses following, they wore these words written on parchment about them, as bracelets and frontlets, and placed them at their beds, doors, &c. just as it is there prescribed. Some ancient fathers (13) were of opinion, that this had been constantly practised, from *Moses* 'till after our Saviour's time, and that he wore them himself; tho' upon what foundation is hard to guess. *Lightfoot* and others believe, that they were universally used in our Saviour's time (14); and *St. Jerom* assures us, that they were so in his, and that those, who did not wear them upon their foreheads, were esteemed irreligious (15). However that be, it is not to be doubted, but their superstition in this respect has still gained ground; this is plain from the many scrupulous niceties which they are bound to observe in the making, writing, and calling of these phylacteries (16).

This verse, which they call the *Shemah*, from the first word of it, they are likewise obliged by an express command in the oral law, to repeat twice a day; that is, in the morning at sun-rising, and in the evening just as it is set. There is likewise a great deal of superstitious trash prescribed in the *Talmud*, about the repeating of the words; the eyes, lips, and fingers must be still, that the mind may be wholly intent upon the words; some letters are to be pronounced swiftly, and others slowly; no ordure or dead carcass ought to be nearer the place where the person repeats it, than four cubits at least, and then he is to turn his back to it; but, if the place will not permit such a distance, the ordure is then to be covered up, and the eyes kept from it, and a great deal more to the same purport (17), which it were needless to dwell longer upon. However, since they urge this text so strenuously against the *Christians*, we shall beg leave, before we dismiss this note, to examine whether the ancient *Jews* understood it in the same sense as the moderns do: some learned converts from *Judaism* to *Christianity* seem to have proved the contrary from their most ancient writings (18); but, as proselytes are always suspected of being over-zealous, there have not been wanting those eminent *Christians* who, after a mature examination of their evidence, have confirmed it, as we think, beyond all possibility of replying. We shall single only one from among those many, not only as he was very well versed in this kind of learning, but because, as he was not a priest, but a statesman, he may be less suspected of partiality; we mean the great *Philippe de Mornay* (19), who, among other ancient authors, quotes rabby *Simeon ben Jehai*, who, in his *Zohar*, a book by the *Jews* acknowledged to have been written before the *Talmud*, if not before *Christ* (20), quotes the exposition of rabby *Ibba*, of this text, to this purport, that the first יְהוָה, *Jehovah*, which is the incommunicable name of God, is the father; by אֱלֹהִים *Elohim* is meant the son, who is the

spring of all knowledge; and by the second יְהוֹיָכִן is meant the holy ghost, proceeding from them, and he is called אֵחָד *Achad*, one, because God is one. *Ibba* adds, that this mystery was not to be revealed 'till the coming of the Messiah. The author of the *Zohar* goes on, and applieth the word *bely*, which is thrice repeated in the vision of *Isaiah* (21) to the three persons in the deity, whom he elsewhere calls three sons, or lights, three sovereigns—without beginning, and without end.

It must be owned, that the genuineness of this passage is disputed by the *Jews*, as well as the authority and antiquity of the book itself by some *Christians* (22); but as to the first, it is known, that they make no scruple of denying all that makes against them, and that where they dare not do it, as in the case of the sacred writings, they will manifestly pervert the sense, and appeal to the oral law; and as for the *Christians*, 'tis to be feared they are all but too apt to be partial to their favourite systems, and to over-shoot the mark on both sides. However, tho' it is out of our province to enter any further into the controversy, how far the doctrine of the trinity was, or might be known to the ancient *Jews*, from several places of the *Old Testament*, urged against them; yet we beg leave to make an observation or two out of their *Talmud*, which seem to make very much against them, because they have not yet been taken notice of by any author that we know of. There is one section in it (23), written dialogue wise, in which are several questions, as first, why the names of God, *Elohim*, *Zabaoth*, &c. are in the plural number? and secondly, why they are joined to verbs in the singular? [thus, for instance, the first verse of *Genesis* says, *Elohim bara*, where God is in the plural, and created in the singular, which our divines have applied to the trinity in unity] and thirdly, why God speaks in some places in the plural number, as, *let us make man*, &c. in our image, &c. (24)? Now it is plain, that to all these questions, or rather objections, the *Talmud* gives us no answers but what are plainly illusory; and such as the compilers would most probably have suppressed, as well as the questions, had they not designed thereby to make a kind of a tacit acknowledgment, that these irregular expressions contained some mystery, which they did not think lawful to divulge. This was the reason why a learned rabbi (25), who was severely charged with having betrayed the mysteries of his religion, because the straitness of his circumstances had forced him to accept of the generous offer from a *Roman* cardinal, of a large salary for teaching the *Hebrew* tongue, protests among other things, which he urges in his own vindication, that he had never so much as explained the first verse of *Genesis*.

But what will convince our readers, that this was the case of the writers of the *Talmud*, is the answer that is given in the chapter above quoted, to the question, why the throne of God is in the plural number in *Daniel's* vision (26). The words in the *Chaldee* are כְּרִסְוֹן רִמְיוֹ, *Carsovan remio*, which our version renders *the thrones were cast down*, contrary to the express meaning of the verb רָמָה which signifies to raise, to exalt and set up, in which sense all the *Jews* do rightly understand it. The question therefore that is asked is,

(13) ORIG. CHRYSOST. HIERON. EUPHYM. in *Matt. xxiii.* (14) LIGHTFOOT, SCALIGER, MALDON, & al. (15) HIERON. in *Matt. xxiii. vide* & THEOPHILACT. in *loc.* (16) Vide LEO de MODEN. *Ceremon. Jud. part i. c. 12.* (17) Vide WOTTON's *Verf. of the Mishnah. sub voc. Shemah.* (18) Vide inter al. RAYMOND. MARTIN, *Pugio Fidei pass.* (19) *Advertisement aux Juifs, c. 3. Vide si lubet MEYER Theolog. de Myster SS. Trinis.* HAYEMAN, *Jooden Vegh Wyzer, & al.* (20) Vide BUXT. *few. Tiberiad. in voc. יְהוָה Zohar.* BARTOLOC. & WOOLF. *Biblist. Rabin.* (21) *Ch. vi. 3.* (22) Vide WOOLF. *Biblist. Rabin. No. 2175. p. 1134. & seq.* (23) *Tract. Sanhedrin.* (24) *Gen. i. 26. iii. 22. & alib. & Vide sup. p. 44. note (o)* (25) Elias Levis. *vide pref. ejusd. in Grammat. Hebraic.* (26) *Dan. vii. 9.*



THAT they shall circumcise their hearts, as well as their flesh \* (I); and a be no more rebellious to him, but serve him sincerely, cleave unto him, and swear by his name alone †.

THAT the whole law shall be read by the priests to all the people, men, women, and children, every seventh year, at the feast of the tabernacles †, and the substance of it shall be learned by heart by every *Israelite*; and that every king of *Israel* shall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by *Moses* committed to the custody of the *Levites*, in order to be constantly read and observed by him \* (K).

THAT all blessings shall be thankfully acknowledged to come from God (L), and his punishment submissively received, as fatherly chastisements, or trials of b their obedience †.

THE law shall be engraven upon stones, and set up upon an altar, and the blessings of obedience, and curses for disobedience, shall be publicly set up upon the mounts *Gebal* and *Gerrizzim*, for a perpetual remembrance †.

No forgiveness, or deliverance from punishment for any disobedience shall be expected, without a deep sense and acknowledgment of the fault †.

BURNT offerings, sacrifices, tithes, vows, firstlings of the flock, and free-will-offerings, shall be brought and sacrificed at no other place but that which the Lord shall appoint †.

*Laws, positive and negative, concerning the sabbath, passover, and other c festivals, holy days, and fasts.*

*Laws concern-  
ing the sab-  
bath.*

THE sabbath, or seventh day, shall be kept holy \* (M). No servile work shall be done in it, by master, servant, slave, stranger, or cattle †. There shall no fire be kindled on that day †, nor any thing bought or sold. No per- son

\* Deut. x. 16. & alib. pass. † Ibid. ver. 20. † Ibid. xxxi. 9. & seq. ad 19. \* Ibid. xvii. 18. & seq. † Ibid. viii. pass. † Ibid. xxvii. 1. ad fin. 28. pass. † Ibid. xxx. pass. † Ibid. xii. 5. & seq. † Exod. xxiii. 12. xxxiv. 21. Deut. 5. 12 & 39. & alib. † Exod. xx. 8. & seq. Deut. v. 12. & seq. † Exod. xxv. 3.

why the throne, on which the ancient of days was to sit, is put in the plural † after several trifling answers which are there given as the solutions of several learned rabbies, the last but one of whom pretends that the plural implies the thrones of God and *David*; the last and concluding one is to the following purpose, that it is blasphemy to set the creature on the throne of the Creator, blessed for ever, and closes the whole with these notable words, *if any one can solve this difficulty let him do it, if not let him go his way and not attempt it.* The meaning of it being too obvious to want explaining we shall wholly submit to the reader, and only add, that something very like this seems to be intimated in that distinction in their creed; about the unity of God, namely, that he is one by an oneness or unity peculiar to himself †.

(I) What is meant by the circumcision of the heart needs not be told, it being here and elsewhere put in opposition to stubbornness, rebellion, and stiff-neckedness. We have already spoken of that in the flesh in another section (27); the manner in which it was performed shall be shewn when we come to speak of the *Jewish* ceremonies.

(K) What the abstract or substance of the law was, we have elsewhere shewn †, but the *Jews* conclude, from the words of *Moses* (28), *write ye therefore this song*, &c. that every private man was obliged to write likewise a copy of it; but it seems rather, that he only enjoined them to learn it by heart †. They add that, if the king had not writ a copy of it before he came to the crown, he was obliged to write two after it, the one to

be deposited in his treasure-house, and the other to be kept about him for his daily meditation and instruction (29).

(L) This command of praising the Lord for his blessings, they also extend to saying grace at least before meat, in which their strictness is such, that, if a man through inadvertency chance to neglect it, he is bound, if he is gone abroad, to return home, as soon as he recollects his omission, and perform that duty. They likewise enforce from it the necessity of washing of hands before eating, and affirm that he that eats with unclean hands is equally guilty with him that eateth unclean meat. They add many more of the like superstitious niceties, for which, however, they own, they have no positive command either in the written or oral law; except that one which enjoins them to submit to the ordinances of their wise men (30.). Well therefore might our Saviour so often reprove them, for being stricter observers of these human injunctions, than they were of the more weighty points of the law of God, justice, mercy, &c. (31.)

(M) What that sanctification of the sabbath consisted in before *David*, or rather *Solomon's* time, except repairing to the tabernacle, if they dwell near it, rehearsing the wonders which God had done for them, and a total cessation from work, is not easy to guess. We have endeavoured in a former section (32) to account for this indolent observation, from which the day is called שַׁבָּת, *Sabbath*, or rest. The *Jewish* doctors have stretched this abstinence from work to the most superstitious degree. They extend it not only to every business that

\* Art. 1. (27) *Sup.* p. 427. (R). † *Sup.* p. 540. (F). (28) *Deut.* xxxi. 19. \* *Vide sup.* p. 542. 2. and (H). (29) *Vide præcept. affirm.* 24, 25. (30) *Vide præc. affirm.* 27. (31) *Matt.* xv. 3. & seq. (32.) *Sup.* p. 540. *sub fin.* (E).

that tends to the getting of food and raiment, such as plowing, sowing, reaping, threshing, and the like, which they make to amount to thirty nine negative precepts, besides many others which are as appendixes to them; such as those that follow: grafts must not be walked upon lest it be bruised by it: a horse must not be rid lest it be galled; if wet of any kind fall upon one's cloaths it must not be wringed out, nor dirt be brushed off them; an apple must not be put to the fire to roast, or any liquid be mingled with mustard, tho' never so dry; a flea must not be caught whilst it hops about, but if it fasten upon the flesh it may; vermin that is ingendered by the sweat of the body, such as lice, &c. reptiles and insects that sting, such as vipers, scorpions, wasps, gnats and the like, may be killed; and so may mad dogs and wild beasts, if they assault one, but, if quiet or running from one, they must be let alone.

Whatever ought not to be done in publick, is likewise forbid to be done in private; tho' they do not all agree in this, some of them thinking it lawful to do some things in private, such as wiping any dirt or filth off one's cloaths and the like in a corner, which it would be unlawful to do in sight of others. If a house chance to be set on fire, nothing is to be saved from the flames but the victuals and cloaths designed for the sabbath, unless it be a chest or bag in which there is a sacred book, in which case it may be carried off, tho' there chance to be also money in it. It is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart tho' a heathen drive it. No singing, dancing, playing upon instruments, or any kind of noise is allowed, tho' it were to quiet a cross child. No cause is to be tried, accounts made or cast up, or marriages solemnised. No discourse about buying and selling, or any other worldly matter, much less loose and profane talk is to be suffered; a field, vineyard, orchard and the like is not to be visited on the sabbath, with many more of the like nature. However they allow it to be violated in cases of dangerous sickness, by administering any help to the sick; a woman may be assisted in her labour, or even be cut open, if she die in it, and there be any hope of saving the child.

The positive precepts concerning the sabbath run much in the same strain, we shall only instance in two or three of them. On that day every one is obliged according to their circumstances to put on clean linnen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to eat flesh, fish, or fowl, to drink wine, and to eat at least once in six hours. Care also is to be taken that a clean table-cloth be laid, and the victuals set upon it, the beds made and the lamps lighted before the entrance of the sabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about sun-set according to the saying in *Genesis*, *the evening and the morning were the first day* (33).

A learned *Jewish* author tells us †, that they were obliged in all districts and towns throughout *Israel* to blow the trumpet on the evening of the sixth day, six different times from some eminence, whence it might be easily heard at a due distance, so that they who were abroad in the fields might have timely notice to repair to their habitations before the sabbath began. Accordingly, at the sound of the first trumpet, they left off work, and began to march homeward: at the second sounding, all shops, stalls, and places of trade were shut

up: at the third the pots and kettles were taken off the fire, the tables cover'd, and the meat dressed for the sabbath was set upon them, &c. The last trumpet was generally about sun-set; and on the next night, as soon as they could perceive two or three stars in the sky, the trumpets blew from the same places to proclaim the end of the sabbath; at which time the head of the family, after a short prayer, wished himself and the rest a good week, as he did a good sabbath at the entrance of it. From this blowing of these trumpets from some high places, a cabbalistical philologist (34) hath concluded, that the מוסף השבת, *Musaf-hassabat*, the vail, or as our version renders it the covering of the sabbath, which king *Ahaz* took away from the temple (35), was some kind of watch-tower on the top of it, from which the priests used to proclaim the entrance and exit of the sabbath to those that lived at *Jerusalem*. But, for aught we can see, it might as well have been any thing else.

The *Jews* are fallen into several extravagant notions about the sabbath, some of which we shall but just hint; such as that the obligation of sanctifying it is of much greater force than any other command; that it is the soul and totum of all the rest; so that he that violates it breaks all the rest. That on that day the demons, satyrs, and other such hurtful creatures shun the light of it, and do not return from deserts and dark caverns to infect mankind till it is over, with many more of the like nature, which the reader may see at full length in *Leo de Modena* (36).

It must be owned however, that many of the wiser *Jews* do make the sanctification of the sabbath to consist in duties of a more noble nature, than these *talmudical* trifles; namely, in meditation on the wonderful works of God, in the study of his law, and instructing those that are under them in it (37). Some of them do even maintain, that they used to assemble themselves every sabbath, even from the time of *Moses*, to hear the law read and expounded (38). And this is likewise believed by several learned men among the *Christians* (39), who infer it from the words of St. *James*, that *Moses* ἐκ πόλεως ἀρχαίου has in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day (40). All that we dare say is that the much greater number are of opinion, that this custom was not set on foot till *Ezra's* time. All that the priests were commanded to do on the sabbath was only to set the new shew-bread on the tables, to take away the old one (41), and to offer the meat, drink, and burnt offerings peculiar to that day (42); however their ancient doctors did since clog it with such a number and variety of precepts, and subtilities; and those that came after have been so divided about the right meaning of them, and their practice has so often varied, that it is impossible for them to know whether they kept it right, or not. This made some of their rabbies say, that, if they could but observe two sabbaths as they ought, God would soon put an end to all their miseries (43).

Whether the observation of the sabbath or seventh day be as old as the creation, as some authors both *Jews* and *Christians* contend for, from those words of *Moses*, and the Lord blessed the seventh day and sanctified it (44), or whether that text means no more than that God set apart that day to be afterwards observed by the *Israelites*, as the far great-

(33) *Gen. i. 5. vide* MÜNST. in loc. & præcep. negat. & affirm. de sabbat. † MAIMON. *Traß. Törah cap. v. fesh. 27. vide* GOODWIN's *Moses and Aaron*, l. iii. c. 3. § 10. (34) RHEINFERD *Op. Philolog. dissert. 18.* (35) 2 *King. xvi. 18.* (36) *Cerem. Jud. part. iii. c. 1. vide* & MÜNST. in *Gen. ii. 1. & Exod. xx. & præc. affirm. 29.* (37) *Vide* MÜNST. in *Exod. xx.* MEYER. de *Temp. Sacr. cap. ix. § 66.* (38) PHIL. in *vit. Mos. JOSEPH. cont. Apion, lib. ii. Talm. Hieros. Traß. McGill. MAIMON. Tephilab, & Bircath-bacchanim, & ad. mult.* (39) *Vide* COCCIJ *Sum. Theol. c. xxi. § 14. & seq. GROT. & MEYER. ubi. sup.* (40) *Act. xv. 12. comp. with ver. 36.* (41) *Levit. xxiv. 6, 8.* (42) *Num. xxviii. 9, & seq.* (43) *Vide* BUXTORF. *Synag. Jud. c. xi.* (44) *Gen. ii. 3.*

son shall be put to death for any crime whatsoever, no travelling shall be allowed on the sabbath\* (N).

THE sabbath-breaker shall be stoned<sup>1</sup>; with several others, either to the same purpose, or of less moment.

*Laws relating to the three grand festivals, the passover, the feast of the weeks, and the feast of the tabernacle.*

The three  
grand festi-  
vals.

THREE times a year shall all the male children appear before the Lord their God, at the place by him appointed; namely, at the feast of unleavened bread, or passover, at the feast of the weeks, or pentecost, and at the feast of tabernacles. They shall not come empty-handed before him but every

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. xvi. 29, & alib.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. xxxi. 14, 15.

er part of the fathers and *Christian* commentators understand it; is a question which, tho' more curious than important, has been very strenuously debated on all hands. The *Jews* are as divided about it as we are; for whilst some affect to call the sabbath their spouse, as being granted to the *Jews* alone exclusive of all other nations (45), others affirm that all the patriarchs and all good men did observe it up to *Adam*, whom they pretend to have been the author of the 92d psalm, intitled, *a psalm or song for the sabbath day* (46). They likewise interpret the words in *Genesis*, because *Abraham* — *has kept my charge*, of his keeping the sabbath (47). The same they affirm of *Jacob*, and add, that the reason of his taking up his lodging in the open field in his way to *Mesopotamia* was, that it happened to be the eve of the sabbath, so that he was obliged to stop there as soon as he perceived that the sun was about setting (48). *Job's* offering sacrifices for his seven sons, every seventh day, is likewise understood of his keeping the sabbath, tho' another reason seems to be given in the text (49.)

*Josephus* and *Philo* go still further, and affirm that the observation of it had been preserved among the *Gentiles*. The former says, that there was scarce any nation either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, that did not in some measure conform to the observance of the sabbath (50); and *Philo* assures us (51), that it was not a festival peculiar to any nation or country, but common to all, and kept as a kind of birth-day of the world. He adds in another place that the *Jews*, whilst in *Egypt*, having quite forgot the seventh day, God was pleased to indicate it to them by sending them manna six days, and staying it on the seventh (52). We find likewise several ancient writers among the *Heathens*, such as *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and others quoted by the fathers, who speak of the seventh day as sacred to religion (53). Something like this may also be gathered from that absurd account which some others, particularly *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, give of the *Jews* observing it in imitation of the *Heathens*, who consecrated that day to *Saturn* according to the former (54), or to *Bacchus* according to the latter, who adds that he was also named *Sabbos*, because they used frequently to shout out the word *Sabbos* at his festival (55). However as these testimonies would at best amount to a bare probability, and seem contradicted by some ex-

press texts both in the writings of *Moses* and some of the prophets (56), which intimate that the sabbath was given to the *Israelites* for a memorial of their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, and to distinguish them from all other nations; the far greater part of *Christians*, both ancient and modern, have declared for the other side (57); and it must be owned that, if that festival had been instituted and kept from the beginning, we cannot see why *Moses* should be so exact and cautious in the particulars he gives about the institution and observance of it, especially in his prohibition of gathering manna on that day; unless we suppose with *Philo*, that the *Israelites* had quite lost the memory of it.

We must beg leave to close this note with taking notice of that expression in one of the gospels (58), *ἐν σαββάτῳ ἡμετέροισιν*, in the second prime sabbath, or as our version more clearly renders it, on the second sabbath after the first, which has puzzled a world of commentators, till *Jos. Scaliger* did hit upon an explication (59), which has been universally approved and followed ever since (60). We need not to trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the rest. That of our author carries its own evidence, being founded on the *Jewish* manner of computing the sabbaths from the feast of the passover to that of the weeks, or from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*. The first of these, namely, that which immediately followed the two great feasts, or the first and last day of the passover, was by them called שבת שני ראשון, *Sabbath, Sheni-reshon*, the second prime sabbath; the next was called the second second, or the second after the second prime; the third second third, and so unto the seventh, which last did immediately precede the feast of the weeks or pentecost (61). The fact for which this sabbath is recorded by the evangelist, namely, *Christ's* disciples plucking and rubbing the ears of corn, confirms this exposition, their harvest happening always between *Easter* and *Whitsunday*.

(N) Tho' the text do expressly say, that they shall not stir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna, for it is plain they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of *Jerusalem* (62); however the *Jews* understand it of going out about worldly business, or for

(45) Vide SELDEN & Rabbin. ab eo citatos. (46) Vide Chald. Paraphr. Targum, in titul. Ps. xcii. Middrash Tehill. Talm. Babyl. Tract. Sanhedr. & al. (47) R. SALOM. in Gen. xxvi. 5. (48) Beresh. Rabb. Paraph. 79. Talm. Tract. שבת R. BECHAI, & al. (49) Vide ABENEZ. in Job i. 25. (50) Cont. Apion. lib. ii. ad fin. (51) De Opific. Mund. (52) In vit. Mos. lib. i. (53) Vide EUSEB. præp. lib. xiii. c. 12. CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. lib. v. & al. (54) Histor. lib. v. (55) Symposiac. lib. iv. (56) Vide Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. v. 15. & alib. pass. vide & Jerem. xviii. 22. Ezek. xx. 12, 20. (57) JUST. Dial. cont. Tryph. TERTUL. cont. Jud. lib. iv. IREN. cont. Hæres. lib. iv. & al. vide SELD. de Jur. Natural. Gent. BUXT. discipl. Hæbr. lib. iii. c. 13, & seq. SPENC. de Leg. Rit. Hæbr. JUN. LE CLERC. CALM. Comm. in Gen. ii. & al. mult. (58) Luk. vi. 1. (59) De Emend. Temp. lib. vi. (60) Vide LIGHTFOOT. CAUSAB. BARON. JUN. GROT. in loc. GOODWIN's Mos. & Aar. Sir ISAAC. NEWT. & al. (61) Vide s. lib. Mishnam Tract. מנחות cap. 5. (62) Vide Levit. xxiii. 3.

a every man shall offer unto the Lord according to the ability wherewith he hath blessed him \* (O).

*Of the passover.*

**W**E have already spoken of its institution, and the occasion and design *Easter or* of it in a former section †; the laws relating to it are to the following *passover* purpose.

It shall be of perpetual obligation, both to the *Israelites* and to all circumcised proselytes \*.

No circumcised person, whether of the seed of *Abraham*, or admitted into  
b the commonwealth by circumcision, unless hindered by sickness, journeying, or some

\* \* Dent. xvi. 16, 17. Exod. xxiv. 23, & alib. † Sup. p. 500. \* Exod. xii. 14, 24, & alib.

pleasure; and indeed upon any account, beyond what they call a sabbath's day's journey; this distance is not indeed fixed by *Moses* or any other prophet, but is determined at two thousand cubits. And tho' they differ among themselves about the length of that measure, some making it much longer than others, yet they agree that the safest way is not to exceed two thousand moderate paces (63), and this seems to be pretty near the distance between *Jerusalem* and the *Mount of Olives*, which *St. Luke* calls a sabbath day's journey (64), of which we have already spoken †; however he that exceeded that distance was not judged a violator of the sabbath, but came off with a beating, whereas the breaker of it was to be stoned to death (65).

(O) The *Talmud* however exempts from this obligation, 1. The women, who were to take care of their families, unless their husbands permitted them to go with them, as in the case of *Hannah* and the virgin *Mary*. 2. Boys under 12 years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law, or called בתורה בני, *Ben-torah*, that is, the sons or disciples of the law, till they were entered into the 13th, and this seems to be the reason why *Christ* did not make his first appearance among the doctors at the feast, till he had attained to that age. 3. All old men above sixty. 4. All the sick and impotent, lunatics, &c. And lastly, all that either lived at such a distance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwise so weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

Nothing could be more wisely calculated to preserve the union of the *Jewish* nation, already so strongly cemented by their religion, laws, weights, measures, customs, &c. which were common to them all, than this frequent and universal concourse to the chief place of worship. But here arise two very great difficulties: first, how *Jerusalem* could contain such prodigious multitudes, as did flock to those solemnities from all parts of *Judea*; and secondly, how the *Israelites* could leave their towns and villages destitute of males, without the greatest danger from those nations which were still left amongst them, and would be ready, no doubt, to embrace every opportunity of retrieving their lands and liberties. Add to this, that those, who lived upon the borders of the land, ran still a greater risk of being invaded by their neighbours, if they had left their country under no better guard than that of old men, women, and children.

To the first difficulty, besides what has been hinted in the geography of the land, concerning the capacity of *Jerusalem*; it may be answered first,

that they did not all appear together on the same day, but that they took it by turns, and stayed in the city but one night; and on the next morning, having performed their devotions, they departed, and made way for others. This is plain from the instance of *Elkanah*; and secondly, that there were tents and other conveniences for their reception, not only in the empty spaces within, but likewise in all convenient places without the walls of the city. And if this be thought still insufficient for so vast a concourse, what is answered to the second difficulty, of their leaving the country too much exposed to their enemies, will easily remove all that is left of the first.

And here we need not have recourse to improbable conjectures, as *Cunæus*, *Basnage*, and others have done, who think that this obligation lasted no longer than during their abode in the wilderness, when their nearness to the tabernacle did easily admit of it. For, besides that, if this had been the case, there would have been no need for *Jeroboam* to set up the golden calves to prevent his ten tribes going to *Jerusalem*, their history furnishes us from time to time with sufficient testimonies, that these festivals were kept constantly till after our Saviour's time, as it plainly appears from the vast multitudes that were at *Jerusalem*, from all parts of the world at the feast of pentecost, when the holy ghost fell upon the apostles. Neither need we secondly suppose with others, that they only sent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten or twelve to *Jerusalem*, to be as it were the representatives, and to offer the gifts of the rest, whilst these kept the solemnity in their own towns. For, if any such thing had been either allowed or practised, we should certainly have met with something of it in holy writ, whereas the contrary doth rather appear, from the instances above-mentioned. But since there was a permission from God, that they, that were unable to celebrate the passover on the first month, should do it in the second, as we shall see in the next note; will it not be more reasonable to suppose, that they might extend this indulgence also to the other festivals; so as that one half of the males should stay at home to guard their houses, whilst the others went up, and at their return, to go and partake of the solemnity of the second month. It is indeed urged that there was a promise from God, that none should desire their lands whilst they went up to appear before him, but, besides that their natural backwardness in believing him gives us little reason to think that they would commit their wives, children, and all that was dear to them to

(63) Vide *MAIM. Traß. שבת, c. w. f. 27. GOODWIN'S Mos. & Aar. lib. ii. c. 3. § 10.* (64) *Abi i. 12.* † Vide sup. p. 546. (L) (65) Vide *MAIM. ubi sup.*

some legal impurity, shall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty <sup>2</sup> of being cut off from his people \* (P).

No servant or stranger shall eat of it, unless he become circumcised <sup>7</sup>.

THE feast (Q) shall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month *Abif*, or, as the original expresses it, between the two evenings <sup>2</sup>, at which time the paschal lamb shall be killed (R); and the festival be continued, till the one and twentieth day of the same month at evening.

THE

\* Numb. ix. 13, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. xii. 43, & seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ver. 6. See the margin of our Bible.

his sole care, whilst they went so far from them to worship him, it is plain that those promises were only conditional, that is, as long as they continued steadfast in their obedience, which was so seldom their case, that had their faith in his promises been stronger than it was, yet their disobedience gave them but small encouragement to lay hold on them to such a degree.

(P) We have already given the most probable meaning of this penalty <sup>\*</sup>, and indeed, considering that the principal end of this institution was, not only to perpetuate the memory of all the wonders which God did in *Egypt* and at the *Red-sea*, but also to make it a standing and irrefragable monument to all posterity of the truth and certainty of those amazing works <sup>†</sup>; nothing could be more expedient than to enforce the observation of it under some severe penalties. However, it is evident by the sequel, that they did not understand it of a capital punishment, such as was to be inflicted on blasphemers, idolaters, sabbath-breakers and the like, seeing they not only omitted to celebrate it during their abode in the wilderness without any visible excuse (66); but were afterwards guilty of a most shameful neglect of it during several wicked reigns, till *Hezekiah* and after him *Josiah* revived it (67), as we shall see in its proper place.

As for those who by reason of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and those who were hindered by any lawful impediment, from celebrating this festival with the rest of the people on the month *Nisan*, they were ordered to keep it with the usual ceremony, on the following month called *Jair*. This indulgence was granted by God himself in favour of some men who had defiled themselves by assisting at the burial of some relation (68); and was afterwards made use of by the priests and *Levites*, who being under some legal impurities, when the king commanded them to revive this festival at its usual time, were forced to postpone it to the next month (69).

(Q) This festival is called in the original פסח, *pesach*, from the verb *passach*, which signifies to pass by, or leap over, and not from the Greek, πάσχω, *to suffer*, as if it had been prophetic of *Christ's* suffering at that feast, as some ancient fathers have imagined for want of understanding *Hebrew* (70). God himself explained the etymon, where he commanded them to tell their children, that this was the sacrifice of the Lord's passover אֲשֶׁר פָּסַח, *After-passach*, who passed by or leaped over the houses of the *Israelites* (71). It was to begin בֵּין הָעָרֵבִים *Ben-baharvaim*, between the

two evenings (72) of the 14th of the month, called by *Moses*, *Abif*, which properly signifies the stalk that bears the ear of corn, because wheat begins to be ripe about this time. This month was afterwards called *Nisan*, and answers to our *March* and *April*. The expression between the two evenings is variously taken. Some reckon the first evening to be between noon and sun-set (73), others between two and six (74), but the most rational opinion, and the most received, is, that the first evening is that which immediately follows sun-set, and that the second begins when that planet is so far sunk below the horizon, that the stars do visibly appear above it (75).

The computation of this new year began at the first new moon that happened nearest, or upon the vernal equinox; with this rule, that the preceding full-moon, how near soever to it, belonged to the last month of the former year. Now as they had no astronomical tables to regulate those conjunctions, but were forced to guide themselves by the first appearance of the new moon, all their diligence, in sending out people to observe it from high-places at sun-set, could not prevent great irregularities happening in their months and years, because sometimes it is not to be seen till the second or third night, nor even then if clouds interpose. Add to this, that they were in all other respects so negligent of their chronology, that it is no wonder if so many learned men have laboured so much to correct and adjust it (76), and with so little success. However, as to the new moons, and those festivals which depended upon them, and indeed all other computations of time, they were committed to the care of the priests and judges, and the people were obliged to abide by their calculations, whether they proved right or wrong (77).

(R) This ordinance of the paschal lamb our learned *Spencer* thinks to have been one of those which God expressly appointed in opposition to the *Zabian* and *Egyptian* worship, in order to cure, as he expresses it, the *Israelites* of their itch of idolatry, because the ram among them was sacred to *Jupiter*. He adds also that the ceremony of killing, dressing, and eating of it, namely, neither boiled nor raw, but roasted, with the head and all the other appurtenances, that a bone of it should not be broken, &c. were in like manner opposite to those that were used in sacrifices by those idolaters (78).

As to the *Egyptians*, the reader may see by what we have often said on that head, that this pretended contrariety is at best but very lame and

\* Sup. p. 500. d. † pag. 505. See the last note

xxx. & xxxv. pass.

cont. Jud. c. 10.

(73) D. KIMCHI. ap. Munst. in loc.

EZR. SALOM. & al. in loc.

NIER. GENEBR. USSER. Sir Is. NEWT. BEDFORD, & al.

De Leg. Rit. Habr. lib. ii. c. 24.

(68) Vide Numb. ix. 6, & seq.

(74) CALM. DiA. sub voc. Pague.

(76) Vide infra, p. 610. H. & al. vide & SCALIGER. ubi sup.

(77) Vide præc. affirm. 46.

(78) Ibid. ver. 6.

(66) Vide sup. pag. 555. a.

(69) 2 Chron. xxx. 3.

(71) Exod. xii. 27.

(72) Ibid. ver. 6.

(75) MOS. GERUND. ABIN-

(76) Ibid. ver. 6.

(77) Ibid. ver. 6.

(67) 2 Chron.

(70) TERTUL.

(71) Ibid. ver. 6.

(72) Ibid. ver. 6.

(75) MOS. GERUND. ABIN-

(76) Ibid. ver. 6.

(77) Ibid. ver. 6.



- THE first and last day shall be kept holy and free from all servile work, even as the sabbath, except only that on the former victuals may be dressed, but not on the latter<sup>a</sup>; those two days shall likewise be solemnized by an holy convocation<sup>b</sup> (S).

No leaven of any kind shall be used or even kept in the house during those seven days, whosoever useth any leaven on those days, shall be cut off from Israel<sup>c</sup> (T): all leaven therefore shall be removed out of the house before the paschal lamb is killed<sup>d</sup>.

- ON the first day of the passover shall be offered a burnt sacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year; with some other offerings of less value<sup>e</sup>; and on the second day of the feast shall be offered, besides the usual sacrifices, a sheaf of the first fruit of that year's harvest; no new corn shall be eaten in any way before the first sheaf has been presented unto the Lord<sup>f</sup> (V). Some other ordinances of less moment about this and other festivals are interspersed in the pentateuch, which we therefore omit.

<sup>a</sup> Compar. Exod. xii. 16. with xxxv. 3. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 16. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. 15, 19. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. 34. 35, & alib. vide præc. aff. 347. <sup>e</sup> Num. xxviii. 19, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Levit. xxiii. 10, & seq.

imperfect. 1. Because as they, instead of sheep, sacrificed goats to him, so here *Moses* ordains the killing either a lamb or a kid; and 2. because even they once a year killed a ram in honour of that God, and clothed his golden statue with the skin of it; so that there was nothing in this paschal lamb so very proper to obliterate that piece of idolatry in the worship of *Jupiter*.

As for the feast of the זֶמֶן, *Tzboim*, or זֶמֶן, *Seboim*, we dare venture to say, that it is at least a very bold assumption in our author, to make it more ancient than *Moses*, when he tells us himself in another place (79) that nothing is more obscure and uncertain, than its origin and antiquity, and that there are as many opinions as authors, and errors as opinions about it. He quotes every where the testimony of *Ben Maimon*, who tells us among other things (80), that he came to understand the design and meaning of a great number of *Moses's* laws, by being conversant with the religion, worship, and ceremonies of the *Zabians*; from which, he adds, that *Abraham*, who was brought up in them, had been converted. But of what weight the opinion of a *Jew*, and he far from a strict one, can be of, to account for the design of the *Mosaic* laws, or of what authority his testimony can be, who lived but in the 12th century, to prove the *Zabians* to have been so considerable a sect in *Abraham's*, or even in *Moses's* time, that God should take such care to preserve his people from their idolatry, by giving them a great number of ceremonies that were quite opposite to theirs, we submit to the reader. *Dean Prideaux* seems indeed very fond of *Maimon's* notion, and wonders that any one should dislike it (81), but brings neither proof nor testimony sufficient to back it. However, as to the paschal lamb, we may more justly wonder, that any *Christian* should fetch its origin from so dark and muddy a source, when the writers of the *New Testament* have pointed to us one that is so much clearer and more divine, its being a type of *Christ*. We shall find a more proper place to speak of the nation, or rather sect of the *Zabians*, and to shew how little their boasted antiquity is to be depended upon.

(h) We find no precept about the keeping of the five intermediate days, except the eating of unleavened bread, and abstaining from very laborious

works. The rabbies have supplied that defect by their comments. They allow that time to be spent in mirth, and all lawful recreations; they enjoin all, especially the women, to wear the gayest apparel, to eat flesh, fish, and fowl, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this, and the other two grand festivals, lest the joy, that attends the former, should make them forget the occasion of the latter. Some allow labours of necessity to be done during those five days, and others think it unlawful to take up a straw to pick their teeth. However, they all agree that women may shave and wash themselves, or even their cloaths upon some occasions (82). There is one merry injunction of theirs, that obliges every man and woman, tho' they be so poor that they live by alms, to drink at least four bumpers of wine on the first night of the passover, whilst they are rehearsing the wonders wrought by God in *Egypt* and at the *Red Sea* (83), with some more of the like nature not worth repeating (84).

(T) This curse is understood to extend only to the person that eats any thing that has leaven, and not to him who only keeps it within his doors, and whose transgression is only punished with a certain number of stripes. But, in the former case, their doctors are so strict, that they even forbid eating a fowl, in whose crop is found one single grain of corn, because it is apt to ferment where it meets with moisture. They have likewise several wild distinctions with regard to liquors that are, or are not apt to ferment, which are more nice than true, and consequently not worth being dwelt upon (85).

(V) We shall have occasion to speak of all the different kinds of first-fruits which were to be offered to God as a token of their submission, gratitude, and dependance, and of the manner of offering them, when we come to speak of offerings in general. As for this sheave we are now speaking of, it was to be of barley, because it is the first corn that is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the evening of the 15th day of *Nisan*, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. Thus far the text. The *Jews* add, that as soon as the evening of the first day of the passover was come, at which time the second began, and in which some kind of works might be done, the בֵּית דִּין, *Beith-din*, or great council assembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the sheave with

(79) *Ubi sup.* c. i. sect. 1, 2, & seq. (80) *Morè Nervoeh.* part iii. c. 29, & 40. *Havodab Zarab.* c. 11, 12, & alib. pass. (81) *Connex.* part i. lib. iii. (82) *Vide præc. neg.* 75. (83) *Pr. aff.* 40. (84) *Pr. neg.* 77, & seq. (85) *Ibid.* pr. 77, & seq.



*The feast of the weeks, or pentecost.**The feast of weeks.*

**T**HIS feast was instituted in memory of the law being given upon mount <sup>a</sup> Sinai, fifty days after the exod (W), and to oblige the people to appear before the Lord, to offer the first-fruits of their harvest (X), as an acknowledgment of his absolute right and dominion over them and their land, and of their dependance upon him.

SEVEN weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the sixteenth day of the month *Nisan*, which was the second of the passover, and the fiftieth day was to be the first day of this festival (Y).

THE sacrifices ordained upon this day were to be, besides the two loaves, seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock, and two rams, to be for a burnt offering; together with their usual meat and drink offering, and likewise a kid for a sin <sup>b</sup> offering, and two lambs for a peace offering (Z). No servile work was to be done on that day, save that victuals might be dressed, and a holy convocation was to be called, as on other solemn festivals <sup>c</sup>.

*The feast of the tabernacles.**The feast of tabernacles.*

**T**HIS festival was ordained in memory of the forty years abode of the Israelites in the wilderness; for which reason it is called the feast of the tabernacles, or tents (A); not only because they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but because it was to be celebrated in such kinds of booths, made of the

<sup>a</sup> Levit. xxxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. Exod. xxiv. 22. Numb. xxviii. 27, & alib.

with a kind of solemnity, at which great crouds from the neighbouring cities flocked to Jerusalem, within whose territories it was to be gathered. These deputies asked three times whether the sun was set, and were as often answered by the by-standers in the affirmative. They then asked three times leave to reap the sheave, and it was no sooner granted, but they entered into three different fields, each with a sickle in his hand, and gathered each a distinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought them to the temple. Here they were threshed, winnowed, and parched, and an *Homer*, which contains about three pints, was filled with it, and presented to the priest, who poured a quantity of oil, and threw some incense upon it, and having heaved it to the Lord towards the four points of the compass, he threw some part of it on the fire of the altar, and the rest he kept for himself. After this ceremony, it was lawful for every man to begin his harvest (86).

(W) The reader may remember, that the Israelites came out of Egypt on the 15th of the 1st month *Abib*, or *Nisan* (87), and came to Sinai on the 3d day of the 3d month, two days after which the law or decalogue was given in the presence of all the people (88).

(X) Some commentators are of opinion, that every family was bound to offer two loaves of the first-fruits of the new corn; but it is more reasonable, that there were but two in all, offered in the name of the whole nation, as the first barley-sheave was, which we mentioned in the last note but one. These loaves were made of wheat, because the wheat harvest was ended about the time of this festival.

(Y) It is therefore called in the original שבועות *Shewuoth*, *Chagg Shebushoth*, or the feast of weeks, from the 7 weeks which were reckoned from that of the passover; as, from the fifty days, the Greeks gave it the

name of pentecost. Neither the text, nor *Josephus*, nor any ancient Hebrew writer, tells us whether or no this feast lasted seven days, like these of the passover and of the tabernacles. However, the modern Jews keep it but two days, during which all servile work, except dressing their meat, is wholly set aside. As for their other ceremonies on those two days, as they are foreign to our purpose, the curious reader may see them in *Leo de Modena* (89).

(Z) There is some difference between the sacrifices that are ordered on this festival, in *Leviticus* and in *Numbers* (90). *Josephus* joins them all together (91); but whoever compares them, will rather think that there is some error of the transcriber, either in one or the other of these places. *Buxtorf* tells us, that the Jews were so afraid lest they should be mistaken in their calculation of this festival, and that of the passover, that they kept it two days instead of one. He instances in one place of *Judith* (92), in which the Greek seems to confirm his assertion, and by that means removes the difficulty which has been started, of our Saviour's eating the passover one day before the rest of the Jews (93).

(A) The original calls it חג המנוחות, *Chagg Hassukoth*, the feast of the tents or booths, from which the Greeks gave it the name of Σκηνοπηγία, *Skénopégia* (94). Tho' the text says, it was appointed in memory of their abode in the wilderness; yet the Chaldean paraphrast seems to have understood it, not of their living in tents, but in the open air, when he renders the word סוכות, *Succoth*, Tents, by מללא ענני, *the shade of the clouds*. It is likewise thought to have been instituted as a feast of thanksgiving for the conclusion of their harvest and vintage, which did generally end there about this time, which answers to the beginning of our October.

(86) Vide מנחות ס. Maimon. תמידים ומוספים. Abenezr. in *Dent. xxvi. & al.* (87) Exod. xii. 3, 6, 41, 51. (88) *Ibid. xix. 1, 13, & seq. vide sup. p. 502, 2, & p. 512. & seq.* (89) *Cerem. Jud. part iii. c. 4.* (90) *Comp. Levit. xxiii. 18, 19. & Num. xxxiii. 27.* (91) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 10.* (92) *Judith viii. 6.* (93) *Synag. Jud. vide & Cyril Alex. in Job. xiii. Chrysost. Homil. 82. Epiphani. Eutym. Paul. Burg. Scalig. Jansen. Maldon. & al. mult.* (94) LXX, & 1 *Maccab. x. 21. 2 Maccab. i. 8, & alib.*

- a branches of several sorts of trees, such as willows, palms, olives, and the like (B), and erected in the most decent and convenient manner <sup>a</sup>.

THIS feast was the third grand one, and equal in solemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the passover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the seventh month called *Tisri*, which was the first of the civil year, and answered to part of our *September*, by which time all the harvest being finished and brought in, they returned their solemn thanks to God for it <sup>1</sup>. It was to last seven days, the first and last of which were kept with the greatest strictness (C), by repairing to the tabernacle, or temple, with palms and other branches in their hands, by marching round the altar, and singing the praises of God; by sacrifices

- b peculiar to the solemnity, over and above the usual ones, and by a cessation from all servile works, except cookery <sup>b</sup>.

THEY were likewise obliged to dwell in those booths all the seven days, and to eat and drink, and lay in them (D), unless lawfully hindered <sup>1</sup>.

THE

<sup>a</sup> Levit. xxiii. 40, & seq. & alib. ver. 14, ad fin.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxiii. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Numb. xxix. 13, & alib.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

(B) *Moses* gives us a fuller description of this feast (95) than of any other, probably because it was not to be celebrated till after they were settled in the promised land; but as to the particular trees of which the booths were made, and the manner of their structure, they are not so easily understood. The first wood that is mentioned there is עץ חרר, *Gbez-badar*, goodly tree, or as the original imports, rich or magnificent wood, which the *Jews* will have to be the citron-tree (96). The others are the תמר, *Tamar*, or *Palm*; the 3d עץ עבות, which signifies any thick or bushy wood; and the last נהלי נהלי, which certainly signifies river or water willows; but when *Nehemiah* (97) directs the people what branches to gather for the revival of this feast, he calls the first זית, *Zajith*, the olive; the second עץ שמן, *Gbez-shemen*, fat or oily wood, which is applicable to any wood that abounds with turpentine, as the pine, fir, &c. the third is called הדס, *Hadas*, concerning which we know little but the name; and to these three he adds the palm and thick wood, concerning which we are also in the dark, tho' the *Jews* think it was the myrtle, which they have used ever since; and several interpreters have translated it so accordingly; in particular *Josephus* (98), the *Syriac*, the generality of rabbies, and *Christians*. However, the two first are differently named from those in *Leviticus*, but whether they are the same trees or not, is neither certain, nor of great importance. It is rather more likely, by this difference of names in those two places, that they were not so scrupulous about the exact choice of them, as about getting such as were the most beautiful, fragrant, and convenient, that the land could afford, and especially such as would best keep their verdure during those seven days. This at least was the case of the wise *Caraites*, who, despising the niceties of the *Cabbalists*, thought they sufficiently answered the design of the law-giver, if they lived in such tents or booths as their forefathers had done in the wilderness; whilst the *Talmudists* and their commentators have rather obliterated it by their numberless additions to it <sup>a</sup>.

(C) The first day of this festival was ushered in by a general procession, in which the men

carried branches of those trees mentioned in the last note, some in one hand, and some in the other, waving them about to the four winds, and singing some psalms or hymns proper for the solemnity, and crying *Hosannah*! which word doth properly signify, *save, we beseech thee*; from this word the last day of the feast, on which this ceremony of carrying palms round the altar was performed seven times, and with greater solemnity, in memory as is pretended (99), of the taking of *Jericho* <sup>a</sup>, was called *Hosannah Rabbah*, or the day of the great *Hosannah*.

The *Jews* add, that every *Israelite* who neglected to carry these branches any morning of the solemnity, and to go with them round the altar of burnt-offering, was not to eat during all that day. The hundred and eighteenth psalm is likewise supposed to have been sung on, if not composed for that festival, because there are not only several expressions in it that have an affinity to it, such as these: אֲנִי יְהוָה הוֹשַׁע נָא אֲנִי יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא אֲנִי יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא (100); but also from the very analogy of the whole composition, with the ceremonies of that feast; such as the praying more particularly for the coming of the *Messiah*, for the prosperity of the next year, the fetching of water from the pool of *Siloh*, and the like; but whether these and several other particulars, which they observed in it, were used during the standing of the first temple, or were afterwards introduced by *Esdra*, and others of their great synagogue in process of time, is too uncertain to be dwelt longer upon. As for the ceremony of fetching water from *Siloh's* pool, it seems to be of much later date, and to have been introduced but a little before our Saviour's time, tho' some of the *Jews* attribute the institution of it to the prophets *Haggai* and *Zachariah* (1). Our Saviour is thought to have alluded to this, when he cried in the temple, on the last day of this feast, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me, &c.* (2).

(D) The *Jews* except out of this number the sick and their nurses, and those who could not bear either the dampness of the earth, or the fragrancy of the boughs. They add, that as these booths

(95) Levit. xxiii. 40. (96) *Vide* MUNT. in loc. (97) *Nehem.* viii. 16. (98) *Antiq. lib.* iii. c. 10. *Rabbin.* LEO JUD. JUN. in loc. *BASHAG. Rep. Hæb. tom 1. lib. ii. c. 24. & al. mult.* \* *Vide Mishn. Tract. Sukkah, Arbab. Thurim.* MAIMON. Tract. שופר, & alib. (99) *BASHAG. ibid.* \* \* \* \* \* *HOSFIR. Orig. Fess. c. 7. MUNT. in calend. & al. (100) Pf. cxviii. 25.* (1) *Vide* CUN. ubi sup. CALN. sub voc. *pentecost.* MEYER, *Fess. Heb. GOODWIN, Mos. & Aar. & al. vide* Mishn. sub tit. סוכה, & WOOT. & al. *Comment in ead.* (2) *John vii. 37, 38.*

THE sacrifices peculiar to this feast were, on the first day, thirteen bullocks, <sup>a</sup> two rams, fourteen lambs of a year old; all without blemish, which were offered up in a burnt offering, with their usual meat and drink offerings, consisting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and some wine. To these was added, likewise, a kid, for a sin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of *Israel*; besides the usual morning and evening sacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and those which any one might offer out of devotion. On the second day they offered twelve bullocks, fourteen lambs, with their concomitant offerings of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the first day; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, they offered the same sacrifices, with this difference only, that they lessened every day one bullock, so that on this <sup>b</sup> last day they sacrificed but seven (E); as for the other offerings, they continued

booths were not to be covered with any thing but branches, and these not to be set up so thick, but that they might see the stars through them; they were allowed to retire into their own houses whenever it rained through them (3). It is not at all unlikely, that from these ceremonies of carrying branches in their hands, &c. *Plutarch* might take it into his head to affirm, that the *Jews* celebrated this feast to *Bacchus*, and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thirfe in their hands, tho' he knew not what was done in the inside of them (4). It is true, that *Josephus*, speaking of this feast, and of the nosegay or bunch of greens which the *Jews* wore in it (5), calls it *ispeolawn*, which among the *Greeks* signified a bunch of olive tyed up with wool, on which did hang great variety of fruit. This nosegay used to be carried by a child, and laid at the gate of the temple of *Apollo* (6). But our author here tells us, that the *Jewish* one was made up of myrtle, willow, and palm, on which hung little sprouts of peach, or, as others render it, young citrons. However that be, *Spencer* has from thence fancied, that it was instituted by *Moses* in imitation of the *Heathen*, who about that time used to celebrate some feasts to their gods, with the same mirth and solemnity (7); but *Moses* gives us a quite different reason, namely, that their posterity might know that God had made the *Israelites* to dwell in booths at their coming out of *Egypt* (8), and elsewhere, that they departed from *Rameses*, and encamped at *Succoth* (9), so called from the booths which they reared up there, the place abounding with proper materials for them.

*Walton* adds another reason to this of *Moses*, namely, that it was on the 10th day of the month *Tisri*, that *Moses* came down the second time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news that God was appeased for the sin of the golden calf, and that he had ordered the tabernacle of the congregation to be reared up (which that idolatrous defection had obstructed for a time) in token that he did now no longer disdain to be among them, seeing he vouchsafed to dwell with them in the tabernacle (10); and as he observes there, that this happened six months after the exod, it doth account for that feast being instituted in that month, rather than in the first, in which the people began to live in booths or tents. *Maimon* gives indeed another reason for it, namely, that

that season was fitter to dwell in booths, than the other (11); but he forgets that if there be any difference between the months *Nisan* and *Tisri*, that is, between *March* and *April*, and *September* and *October*, the former seems to have the preference. And therefore the learned *R Jacob Levita* doth judiciously enough observe, that God did chuse the latter for the celebration of that feast, because that was the time in which the cold mornings, winds and rains, obliged people to quit these kind of dwellings, who had lived in them all the summer, for the sake of coolness; whereas, had he appointed it in *Nisan*, the 15th of which answers to about the beginning of our *April*, there would have been nothing singular enough to have put them in mind of the occasion of it, seeing that was the season in which people left their houses for such airy booths (12). However, as this festival was likewise instituted as a thanksgiving for the conclusion of their harvest and vintage; upon which account it was also called חג לולב, *Chag lulabb*, the feast of branches, and סוכות, the feast of gathering \*; this is reason sufficient for its being appointed in that month, in which the whole was generally finished. Several interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, have thought that the psalms which are intitled על הגיתית, *Gbal-Hagittith*, which are the 8th, 81st, and 84th, were composed for this solemnity, because the word *Gittith* signifies a wine-press (13). But *Leo de Modena* (14) tells us, that the psalms which begin with הללויה, *Halleluja*, that is, the 111, 112, 113, &c. to the 118, were the proper ones to be sung on that day. Those, who are curious to know how the *Jews* do observe this feast since their dispersion, may find a full account of it in the same author and place.

(E) The reason which the *Jews* give for lessening one bullock every day is, that the whole number of them offered in those seven days amounted to 70, which they say is the number of the nations for whom these sacrifices were offered, that they might dwindle by little and little, till they were all brought under the scepter of the Messiah, who is emphatically called the desire of all nations (15). Those, who have called this 8th day the *Hosanna-rabba* (16), are certainly contradicted by all the *Jews*, who affirm that it was the seventh day (17); as for this eighth day, on which there was to be what most interpreters render, as we do, a solemn assembly; the Hebrew word עצרת, *Gibzereth*, signifies

(3) Vide MUNT. in *Levit. xxiii. Præc. aff. & neg. & aut sup. citat.* (4) *Symposiac. probl. v.*  
 (5) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 10.* (6) *Vide Gl. ff. in voc.* (7) *De Leg. Rit. Jud. lib. i. c. 6, & lib. iii. c. 8.*  
 (8) *Levit. xxiii. 42.* (9) *Exod. xii. 37. vide sup. pag. 446. c. 502. a.* (10) *Harmon. Evang. ad*  
*Luc. iii. 21. ap. MEYER de Temp. Sacr. cap. 16. § 3.* (11) *Mere Neworb. lib. iii. c. 43. סוכות, de*  
*Rit. Jud. per tot. an. Vide MEY. ubi sup. § 4.* (12) סוכות, *de Fest. Jud. p. tot. ann. \* Vide ABAR.*  
*in Levit. 23. MEYER, & al.* (13) *Vide THEOPH. in John vii.* (14) *Cerem. Jud. part. ii. c. 7.*  
 (15) *Heggai ii. 7. Vide HOSPIN. Orig. Fest. in sac. GOODWIN'S Mos. & dar. lib. iii. c. 6. § 8.* (16)  
*GOODWIN, ubi sup. CALM. in voc. Tabernacle.* (17) *Vide Mishn. ubi sup. Shulchan, Haruch, Aibah,*  
*Turim, & al.*

- a tinued the same throughout. On the eighth or last day, which was the most solemn of all, and on which they were to hold a solemn assembly, and to abstain from all servile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, besides the goat for a sin-offering, and the usual and voluntary sacrifices<sup>1</sup>; which last did rise and fall, according as their harvest had been more or less plentiful. Lastly, on this day the first fruits of those things, which were of latter growth, were brought up and offered to God, and these came sometimes in such numbers, that they were forced to continue the feast one day longer<sup>a</sup>.

*The Feast of the trumpets and new moons.*

- WE have already taken notice, that the month *Tisri* was the first of the civil, as that of *Abib* or *Nisan* was of the sacred year; this feast was appointed to be kept on the first and second day of that month. It was to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, to be kept holy, free from all servile work, and to be distinguished from other new moons, by particular sacrifices<sup>a</sup>.

- As the scripture doth no where give the reason of this festival, authors are much divided about it; the *Jews*, in general, believe it was instituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month (F) †, though some rabbies think that it was also in memory of *Isaac's* deliverance, and of the ram that was caught by the horns, and substituted for him<sup>a</sup>. Some of the fathers think it was in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai*<sup>a</sup>, at which time the trumpet and thunder was heard: others lastly, from some of the ceremonies observed by the *Jews* by way of preparation for, and from some of their notions about this festival (G), have fancied that it was to put mankind in mind of the general resurrection, which is to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpet<sup>a</sup>; but the most probable reason for this feast, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the sound of the trumpets, seems to be in order to render it more observable, seeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and such like, as well as their sabbatic years and jubilees, were to be regulated by it<sup>a</sup>; for which reason the trumpets ceased not to sound every where, from sun-rising to sun-setting<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. ver. 14, ad fin.    <sup>a</sup> Vide SIGONIUS, BERTRAND, CUNÆUS, MEYER, GOODW. & al.    <sup>a</sup> Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 12, & seq. † Vide sup. p. 48. c.    <sup>a</sup> Vide R. SAL. FAG. MUNST. & al. in Levit. xxiii.    <sup>a</sup> BASIL. in Ps. lxxxi. THEODORET. Qu. 32 in Levit.    <sup>a</sup> Vide GOODW. ubi sup. § 6.    <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. § 5.    <sup>a</sup> Vide SHINDLER, sub voc. שופר.

signifies a retention, or as our margin hath it (18), restraint, for which reason they affirm, that after the seventh day was over, and so consequently the festival, the people used to stay, or to be detained one day longer (19). On this day it is, that the *Jews* end the last parasha or section of the pentateuch, and, immediately after, begin the first, that they may not seem to be better pleased with having ended the one, than with beginning the other (20), and for this reason it is called חג שמחת תורה, the feast of joy of the law (21).

(F) The *Gemarrab* doth positively affirm, that בחדשי נברא העולם, the world was created in the month of *Tisri*, for which reason it is thought that this feast was ordained to prevent the old or civil year being obliterated by the sacred, and observes that that of the tabernacles was to be kept בתקפת השנה, at the revolution or return, or as our version renders it, though not so properly, at the end of the year †. And the mishnah adds, that the first day of this month is the head of the year, from which the seventh year, the jubilee, &c. are to be computed (22).

(G) The ancient *Jews* had a notion that God passed a kind of judgment upon men at this time,

for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year, according to which he ordered his blessings and punishments for the next (23). The mishnah expressly says---that at the beginning of the year they pass before him like sheep, according to the saying of the psalmist (24), from the place of his habitation he looketh upon the inhabitants of the earth, he formed their hearts alike, and considers [or makes a scrutiny of] all their works. For this reason they thought that nothing could be more proper to awaken men from their sleep of sin, than the sound of the trumpets, according to that of the prophet Joel (25), blow the trumpet in Sion, sanctify a fast, &c. Accordingly MAIMON observes, from the *Megillat-tahanith*, that the trumpets, which were more solemnly blown on fast-days, were proper to excite men to prepare themselves during the ten days, that were between this feast and the next filling day, or day of expiation for the work of repentance (26). Remarkable is the speech which a learned *Jewish* rabbi has transmitted to us (27), which then used to accompany the sound of the trumpets. Awake, awake from your sleep, awake, ye that deal in vanity, for deadly is the sleep that holdeth you. Consider seriously in your hearts who

(18) Levit. xxiii. 36.    (19) Vide MUNST. ibid. MEYER, de Fest. c. xvi. § 15.    (20) BUXTORF in Abbreviat. & Synag. Jud. c. 28. vide & ABAR. in Deut. 31.    (21) ר' אלעזר, Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. † Vide MAIM. Kidush hakodesh c. 9.    (22) Traß. ראש שנה, cap. 1. vide & Levit. xxv. 3, 5, 6.    (23) Ubi sup.    (24) Ps. xxxiii. 14, 15. Vide HOTTING. & WOOTTON, in Mishn.    (25) Ch. ii. pass.    (26) More Neusch. part iii. ch. 43.    (27) ר' שם טוב.

The proper sacrifices for this solemnity were a bullock, two rams, and seven a lambs, offered up in a solemn burnt-offering, with the usual addition of flour and wine, in the name of the whole nation, besides the kid for a sin-offering, and the daily and monthly sacrifices †.

*The new moons.*

*New moons.*

THE *Israelites* were commanded to observe the first day of every month or moon, and to offer, besides the usual sacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one lamb, and seven rams, with the usual quantity of flour, wine, and oil †. The most solemn of all the twelve was that of the month *Tifri*, which we spoke of last, and which was kept holy upon a particular account. The rest had nothing to distinguish them from common days, except the sacrifices above-men- b tioned, which were accompanied with the sound of the trumpets (H); making better cheer, and perhaps using some kind of devotion or assemblies peculiar to those days. We find nothing like it, indeed, enjoined by *Moses*; but one may gather the former from *David's* excuse for absenting himself from *Saul's* table on the first day of the month, and *Saul's* resenting it, ‡; and the latter, from what the *Shunamite's* husband said to dissuade her from going to the prophet *Elisha*, that it was neither new moon nor sabbath ¶.

HOWEVER, though in all other respects this day was like a common day, they were very scrupulous in the observing it; and as the space of the moon's entering and coming out of the partile conjunction of the sun belongs one half to the old, c and the other to the new month, and they had no sure way of computing it with any exactness or certainty, they observed two days, namely, the last day of the old, and the first day of the new, for greater security. That this custom began very early, seems plainly intimated in the instance we have given of *Saul*, wherein it is said, that he excused *David* for his absence on the first day, but resented it on the second.

† Num. xxix. 3, & seq. ‡ Ibid. xxviii. 11, 12, &c. § 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 27. ¶ 2 Kings iv. 23.

it is that ye are going to appear before to give an account, &c. The apostle seems to allude to this in his epistle to the *Ephesians* (28).

Hitherto there is nothing either improbable or absurd; but that is more than we can say of the additions which have been since made to the *Talmud*; we shall only instance in one or two of them: they believe that God keeps three books, one of the good, a second of the bad, and a third of those that are neither one or the other. The first is the book of life, the second that of death, and those, that are in the third, are to be transferred either to the first or second, on the next expiation day, according as they grow better or worse. Those two books have two kinds of pages, the one for this life, the other for the next; and it is on this day that they think their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the rest of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear at the synagogue in white, others in their shrouds, in token of repentance; others will plunge themselves gradually into the water, confessing their sins, and imiting their breasts, as they sink lower and lower, till they are over head and ears in it; and lastly, others will give themselves 49 lashes on their bare backs, or procure somebody to do it for them; and after these mortifications, and suitable prayers, &c. they wish one another the happiness of being written down for a good year (29).

(H) The fixing the time of the new moon, for

want of astronomical tables, was done in this manner. The first men that observed, or thought they did observe the new moon, were to repair with all speed to the grand council, and give notice of it. And enquiry was then made, 1st, whether the persons were credible witnesses, and secondly, whether their report agreed with such computations as they were then able to make; in which case the president proclaimed the new moon, by saying מְקֻדָּשׁ, *Mekudash*, it is consecrated, which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; after which it was ordered to be proclaimed every where by the sound of the trumpet, or by other ways, according to the times and places (30).

Some authors have denied that these new moons were proclaimed by the trumpet (31), and think that only the first in their civil year was so; whereas the contrary is plain, from the express command of *Moses* (32), to blow the trumpet in the beginning of their months; but whether the distinction which the *Jews* make between the trumpets which the text calls חֲצֹצְרוֹת, *Chatzotzereth*, and those that are called שופר, *Shoper*, and between the sound that is called תְּרוּעָה, *Terugbah*; and that which is called קוֹל, *Col*, voice, and תִּקְעָה, *Tikagb*, be so well founded as they pretend, is hardly worth enquiring. They affirm, however, that these two instruments differed in length, shape, and sound, and that the one, which was the noblest of the two, was sounded on the first day of the new year, and the other on the first days of the month (33).

(28) *Ch. v. 14. Vide GOODW. ubi sup. § 6. (29) Vide BUXTORF, Synag. Jud. HOSPIN, GOODW. LEO de Moden. & al. (30) Vide HOTTINGER, in GOODW. ubi sup. § 7. sub note 5. (31) GOODW. ubi sup. § 4. (32) Num. x. 10. (33) Vide HOTTING. ubi sup. sub note 3.*

- THIS irregularity of the moon obliged them likewise to make some transpositions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of *Tisri*; and of the rest of the months according to that (I). But how early these transpositions began, is what cannot easily be conjectured. All that we know is, that *Scaliger* has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out, and rectify them, and that they have since been of great use in many cases, as may be seen by the book itself, and by the authors quoted in the margin\*.

- THESE are all the feast-days that were appointed by the *Mosaic* law; the *Jews* added, in process of time, several others, in memory of some great mercies, such as that of *Purim* or *Lots*, in memory of their deliverance from *Haman's* cruelty<sup>2</sup>,  
 b the dedication of the second temple, and many more, which we shall not need mention here, because they are below our epocha. All that needs be added to the foregoing is, that there was a command, that if any part remained unconsumed of the sacrifices offered on those solemnities, after the first and second day, or even before, if the flesh of them had contracted any filth, fly-blow, or ill smell, it was not to be eaten, but burned to ashes<sup>3</sup>.

*Laws concerning the sabbatic and jubilee years.*

- c THE sabbatic or seventh year, and the jubilee, which happened once in seven times seven years, are also to be looked upon as solemn times. They were appointed by God, and designed for rest and rejoicing; and as they did bear a kind of analogy, or rather, were a kind of consequence of the sabbath, or seventh day, they may upon that account be also reckoned among their solemn festivals.

- THE *Mosaic* law distinguishes four sorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, consisting of twelve solar, and afterwards of lunar months (K), beginning at the month *Tisri*, or *September*, as we said above. 2. The sacred, which began at the month *Nisan*, or *March*, which was the seventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies; to that the passover, which happened in the middle of that month, was, as it were, the mother of all the other festivals. 3. The sabbatic or seventh year; and 4. The  
 d jubilee or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of seven weeks of years. We have already said as much as is necessary concerning the two first.

THE

\* De Emendat. Temp. HOSPIN. Orig. Fest. BUXT. GOODW. MAY. USSER. & MUNSTER, & al. mult.    <sup>2</sup> Either c. ult. ver. 20, & seq.    <sup>3</sup> Levit. vii. 15, & seq. Præc. aff. 207, 208.

(I) The reason of this transposition was threefold, monthly, political, and mixt (34); the monthly was lest they should celebrate the new moon, before the old one was expired. The political was lest two sabbaths or days of rest should follow one another, because, as it was forbid to dress victuals, bury their dead, &c. on such days, they thought it a grievance to live two days upon cold meat, and to keep the dead bodies so long above ground. The mixed transposition is that which is done upon an account that is partly menstrual, and partly political. These distinctions are in many respects very judicious and necessary; but they have branched them out at such a rate, and with sub-distinctions, and nice rules for the right use of them, that we chuse to refer the readers, that are curious about such things, to those authors mentioned above.

We shall only add, with respect to these *Neomeniæ*, that our *Spencer* has a long dissertation to prove, that the *Heathen* did likewise observe them in honour of the moon (35); but what he would insinuate from it, that the *Jewish* ones were appointed in imitation of the others, is what we think a wild conjecture; neither do we see any reason for supposing that either side did borrow this rite from

the other, for, the worship of the moon being common to almost all the *Heathen*, it was natural enough for them to pay her some particular honour at her first appearance, without knowing any thing of the *Jewish* laws; and as for the other side of the supposition, it is what we have already opposed upon other heads, and shall avoid repeating here †.

(K) It is plain by the calculation which *Moses* gives us of the days of the flood (36), and elsewhere, that the year consisted of 365 days, and consequently of 12 solar months, the last of which consisted of 35 days; and it is more than probable, that, having been brought up in *Egypt*, he had learned that way of reckoning from them, because they are generally allowed to be the first inventors of it, as we have seen in their history\*. Besides that, it must have been the most known and easy method to the *Israelites*, who had been accustomed to it during their long abode there. *Scaliger* (37), and others after him, have indeed supposed that they had an intercalary month once in sixscore years, but it is plain that the scripture hints nothing like such an intercalation, or year of 13 months; though it is not easy to guess what they did with the

(34) SCALIG. ubi sup. lib. ii.    (35) De Leg. Rit. lib. iii. c. 1. dissert. 4.    † Vide sup. p. 427. (R) § 16. (Y) & (Z).    (36) Gen. vii. & viii. pass.    \* Vide sup. p. 218. c.    (37) De Emend. Temp. lib. iii.



Laws concern-  
ing the seventh  
year.

THE sabbatic year was to be kept every seventh year; the observation of it consisted chiefly in the five following articles.

1. A total cessation from all manner of agriculture <sup>a</sup>.
2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the stranger <sup>b</sup>.
3. In the release of all *Hebrew* slaves, unless they voluntarily renounced their proffered liberty, and chose to abide by their old masters; in which case, they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their presence, in token that they freely embraced a perpetual servitude, or at least till the year of jubilee <sup>c</sup>.
4. In the remission of all debts from one *Israelite* to another; but this did not extend to strangers, who were excluded that benefit <sup>d</sup>.
5. It was to begin and end on the month *Tifri*, or *September*, that so there might be sufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for sowing it again the next year, that so the land might not lie fallow two years together <sup>e</sup> (L). Some other laws we find relating to this year, such

<sup>a</sup> Levit. xxv. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Exod. xxi. 2, & seq. & alib.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xv. 1, & seq.

<sup>e</sup> Levit. xxv. 9.

the six additional hours of the *Egyptians* to the 365 days, without some such supposition. However *Moses*, by the express command of God (38), did afterwards compute the year by moons, for that is the meaning of the word חודש, *Chodesh*, from החדש, to renew, tho' our *English* version renders it month; and these answered partly to each of our months, and partly to the next.

The same authors have imagined that the *Israelites* had no names for their months before the captivity (39), because they are often distinguished only by their numbers, as first, second, &c. yet it is certain, we find some of them called by particular names long before; thus we have seen, that the first month of the sacred year was originally called חסיו, *Abib*. We find likewise that of ח, *Zif*, (40), חסיו, *Ethanim* (41), and כול, *Bull* (42); from which it is not improbable that the others might likewise have their names, tho' they are not recorded, and are oftener mentioned by their numbers. As for the etymology of those names, as well as of those which they used after the captivity, about which the learned have puzzled their brains more than the thing deserves, we think them too uncertain to trouble our readers with it, and shall content ourselves with subjoining a list of the names themselves, which is as follows:

	Days	
1 <i>Tifri</i>	30	Answers to our Months
2 <i>Marcheshwan</i>	29	
3 <i>Chaslev</i>	30	
4 <i>Thebet</i>	29	
5 <i>Sebat</i>	30	
6 <i>Adar</i>	29	
7 <i>Nisan</i>	30	
8 <i>Iyar</i>	29	
9 <i>Sivan</i>	30	
10 <i>Tammuz</i>	29	
11 <i>Abb</i>	30	
12 <i>Elul</i>	29	
		September
		October
		November
		December
		January
		February
		March
		April
		May
		June
		July
		August.

To this list they added, in process of time, the intercalary month, which they called חסיו, *Veadar*, that is, *and*, or the second *Adar*, as that was the last of the sacred year.

(L) This year is by *Moses* called by several names, as שנה השבעית, *Shanah hasbe'ith*, the seventh year שבת הארץ, *Sabbath haaretz*, the sabbath, or rest of the earth; שמיטה לידיה, *Shemitah Ladonai*, the release of the Lord, and the like. The time of the year, in which it was to begin, is nowhere fixed by *Moses*, but is easily gathered from that of the jubilee, which was to begin on the 10th of the 7th month (43), and from the reason of the thing given under that article, as well as from the generality of *Jewish* authors. Neither is it agreed how soon this sabbatic year was observed after their entrance into *Canaan*, concerning which, it would be endless to mention all the different conjectures of the learned, both *Jews* and *Christians*. The reader may, if he pleases, consult the authors quoted in the margin (44); all that we dare advance on the subject is, that, if any opinion appears to us more probable than another, it is that of the learned archbishop *Usher*, who fixes it on the seventh year after the manna ceased, at which time they began to sow and till the ground †. *Cunaeus* speaks still more particularly to the same effect; his words run thus (45): there is no necessity for beginning the epoch of the seven years at the division of the land of *Canaan*, but rather at the death of *Moses*, which was the 41st year after the exod, and then the first sabbatic year will be on the 7th after the passage of *Jordan*; so that, after having been taken up six years in the conquest and dividing of the land, the 7th proved in all respects a year of rest, seeing they rested from their conquests, and peaceably enjoyed the fruit of them, and of the conquered land.

There is likewise no small dispute, whether the release of debts, and of slaves, was to take place at the beginning or end of the sabbatic year. The original orders it to be done שבע שנים, at, or from, the end of seven years; from which *Maimon* would infer, that it was not to take place till the seventh year was expired; but tho' there is some difference between saying at the end of seven years, and at the end of the seventh year, yet is it generally believed to have taken place at the beginning of it, because the week of years was then complete.

(38) Exod. xii. 2. (39) Vide HOTTING. in GOODW. lib. iii. c. 1. § 13. note 3. (40) 1 Kings vi. 1. (41) Ibid. c. viii. 2. (42) Ibid. vi. 38. (43) Levit. xxv. 9. (44) Gemar. Kiddush. Gemar. Hieros. in loc. Sedar. Halam. MAIMON. de Shemitah & Tobel, pass. ABARBAN. in Jus. xiv. 12, & alib. R. DAV. GANTZ. in Zemach, & al. SCALIGER, Annot. in Chron. EUSEB. & alib. GOODW. Mos. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 9. MUNST. Calend. MEYER de Temp. Sacr. cap. 17. CUN. CALM. & al. † Sub A. M. 2554. (45) Vide BASNAG. Rep. Heb. rom. ii. c. 8.

- a as that those servants, who were released in it, should not go away empty, but that a compensation should be made to them for their service<sup>f</sup>; that they should not withdraw any needful assistance from their poor brethren, by reason of the nearness of the seventh year<sup>g</sup>; with some others relating to the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards to all comers, and the like (M). Among these, was that remarkable one, which we have taken notice of in another place, of reading the law before all the people on the day of pentecost. For as they were to abstain from all works of husbandry, there is no doubt but there was a greater concourse to hear it, than could have been at any other intermediate year.

- THE reasons and excellence of these laws, as well as those that relate to the jubilee, are obvious to every one, being extremely proper to breed up a faithless and stubborn nation in a constant dependence upon, and subjection to the divine providence, and to inspire them with sentiments of mercy and beneficence towards their poor brethren, servants, slaves, and strangers, by reminding them of their *Egyptian* slavery, which is assigned as one of the reasons of this institution<sup>h</sup>; to which we may add another, namely, the great advantage which the land received by being left fallow every seventh year. However, the generality of the *Jews*, and a great number of *Christians*, both ancient and modern, have looked upon the main design of these institutions to be typical of the millennium or thousand years rest; for as the pentateuch consecrates the seventh day, the seventh year, and the seven times seventh year to rest, they conclude, that the world will last six thousand years in the state we see it in; or, as *R. Elias* in the *Talmud* expresses it, two thousand years without the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah<sup>i</sup>; after which comes the grand sabbath of one thousand years; but this is too nice a point for us, and which we willingly refer to the divines; only we beg leave to observe, from a modest hint of the learned *Mr. Mede*<sup>k</sup>, that as long as we persist in denying the second appearance of *Christ* upon earth, in as glorious a manner as his first was obscure, we shall hardly be able to convince *Jews*, that he is the true promised Messiah; because we can give no tolerable reason why the prophecies concerning his humiliation and sufferings should be understood in a literal, and those of his exaltation and glorious reign; in a spi-
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- d

<sup>f</sup> Dent. xv. 13, & seq. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. ver. 7, & seq. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. ver. 15. <sup>i</sup> Tract. Sanhedr. § Helec. Vide HOSPIN. GOODW. MEY. MUNST. & al. <sup>k</sup> Clav. Apocalyp. ad fin.

(M) It may be, perhaps, asked, what they lived upon during that year, if they must relinquish the product of all their lands to the poor? But it must be remembered, that they were allowed to take as much out of it as was sufficient for themselves and their families (46). However, as some of them made a scruple to touch even any of these, we may reasonably suppose, that they made what provision they could against that time, of such things as could be easily preserved, such as corn, wine, oil, olives, raisins, figs, dates, pulse, and the like; and as to herbs, roots, fruits, and all kind of *סמסין*, or things of spontaneous growth, they might gather them in their own or any other ground. Though even this, some of their rigid scribes pronounce unlawful; not so much because the law expressly forbids it, as for fear of transgressing by too great a liberty (47). But the misfortune is, that before the *Babylonish* captivity, they were so far from being such scrupulous observers of these laws, that, their prophets were continually upbraiding them with the universal breach of them, and in particular, for defrauding and oppressing the poor in this point; but, after they had been chastised for their incorrigible disobedience, they ran into the contrary extreme, and this produced that vast number of glosses and ordinances, which we find in their *Talmud* and rabbinical writings, and which grew

up to such a height of superstition, that it almost obliterated the main end and design of the law. Though it must also be owned, that they were not alike strict, and that some of their head doctors and lawyers took as much pains to find out pretences for eluding the law, as others did to have it scrupulously observed. We shall give but one instance, which relates to the express command of remitting all debts on this and the jubilee year, where, besides their excepting several articles, such as what we may properly call a tavern score, or what a man owes to a victualler; debts for which either pledge or bond has been given, and the like, the famous *Hillel*, a man in the highest repute amongst them, next to the inspired writers, observing that the rich forbore to lend to the poor, by reason of the approaching year of release, made an ordinance, that, upon a man's putting a caveat in the judges court to this effect: *This I deliver to you the judges of this place, such a one and such a one, to the end, that whatever money I lend, I may challenge it whenever I please*, he should be free from this law of remission (48). This plainly shews, that the command was designed to extend to all debts, else there would have been no occasion for their refusing their assistance to the poor upon that account, much less for God's forbidding it so expressly as he did (49).

(46) *Levit. xxv. 6.* (47) *Vide BEN. MAIM. ubi sup. Tract. שבועות, cap. vi.* (48) *Ibid. c. x. & seq. Vide HOTTING. in GOODW. ubi sup. note 6. MUNST. JUN. MEY. & al.* (49) *Dent. xv. 9.*

ritual sense. Whereas, were the doctrine of the *Millennium*, which is far from a being anti-evangelical in any but a *Jewish* and carnal sense, generally received, it would effectually answer one of their strongest objections, without casting the least reflection on the *Christian* religion, whilst the *Jews* were left at their liberty to take it in as gross, and we in as spiritual and refined a sense as we saw fit (N).

### Law relating to the Jubilee.

*Jubilee year.* THIS solemnity is the last, and most considerable, that God enjoined to the *Israelites*. It was to be celebrated every fiftieth year<sup>1</sup>, and had this advantage over that of the seventh, that it released all slaves that had refused their liberty; annihilated all debts, and restored to every man all his lands, houses, wife, children, and possessions, however alienated; and every *Hebrew* servant or slave to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how, and upon what account soever he had been deprived of them<sup>2</sup>, during those fifty years: for this reason it is, that we think, after many commentators, that it was called *Jubilee*, or *Yobel*, because it restored every thing to its pristine state (O). However, it must be observed, that this privilege extended no further than to the original *Israelites*, or to those who had been incorporated into their religion and commonwealth by circumcision; these, indeed, might claim the benefit of it, tho' they had been sold for slaves for any crimes, even by the sentence of the grand sanhedrin<sup>3</sup>; but as for the *Gentiles*, they were wholly excluded from it<sup>4</sup>.

SOME think that the *Israelites* were wont to reckon by *Jubilees*, as the *Greeks* did by *Olympiads*, the *Romans* by *Lustra*, and the *Christians* by *Indictions*<sup>5</sup>; and probably enough they did so, because they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houses, and the like, which generally sold for more or less, according to their nearness to, or distance from it<sup>6</sup>. The case was somewhat different with respect to the sale of houses that were within walled towns, though not of those that were in the country, for those might be redeemed at any time within the space of twelve months, by paying the whole sum of the purchase, but if they were not redeemed within that time, they were

<sup>1</sup> Levit. xxv. 8, & seq.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. ver. 28, 41, & alib.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. ver. 40.    <sup>4</sup> Ibid. ver. 46. Vide MAIMON. Tract. עבדים, c. 9.    <sup>5</sup> HOSPIN. Orig. Fcst. c. 9. GOODW. HOTTING.    <sup>6</sup> Levit. xxv. 27, & seq.

(N) We do not pretend to take upon us to shew how far this doctrine can be proved from the scriptures of the *Old and New Testament*, especially from the prophecies of *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and of the *Revelations*. The reader may see that subject copiously treated by Mr. Mede, above-mentioned, among many others. But with respect to the *Jews* expectation of a glorious Messiah, it is so strongly riveted in them, that they have even gone so far as to acknowledge two Messiahs; namely, one suffering and obscure, despised and persecuted, whom they believed to have appeared at the time foretold by the prophets; and the other a glorious one, of the seed of *David*, whose kingdom is to reach unto the end of the world, and is still expected by them; tho' they own themselves altogether in the dark, concerning the time of his coming. But this notion of a twofold Messiah is plainly opposite to that prophecy of *Isaiab*, which appropriates those those characters to one and the same person (50). However, as to this first character, it is plain the ancient *Jews* were not fond of publishing it, whatever notion they might have of it. This is plain from the *Septuagint's* paraphrase of that verse of the psalmist (51), in which the Messiah is represented as voluntarily taking upon

him the form of a servant, by an expression alluding to the law of boring those servants ears that refused to be released, spoken of under this article. The words in the original are אונים כרית לי, *Oznaim sarita li, mine ears has thou bored*; these interpreters fearing, in all probability, lest such a servile mark should be thought too derogatory to his character, have rendered it σώμα εἰς κατασκευήν μου, *a body hast thou prepared me, or adapted for me*, which in the main comes near to the same purpose, and only softens very much in the expression, the first implying by the boring of the ears, that *Christ* freely submitted himself to become God's perpetual servant, and the other, that God had given him a body fit for the service he had voluntarily undertaken at his coming into the world. This is therefore the reason of the difference between the words in the original, and in the quotation from it by the apostle to the *Hebrews* (52), and is a further confirmation of the writers of the *New Testament* making use of the *Septuagint* version; and this will, we hope, apologize for this digression, if it may be deemed such.

(O) Authors are fallen into various opinions about the etymon of this word, some thinking that it

(50) *Esaï. liii. p. tot. & alib. Vide R. MART. Pag. Fid. DUPLESS. Advertif. au Juifs, GROT. & Verit. BARTOLOC. Biblot. Rabbinic. MUNST. CALM, & al. mult.* (51) *Pf. xl. 6. comp. with ver. 8, & seq.* (52) *Hebr. x. 5.*

- a were not to return to their original owner at the year of *Jubilee* (P). As for the possessions of the priests and *Levites*, they had certain privileges and immunities, which shall be spoken of in a more proper place \*.

- DURING the whole twelve months, all kind of agriculture was expressly forbid; the poor had the benefit of the harvest and vintage, and of all the product of that year, and all other things of that nature went on after the same manner as they did in the sabbatic year. The beginning of it was by God's own appointment fixed to the seventh month *Tisri*, which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year after they entered into the land of *Canaan* they celebrated the first *Jubilee*, and whether from the beginning of every forty-ninth or fiftieth-year, is not easy to determine. As to the former, the *Jews* began to reckon the first of the fifty years, from the fourteenth after *Joshua's* passing the *Jordan*. Their computation ran thus, according to the learned *Maimon* \*: "From their entrance into *Canaan*, to their being carried out of it, are seventeen *Jubilees*; and the year, in which they went into captivity and the temple was destroyed, was the seventh or sabbatic year, and the thirty-sixth of the eighteenth *Jubilee*, which they prove thus: the first temple stood 110 years; after which there was an end of that epocha; the land then did lie waste seventy years, and then the second temple was built, which stood likewise 120 years. In the seventh year after its restoration, *Esra* went up to *Jerusalem*; and from this time began a second epocha.
- c "On the thirteenth after the rebuilding of the temple, they celebrated the second sabbatic year, and seven weeks of years, or forty-nine years, being elapsed, they consecrated the fiftieth; for though they did not celebrate the *Jubilee* after their return from the captivity, nevertheless they continued to compute the years of it, in order to celebrate the sabbatic ones (Q)." Thus far *Maimon*; but here it must be observed, that he has followed the reckoning of *Josephus*, *Pbilo*, and of all the *Jews*, who not only place the first sabbatic year, and consequently the *Jubilee*, seven years later than *Usher* and *Cuneus*, namely, from the fourteenth year after their entrance into *Canaan*, but allow fifty compleat years to every *Jubilee*; whereas that primate, and with him a great number of learned *Christians* \* think,
- d that it was celebrated every forty-ninth year, as we shall see presently. However, as he has here rectified the *Jewish* chronology in some other respects, so he reckons but the same number of *Jubilees* that *Maimon* doth, before the destruction of the temple; as the reader may see in the table at the end of his annals, under the word *Jubilee*.

THE first of them he fixes on the 3318th year of the *Julian* period, which is the 2609th of the world, or 1396 years before *Christ*, and the seventeenth or last before the captivity in 4102 of the *Julian* period, 3393 of the world, and

\* Ibid. ver. 29, 30. \* Ibid. ver. 32, & seq. \* Ibid. ver. 8, 9. \* Ubi sup. c. x. ex Verf. BECKII. \* HUGO CARDINAL. GERARD, MERCAT. in *Chronol.* JOS. SCALIGER, PETAV. CALVIS. LANSBERG, CAPELL. CUNÆUS, SPANHEIM, JUN. LE CLERC. & al. mult.

it is so called from the Hebrew יָבֵל, *Yobel*, which signifies a trumpet made of rams horns, from the Arabic, *Jobelab*, a ram; because the *Jubilee* was proclaimed by the sound of that instrument (53). Others, that it is a felicitous word, in imitation of the sound of that instrument (54); others again think, that it comes from *Jubal*, the first inventor of musical instruments (55): but we prefer that which derives it from the obsolete root יָבַל, *Yabal*, in hiphil, הִבִּיל, *bobil*, which signifies to recal, restore, bring back, &c. which is what the *Jubilee* did. The reader may see that word occur in many places of scripture, and particularly in the *Psalms*, where, among others, he will find this expression: יָבִילוּ שֵׁי לַמּוֹרָה, *Tobilu sei lam-morah*, they shall bring presents to him that is to be feared. (56).

(P) The *Jewish* lawyers add another exception, from what authority we cannot find, that these who sold their houses, lands, &c. in order to traffick and make a gain of the purchase money, or indeed upon any other account than to supply the necessities of life, were excluded the benefit of the *Jubilee* (57).

(Q) There is some difficulty in apprehending what that author means by keeping up the computation of the *Jubilee*, in order to observe the sabbatic years, for the latter used to regulate the former, while it continued, but after it ceased, the sabbatic years could easily be kept in their course without it; and so they did accordingly; for *Josephus* tells us, that *Alexander the Great* remitted to the *Jews* the seventh year's tribute, upon that very account (58).

(53) Rabbin. ser. Omn. Vide KIMCH. in Rad. sub voce. יָבֵל, GOODW. MEY. MUNST. &c. (54) BOCHART. Hieros. BECKIUS Annot. in MAIMON. Shemitah veyobel, note 5. (55) GOODW. HOTTING. &c. (56) Ps. lxxvi. ver. penult. vide & Job x. 19. xxi. 30, 32. Jerem. xxxi. 9. & alib. (57) MAIMON. Shemit. veyobel, c. xii. (58) Jos. Ant. lib. xi. c. ult.

612 before *Christ*. As for the remainder, which he has carried down to the thirtieth, or to the year of the world 4030, they are only added, in order to make a compleat calculation of them to the thirtieth year of *Christ*, or to the beginning of the gospel. For it is plain, as *Maimon* observes in the place above quoted, that the *Jews* observed no *Jubilee*, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, either with respect to the cessation of agriculture, the restitution of lands, manumission of slaves, or any of those ends for which it had been instituted. Neither, indeed, was it practicable; for, the seventy years captivity having quite obliterated the memory and pretension to their forefathers land, every one, at their return, settled himself as well as he could, in the confusion that then reigned, after which their affairs did take a quite new face in *Judea*; whilst a very considerable number of their brethren chose to continue in the place of their captivity.

THE next controverted point is, whether it was celebrated on the forty-ninth or on the fiftieth year? We have already given a list of the principal authors who are for the former; those who declare for the latter (without reckoning *Philo*, *Josephus*, the *Targums*, and all the *Jews* in general, *Karaites*, as well as *Talmudists*) are still more considerable.—Among these we reckon some of the fathers<sup>7</sup>, and a great number of moderns<sup>8</sup>. The truth is, that either hypothesis may be defended from the different expressions which *Moses* makes use of in the institution of it; and on the other hand, there are certain difficulties in each of them, which cannot be easily solved. We shall content ourselves with a bare hinting of them. In one place he expressly commands them to number seven sabbaths of years, or forty and nine years, and on this last to proclaim the *Jubilee* by the sound of the trumpet<sup>a</sup>; and in the very two following verses he says, that the fiftieth year shall be that of the *Jubilee*. The grand objection against the first of these is, that if *Moses* had meant that the forty-ninth should be the *Jubilee* year, there would have been no necessity for his forbidding all kind of agriculture, and the like, on that year, since that was forbid of course, by its being likewise the sabbatic year, for seven times seven make forty nine. On the other hand it is objected, that, if the fiftieth year was to be the *Jubilee*, it will follow that the land must have had two sabbaths, or lain fallow two years, which is thought an unreasonable supposition, since, without a miracle, it must in all likelihood have caused a dearth in the land. This *Cunæus* insists very much upon, in favour of the forty-ninth year, though he passes by the great difficulty above-mentioned, as of no weight; but we think this objection of the two concurring sabbaths may be more easily answered. For in the first place, those, who are for the fiftieth year, do rightly enough observe, that there is no necessity for supposing that the land rested two years, seeing the lawgiver's intention seems fully answered by the repose of one, and that upon the account of its being sabbatical; and that therefore, when *Moses* says that the fiftieth shall be a year of rest, he uses only that round number, to express the uneven one of forty-nine. There is, indeed, hardly any other way of reconciling the difference of *Moses's* expressions; and one may add, that as the solemnity began on the first month of the civil, which was the seventh of the sacred year, it might be called indifferently the forty-ninth or fiftieth year, without any contradiction or difficulty. What convinces us further, that this is more than a bare conjecture, is, that *Moses* makes use of the same calculation for the feast of pentecost. The analogy, which seven weeks of days bears to seven weeks of years, is obvious to every eye; now as it is plain, that the pentecost did not begin on the forty-ninth, but on the fiftieth day; so we see no reason why the same may not be allowed, with respect to the *Jubilee*.

HOWEVER, as to those who will not easily forego the notion of the land resting two years in this case, we beg leave to observe, secondly, that even such a supposition may be well enough granted, without the pretended inconveniency of causing a dearth in the land. For to say nothing of the extraordinary blessing which was promised to them upon such occasions, as long as they did religiously observe these ordinances, it is certain that the natural fertility of the land, and the provision which every one might lay up during

<sup>7</sup> EUSEB. S. JEROM. AUGUST. GREG. MAG. ISIDOR, & al.    <sup>8</sup> TOSTAT. BONFRER. FACIUS, JUNIUS, DRUSIUS, VILLET. HOTTINGER, SCHINDLER, PFEIF. HEIDEKKER, LEWSDEN, CALMET, & al.    <sup>a</sup> Levit. xxv. 8, 9.

- a the foregoing years, might easily prevent any such danger. We meet with a more signal instance of it in the time of *Hezekiah*, when the prophet *Isaiab* sent him word that he should be delivered from the threatening power of the king of *Affyria*, and, as a token of it, commands the people to live on that year upon such things as grew of themselves, and on the next upon such as sprung from the same, and on the third year to sow and plant<sup>b</sup>. Here indeed the *Jews* pretend that the middle year was a sabbatic one, but, whether it were so or otherwise, it is plain that there were to be at least three years without any harvest; for on the first year it is said they should eat, not the fruit of the foregoing harvest, but that which grew of itself, and that which was sown on the third could not be gathered till the fourth; and yet we do not find that there was any dearth upon that account. Upon the whole therefore, we are more inclined to the latter opinion of the *Jubilee* being kept every fiftieth year.

THIS year was to be celebrated with the greatest tokens of joy, because it was designed to put them in mind of their *Egyptian* servitude, and to prevent their imposing the like on their brethren. But whatever joy the masters and land-holders might outwardly express, we need not doubt but that of the slaves and poor was sincere, at the sight of their approaching restoration. 'Tis true, this was not to take place till the tenth day of the month, otherwise called, the day of expiation, which was therefore kept as a solemn fast; but, during the nine preceding days, the slaves were wholly exempt from doing any work for their masters, and spent that time in eating, drinking, and other diversions, and wore garlands about their heads, not unlike the *Roman saturnalia*; and as soon as the tenth day was come, the sanhedrin caused the trumpet to sound all over the land, upon which they were restored to their liberty at that very instant, and the rest to their possessions<sup>c</sup>.

IT is plain the design of this ordinance was to prevent the too great oppression of the poor, as well as their being liable to a perpetual slavery. By this means also their law-giver prevented the rich accumulating lands upon lands, and preserved, as much as possible, the freedom and order of *Israelitish* families, and a kind of equality of their possessions, than which nothing could more effectually inspire them with a particular fondness for their country and patrimony, whilst they knew that this last could never be alienated from their posterity above the space of half a century at the most. And that it wrought such an effect upon them is plain, among many others, from the instance of *Naboth*, who chose to incur the king of *Israel's* displeasure, rather than to part with a small portion of his inheritance to him; tho' for his tenaciousness he fell a sacrifice to *Jezebel's* resentment, and lost both that and his life<sup>d</sup>.

#### Expiation-day, or day of atonement.

- c THIS is the last solemn day that was of divine institution. It differed *Expiation-day.* from all the rest in that they were days of joy and thanksgiving, but thus a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession of sins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment<sup>e</sup>, if we except that occasional one which God enjoined the *Israelites* after their setting up the golden calf<sup>f</sup> (R); but which we do not find to have been made annual by *Moses*, or observed by the people till after the captivity, when they became so religious that they

<sup>b</sup> 2 King. xix. 29. <sup>c</sup> Vide MATTH. Halak Shemitz Veyobel. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings xxi. pass. <sup>e</sup> Levit. xxiii. 26, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Exod. xxxiii. 5, & seq.

(R) And yet we do not find one word of fasting, on that solemn occasion of humiliation, nor even on this day of expiation, unless we suppose it to be implied in the words, *afflicting your souls*. However, it would be absurd to deny, that fasting had been in use long before *Moses's* time, because he has not taken notice of its being practised by any of the old patriarchs; or that it was not intended as part of solemn humiliation, because it is not expressed in so many

words. The contrary seems rather to follow from his silence, not only because the early custom of fasting among the *Heathens* upon all particular occasions, as in the case of the *Ninevites*, (59), and many others, shews it to have been discovered by the light of reason; but because the very course of nature seems to give it a sanction, for when men are visited with any sensible affliction, or threatened with any immediate danger, it never fails of palliating the appetite, and inclining them to fast. And

(59) *Jonah* iii. 5, 6.



appointed as many fasts for every miscarriage and misfortune that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their calendar<sup>f</sup>; but this is not the proper place to speak of them. Those, who conjecture that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, do limit the design of it too much, seeing it appears rather instituted to expiate for the sins of the whole nation, both publick and private; but more particularly for those of the foregoing year. This is to be plainly inferred from the name which *Moses* gives to it (S), as well as from the confession of sins, and other remarkable ceremonies, which he enjoined to be used on that day, of which we are now going to speak. We shall say nothing of the typical relation it bears to the grand expiation wrought under the gospel, it being out of our province.

It was to begin, as as other solemn days, on the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month, and to last till the evening of the tenth, during which time they were obliged to abstain from all labour and pleasure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewise to hold a solemn convocation, confess their sins, and to offer a peculiar sacrifice for them by fire<sup>g</sup>.

THE high-priest's office on this day was still more solemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year on which he was permitted to enter into the most holy place, under pain of sudden death from the Lord<sup>h</sup>; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himself for that grand ceremony, in that extraordinary manner<sup>c</sup> which was prescribed by God himself, as follows: he was first of all to wash himself, not his hands and feet only, as at other times, but his whole body. The *Talmud* adds, that he was to abstain, during seven whole days, from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cause an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this duty<sup>i</sup>; secondly, his mitre, breast-plate, and other priestly ornaments were to be set aside that day, and he only to appear clothed in linnen; this garb did consist only in a linnen mitre or cap, a coat, breeches, and a girdle. He was in the third place to offer, as soon as he came to the holy place, a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering for himself, and his whole house, confessing his and their sins over them. After this<sup>d</sup> he received from some of the heads of the congregation a couple of kids for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Then were two goats set before the tabernacle, and the high-priests cast lots for them, which of the two should be sacrificed on that day, and which should be sent away; and this latter was called *Hazazel* (T), or scape-goat. He then entered into the holy of holies, with his censer in one hand, and a large quantity of fine incense

<sup>f</sup> Vide *Mishn. Megillath Tahanith*, per tot. LAMY, CALMET, & al.

<sup>g</sup> *Levit. xxiii. 27, & seq.*

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid. xiv. 2.* <sup>i</sup> Vide *præc. affirm. 209.*

And what evinces, that this practice was well known among the *Israelites*, is the many instances which we meet with from *Moses's* time. Thus after their unexpected defeat before *Hai*, *Joshua* and all the elders of *Israel* continued prostrate before the ark from morning till night, without eating or drinking (60); the same was practised by the eleven tribes upon another occasion (61); by all the people at *Mizpeh*, in token of their repentance, for having served *Baalim* and other strange gods (62); and more particularly by *David*, in hopes of saving the life of the child he had got by *Bathsheba* (63). And by these, and many more instances of the like nature, it appears, that they not only abstained from eating and drinking, but from all other things that might refresh either the body or mind. Accordingly, the *Mishna* forbids these six things on these days, eating, drinking, bathing or washing, anointing, putting on of shoes or sandals, and matrimonial intercourse (64), for every one of

which, they quote one or more precedents out of the sacred books.

(S) The original calls it יום הכפורים, *Yom kaphurim*, the day of expiations or atonements; because on that day there was an atonement made for the sins of the whole foregoing year, and of the whole people. For which reason the *Talmud* calls it by way of excellence יום־אָמָה, *Yoma*, the day; and perhaps likewise from a tradition they had, that it was on that day that *Adam* began to repent of his transgression, and God was reconciled to him (65). For the world, and consequently our first parents, according to them, were created on the first day of this month, as we have seen before; their transgression and punishment followed immediately after, and so consequently their repentance; for which reason, some of them think, that this day was appointed in memory of the fall †.

(T) We have here followed our version, and the generality of commentators, who derive the word

(60) *Josh. vii. 6.* (61) *Ibid. xx. 26.* (62) *1 Sam. vii. 6.* (63) *2 Sam. xii. 16.*  
(64) *Tr. Yoma.* (65) *Rab. ELEAZER, in Talmude. Vide ABARB. Comm. in Levit. xxiii. † Vide sup. p. 59. b.*

- a beaten small in the other, that the smock of it might fill the place, so as to cover the mercy-seat from sight : and as soon as he had set the censers upon the altar, he came out and dipped his fingers into the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himself, and went and sprinkled it towards the mercy-seat eastward seven times. This done, he killed the goat for the people's sin-offering, and went and sprinkled the mercy-seat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock, and by these aspersions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution it had contracted by standing in the midst of that sinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till this solemn atonement had been made for the sins of the priests and people, neither priests, nor any person, were permitted to come either within the tabernacle, or even into the courts of it.

As soon as these ablutions were ended, and the priests and people purified, the goat, whose lot it had been to escape (V), was brought to the high-priest, who laid his hands upon its head, and confessed his own sins, and those of the whole nation, in words to this effect : O LORD, *thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, have rebelled against thee ;—and now, O Lord, I beseech thee, forgive*

word *לְחַזְזֵל*, *Ghazazel*, from *לָז*, a goat, and *לָזַח*, to go, or to escape ; in which they have followed the *Septuagint*, who have rendered it *ἀπομαρταλῶ*, and the *Latin* after them *emissarius* (67) : and it is certain, that the verb *לָזַח*, *Azal*, is often used in that sense in the *Old Testament* (68). However, from *Moses's* words (69), it should rather seem, that *Azazel* is the name of the place whither the goat was led ; for he says, that the man who lets the goat go *לְחַזְזֵל*, *lebazazel*——which last cannot properly be rendered any other way than to *Hazazel* ; and in this sense most of the *Jews*, and some *Christians*, have taken it (70) ; and some of the former do tell us, that it is a mountain distant about ninety furlongs, or about eleven thousand paces from *Jerusalem* (71).

And here we cannot but take notice of a strange notion which *Spencer* has taken into his head, that this *Hazazel* was neither the name of a place, nor of the scape-goat, but of a devil, unto which the goat was sent by the messenger (72). He mentions one *Mark*, an arch *Heretic*, who pretended to have a demon of that name, by whose assistance he performed wonders (73), and from this, and some expressions, which he found in some cabalistical writings, and in those of *Julian* the apostate, he pretends, that this scape-goat was sent with its load of sins to the devil, in which notion he is followed by some others \*†, who believe that both the sacrificed goat and the scape one were typical of *Christ*, and think the first to be significative of his death, and the other of his being exposed to, and overcoming the power of *satan*. But as for us, we should rather prefer *Mr. Le Clerc's* opinion, that *Hazazel* was a steep and cragged precipice, down which the goat was thrown : and this is not only more agreeable to the original, as we observed above, and to the *Jewish* notion of its being a rocky mountain, but the same author has further proved it from the words of *Moses*, that it should bear all their iniquities *אֶל אֶרֶץ גִּזְרָה*, *el eretz Gazarah* (74), which doth properly signify, not only an uninhabited land, or a land of separation, as our version renders it, but a land that is cut off or

broken off from another, such as precipices are. It might also be probably enough called *Hazazel*, from its being inhabited only by goats, as *Hottinger* observed in his notes upon *Goodwin*. *Le Clerc* doth further confirm it by a new etymon of the word *Azazel*, which we shall not dwell upon. Neither is it easy to guess either what was done to the goat, or what became of it, after it was brought to the place appointed. The *Talmudists*, if we may rely on them, affirm, that it was thrown down a precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall. They add, that during the high-priesthood of *Simon*, surnamed *the Just*, which was signalized by many remarkable tokens of the divine favour, the goat used to fall in pieces before it had reached half way to the place ; but that, after his days, it used to be caught and eaten by the *Saracens* (75).

(V) How these lots were cast doth not appear from scripture. What the ancient *Jews* tell us of it is, that there was an urn brought unto the high-priest, into which he threw two wooden lots, upon one of which were written the words, FOR THE LORD, and on the other, FOR AZAZEL, and after he had shaken them, he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, the one in his right, and the other in his left ; and as the goats stood on each side of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. They also used to draw a good omen of God's being pacified with them, if the right hand chanced to draw the lot that was for the Lord, as they say it happened all the time of the high-priest mentioned in the last note. As for the rest of their customs, observed on that day, such as their mutual asking and granting forgiveness for past offences, making restitution, and the like, though they are probably as old, or very near, as the institution of this feast, yet we rather chuse to refer our readers for them to the two last quoted books ; or, if he pleases, to *Leo de Modena* and *Buxtorf* (76).

One thing, however, is worth observing, that, on the eve of this solemnity, the *Jews* of old used to take a white cock, if it was to be had,

if

(67) LXX. AQUIL. SIMMACH. THEODORET. BOCHART. *de Animal. Sacr.* MARCH. *Secul. ix.* PAGN. JUN. & al. (68) Vide KIMCH. in *rad.* BUXTORF. *Thes. in voc.* (69) *Levit. xvi. 26.* (70) MUNST. AR. MONT. & al. (71) *Targ.* JONATH. R. R. SAAD. GAON. KIMCH. SALOM. ABENEZ. & al. (72) *Dissert. in hirc. emissar.* (73) Vide EPIPHAN. *Hæres. 34.* \*†† TURRETIN. COCCER, ALTINO MEYER, & al. (74) *Levit. xvi. 22.* Vide LE CLERC. in *loc.* (75) *Mishn. Traß.* יוֹסֵד, vide & MAIM. in *שׁוֹמֵר הַכֹּפָרִים*. (76) *Cerem. Jud. part iii. c. 6.* Vide & BUXTORF. *Synagog. Jud. c. 20.*

give their sins, rebellions, and backslidings, by which they have offended thee, according as it is written in the law of thy servant Moses: in that day he shall make atonement for you, he shall cleanse you, and you shall be clean from all your sins before the Lord (W) †. The confession being ended, he delivered the scape-goat to a man appointed for the purpose, who conducted it into a desert place, and there left it to shift for itself, according to some, or threw it down a steep precipice, according to others, as we have seen in the last note. After this ceremony, the high-priest washed himself all over, and having changed his cloaths, or, as seems most likely, having put on the ephod, mitre, breast-plate, and his other priestly garments, he was to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himself, and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the scape-goat, he was deemed unclean, b till he had bathed himself, and washed his cloaths; as were also those who carried away the flesh, blood, and entrails of the bullock, and goat of the sin-offering, to be burnt without the camp \*.

It was likewise on this day that the high-priest did give the people the solemn blessing prescribed by Moses<sup>1</sup>, in which he pronounced the unutterable name of God, of which we have spoken in another place \*; for, according to the Jews<sup>m</sup>, the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occasion by a particular law ever since the stoning of a notorious blasphemer<sup>a</sup>; but, whether true or not, the pronouncing of that tremendous name, joined to the sacred awfulness of the place, may be reasonably supposed to have filled him with c uncommon dread whilst he stayed in it, which is the reason why he usually made what haste he could decently out of it, lest he should be struck dead for some accidental miscarriage or inadvertency during his short stay there; and when he came out, he went backwards, keeping his face still towards the mercy-seat, and bending towards the ground. All these things, no doubt, took up a considerable time; the residue of the day was spent in prayers, and other works of mortification; and they were so afraid of shortening it, that they begun it half an hour sooner, and ended it half an hour later than other feast-days; after which the trumpet gave notice that the solemnity was expired, and then they dressed themselves in white, or at least put on clean linnen, and, after a blessing, sat d down to break their fast. They seldom failed making a plentiful meal, and to rejoice that their sins were now expiated; but above all, the high-priest expressed a more

† Levit. xvi. 30. \* Ibid. xvi. pass. ibid. vi. 30. Vide FAG. in loc. HOTTING. & al.  
<sup>1</sup> Numb. vi. 24, & seq. \* Vide sup. p. 485. note (T). <sup>m</sup> PHILO. in vit. Mos. lib. iii.  
 JOSEPH. Talmud. & al. <sup>a</sup> Levit. xxiv. 10. & seq.

if not, of any other colour but red, and, after a prayer, they struck their heads with that of the cock three times, saying, *bear thou my sins, suffer thou the death I have deserved, die thou for me, and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a blessed life, with all the people of Israel.* After which they killed the cock, confessing that they deserved the death they inflicted on him, and threw his entrails on the top of the house, in hopes that the crows would bear them and their sins into the wilderness. 'Tis true, this ceremony is looked upon by the Dutch Jews as sinful, and that *Leo de Modena*, who owns that it was practised heretofore in the *Levant* and *Italy*, adds, that it was afterwards left off, because it was found to be a meer piece of superstition, for which no tolerable reason could be assigned. But he seems to have forgot that they gave one which, however ridiculed by our learned *Goodwin*, is not without a singular meaning. It is this: the word גִּבּוֹר, *Geber*, in the scripture, signifying a man, and in the *Talmud* and *Chaldee*, a cock, the divine justice required, that, as *Geber* in the first sense had sinned, *Geber* in the other sense should bear his sin. Now what other foundation can this custom have, than the prophe-

cies that the Messiah, as *Geber*, in his human nature, should expiate for the sins of man; unto whom therefore they substituted this typical *Geber*, or cock, till the antitypical one should accomplish that expiation by his death. And might not the *Christians*, urging this against them, be the motive of their abolishing it? Might not moreover, the Πῆσι-ἱμῶνα of the *Gentiles*, those human victims, which they chose out of the dregs of the people, to sacrifice yearly to their gods, by way of expiation (77), and their Καθάρματα, which they offered in times of plague, famine, and other publick calamities, and on whom they so liberally bestowed all the curses, which they thought due to themselves, have their original from hence (78); this is what the apostle justly complains was practised against the first *Christians* (79), since there hardly happened any publick calamity in the empire, but they were immediately persecuted with the utmost cruelty, as the cause of them; and were looked upon as proper victims to avert the divine anger.

(W) He was likewise to make such another confession when he offered the bullock for himself and family, before he ventured to enter into the holy

(77) Vide SUID. in voc. πῆσι-ἱμῶνα. (78) Vide Vet. Scholiast. in Aristoph. (79) 1 Cor. iv.  
 13. Vide BUDD. Annot. in Pandect. de pœnis. GOODWIN'S Mos. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 8. § 7, & seq.

- a a more than ordinary joy, that he had gone through the solemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come alive out of the most holy place\* (X).

*Laws concerning other expiations or atonements.*

- B**EFORE we leave this subject of expiations, it will not be amiss to give an account of some others, which were enjoined by *Moses* upon their contracting of any legal impurities, such as those of a woman after child-birth, of a man by touching of any unclean thing, as a dead body or carcase, or an unclean person, as a leper, and the like, and secondly by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly or through ignorance. By these and such like the persons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleansed, but by offering such sacrifices as the law appointed (Y); and this purification was to be performed in the following manner. The person who had committed any trespass, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or sin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock or a goat, if it was for a priest, and if for a layman, a goat, sheep, kid or lamb, and if the person was too poor to afford one of these, then two pigeons or turtle doves, or even a small quantity of flour was accepted of. One or more then of these, according to the nature of the trespass, or the circumstance of the person, were brought to the priest, and the person to be purified brought his victim, and having confessed his sin, laying his hands upon the head of it, killed and offered it up. The priest then took up some of the blood of it with his fingers, and applied it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, and poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and the rump, and burnt it upon the altar, and, having prayed for the person, pronounced him pardoned and absolved from his trespass; the flesh of such victim, thus offered, belonged to the priest alone; none other was to eat of it. This ceremony was performed somewhat more solemnly when the king, high-priest, or the whole nation had committed a trespass, but in the main it came much to the same purpose.
- d

As for legal pollutions, such as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony for their cleansing; namely, the ashes of the red heifer reserved for that purpose. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as it was prescribed by *Moses*, was after this manner: The high-priest was to take care that it was without spot or blemish, and that it had never been yoked. It

\* Vide Mishna, Tract. Yoma. MAIMON. Tract. Yom. hakiphur. MEYER, c. xv. § 9. † Vide Levit. iv, v, vi, pass. ‡ Numb. xix. per tot.

holy of holies, only, instead of the house of *Israel*, he only mentioned that of *Aaron*. The reader may find it in the *Mishna*, in the place above-quoted. It is plain however from the ceremonies which he was to perform there, that he was to enter four times into it on that day; 1. To set the incense a burning; for he went in with both his hands full, and could carry nothing else with him (80). 2. When he carried some of the blood of the bullock that was offered for himself (81). 3. When he carried some of that which he offered for the people (82). And 4. when he went to fetch out the censer and fire. The *Talmud* adds, that it was death for him to go in the fifth time. And therefore when the apostle says that he went in but once a year (83), it is plain he has followed the version of the *Septuagint*, which render the words אחד בשנה, *Achad beshanah*, by  $\alpha\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ , but it is certain it might have been more properly rendered one day in the year.

(X) The *Jews* add several other particularities relating to this day, which we dare not affirm to have been in use during the first temple; such as these, that the scape-goat was escort-

ed all the way by priests and laymen, to the place appointed; that, between the temple and it, there was a cauey made on purpose, with ten different stages on it; that as soon as the goat was thrown down the precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall, notice was immediately given to the people, who waited impatiently for the news in the temple, by proper signals set up at convenient distances, with many more of the like nature.

(Y) We believe it is scarce necessary to observe here, that, in the language of the *Old Testament*, all transgressions, before they were expiated, are compared to a filth or defilement contracted by the transgressor; and the pardon that attends this expiation of them, to an ablution or purification from it. It is according to this allusion that the *Septuagint* have rendered the words כופר and כפר, *Kopher* and *Kaphar*, as likewise those of חטא and חטא, *Tabar* and *Chatab*, when this last signifies a forgiveness, by  $\alpha\beta\alpha\delta\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\alpha\beta\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ; and it is in the same sense that the writers of the *New* affirm *Christ* to cleanse and purify us from our sins by his blood.

(80) Levit. xvi. 12, 13.

(81) Ibid. ver. 14.

(82) Ver. 15.

(83) Heb. ix. 7.

was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a seven-<sup>a</sup> fold asperision of the blood with his fingers towards the sanctuary; after which a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its skin, entrails, and other appurtenances, and a bundle of cedar-wood, hyssop and scarlet, and burnt to ashes before his face, himself helping to cast her into the fire; and this was to be done in the presence of all the people. The ashes were then gathered and laid up for use, and all that had had a hand in this ceremony were to be unclean until evening. When ever afterwards any person had contracted a pollution, such as made him unclean seven days, he was to be sprinkled with water, in which some of these ashes had been thrown, on the third and seventh day, on which last he was to be clean; but, if he neglected being sprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day.<sup>b</sup> This law was so severe against those who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that, if they offered to go to the tabernacle before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the sanctuary. The very vessels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itself where the corps lay, were likewise defiled, till sprinkled with this water of separation, as it is called in the text. How often this grand ceremony was repeated from *Moses* to the captivity is not agreed. Some affirm that the heifer which was burnt by *Elcazar*, *Aaron's* son, did last them all that time; others that there<sup>c</sup> was one burnt every year, and that some of the ashes of it were sent to every city and town in *Israel* (Z). Whether or no this sacrifice was to be numbered among the burnt-offerings which were made for the whole nation is a dispute amongst the learned both *Jews* and *Christians*, which we shall not enter into; sure it is that the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* looked upon it as a figure of *Christ*, who therefore suffered without the gates of the city, even as the heifer was burned without the camp<sup>••</sup>; and whose blood is of much greater

<sup>a</sup> Vide *HIERON. Epist. 27.* <sup>••</sup> *Heb. xiii. 11, 12.*

(Z) It is justly wondered, that this water thus mixed with the ashes of the red heifer should purify the unclean, and at the same time pollute not only those who assisted at the slaying, burning, and gathering the ashes of it, but even those who sprinkled the unclean person with it (84). The *Jews* have a very ancient tradition that *Solomon*, who was master of all other mysteries and knowledge, and could account for every precept in the law, even those which forbade the eating of swine's flesh, or wearing of mixtures of linnen and wool, yet own himself ignorant of the meaning of this red heifer (85). However our *Spencer* has ventured to dive deeper than he, by the help of his infallible rule of relation, either of conformity or opposition to the *Egyptian* rites, he ranks therefore the red heifer under this last class, because that nation sacrificed nothing but male animals, and that they had an aversion to all red-hair'd creatures, and even to the colour itself, whereas the *Mosaic* law makes no distinction of colours in any case but this (86). But we beg leave to observe here, that the *Jews* were as little fond of the red as the *Egyptians*, and that *Moses* commanded the use of scarlet in sacrifices for sin, only to express the guilt of it. Accordingly all the inspired writers compared sins of the deepest guilt to crimson and scarlet, as they did innocence to white (87); and this we think doth sufficiently account for the colour of the heifer.

And here we beg leave to subjoin a remark

to the same effect, which is, that in the 22d psalm, which abounds with many particularities relating to *Christ's* passion, there is one expression, not hitherto observed, nor rightly rendered by any translation that we know of. It is where he is called a worm and no man (88), for it is plain the word תולעת *Tbolagbath*, is no where used in scripture, but to express either the crimson or scarlet colour itself (in which case it is commonly joined to the word שני *Shani*, and signifies double dyed); or at most, the insect from which that dye is made, unless it be figuratively taken to imply a deep degree of guilt, as in the place above quoted out of *Isaiab*. The most literally therefore that the psalmist's words can be rendered would be, As for me, I am a scarlet insect or worm, and not a man; but the figurative sense will be plainly this; I bear the scandal and reproach of the deepest guilt, and am wholly free from it; I am reputed a sinner, and yet am free from sin. But this by the by. We shall only add, that the *Jews*, *Maimon* excepted, whom *Spencer* affects to follow, allow, that there is a deeper mystery in the ordinance of the red heifer, than any in the whole scripture, and highly condemn the presumption of those who pretend to dive into that deep abyss (89.) However what was a mystery to the *Jews* is sufficiently explained to the *Christians* by the apostle to the *Hebrews*, in the place quoted above, and to which we think *Spencer* has given but a jejune and illusory answer (90).

(84) *Num. xix. 7, 8, 10, 21.*

(85) *Mishn. Tract. de מוסף מרוב מניין. More Nenech. p. 3.*

c. 26. vide *Et lib. Jalcut Et al.*

(86) *De Leg. Rit. Lib. ii. c. 15.*

(87) *Vide int. al. Isai. i. 18.*

(88) *Jer. 6.* (89) *Vide Mishn. ubi sup. R. ABR. SEBA. in Zetar Hamor. fol. 118. Et seq. R. R. SALON. ABENEZ. ABARBAN. Et al. (90) Ubi sup. Jer. 6. obj. 3.*

- a efficacy towards the purging and sanctifying of men, than that of bulls and goats, the ashes of an heifer, or any other legal sacrifices \*.

*Laws concerning some other sacrifices and oblations, not mentioned under the former heads.*

**A**S we had occasion to mention the sacrifices that were enjoined to be offered upon every solemn festival, under the head of each, and of those which were offered by way of expiation for sin; we shall now mention those few others that remain unspoken of. These may be reduced under the seven following heads. 1.

- b The daily sacrifice. 2. Peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleansing. 5. First-fruits. 6. First-born, and 7. Tythes. Besides these, there were other occasional sacrifices, some of them directed by some prophets, as in the case of *Samuel*<sup>1</sup>, and *Elijah*<sup>2</sup>, and others observed by particular families, which were rather feasts than sacrifices, as appears by the pretence which *David* made for absenting from *Saul's* table<sup>3</sup>, and the like, of which we shall take no further notice, they being entirely arbitrary; as for those that were to be offered at the consecration of the high-priest, and of other inferior priests, they will be better seen in another place.

- c 1. The daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual sacrifice, consisted first, and before all things, in burning a certain quantity of incense upon the golden altar, after which they were to offer two lambs of the first year, and without blemish, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation; these were burned every morning and every evening, and with a slower fire than ordinary, that it might last the longer. They offered likewise a certain quantity of wine, and of flour, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering. This was ordained by God upon mount *Sinai*<sup>4</sup>, and is therefore called continual, because it was not to be interrupted by any other sacrifices or solemnity, as we have seen under the article of each festival.

- d 2. Peace-offerings; this sacrifice was either eucharistical in acknowledgment of some mercies received from God, or supplicatory, in order to obtain some blessings from him, or out of meer devotion in honour to God, or lastly, upon account of some vow. These were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the *Israelites* to them, except where it is said, that *they should not appear empty before the Lord, but be liberal in these kind of sacrifices, according as God had blessed them*. It was likewise left to them, to offer what beasts they would, without regard to sex or age, so they were of the clean sort, and free from any pollution or defect. The votary was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it. The priest then took some of the blood, and sprinkled it upon, and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground, at the foot of it. All the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and, if it were a sheep or lamb, the rump were burnt upon the altar, after the priests had laid them upon the hands of the person, and directed him to wave them to the four points. The breast and shoulder of the victim was the perquisite of the priest in waiting, and the rest belonged to the owner, who might then dress and eat it how and with whom he would, as if it had been killed within his own gates<sup>5</sup>.

- f 3. The meat and drink-offerings; these we have already spoken of occasionally, because they used to accompany the burnt-offerings of every festival, the daily and all other sacrifices made with fire. They consisted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flour, to every beast that was sacrificed. Thus, for instance, with a bullock they offered half an hin, that is, about a wine gallon, of wine and oil, and three tenth deals, or wine pints of flour; to a ram, was allowed the third part, and to a lamb the fourth part of an hin, and so proportionably of the flour<sup>6</sup>. Besides these, there were some others of the same nature, which were to be offered by the poor, who could not reach a higher offering, of which we have said enough already.

4. Offerings for cleansing. We have spoken of some of them above, under the head of expiation. There remain two more, namely, that of two pigeons, which

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. ix. 13. <sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 12. xii. 9. xvi. 2, & seq. <sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 30, & seq. <sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xx. 29. <sup>5</sup> Exod. xxix. 38. Num. xxviii. 6, & seq. <sup>6</sup> Levit. iii. pass. <sup>7</sup> Numb. xxviii. pass.



which a woman was to offer for her purification after child-bed, in case she could not afford a lamb; or even a small quantity of flour and oil, if the pigeons were also above her circumstances<sup>a</sup>; and that of two sparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for the cleansing of himself<sup>b</sup> and his house<sup>c</sup>. In both these cases, one of the birds was instead of a lamb for a burnt-offering, and the other for a sin-offering. The first bird was to be killed in a clean earthen vessel over a running water; after which the priest took the other bird, with a bunch of cedar-wood, scarlet and hyssop, and dipped them in the blood, and sprinkled the person or house seven times with it, and then pronounced them clean, and the living bird was let loose. The person was likewise to add three tenths of flour mingled with oil, and a log of oil. These quantities of flour and oil were made into cakes, <sup>b</sup> and offered up to God. Some were of barley, others of wheat-flour, some had leaven, and consequently came not near the altar<sup>d</sup>; others had none. All of them were to have some salt. Some were voluntary, others not; some dressed one way, and some another, as the reader may see more fully at the end of the following note (A).

THE next under this head is the shew-bread, called in the original, *the bread of faces* (B), because it was always to stand before the Lord upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the purest wheat, into twelve loaves or cakes, answering to the twelve tribes. The priests were to take care to bring fresh ones warm every sabbath-day in the morning, at which time <sup>c</sup> they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but priests. Each loaf was to contain two tenth deals, or about three wine pints of flour, and to be set up in two rows, six to each row, one loaf upon another. The Jews tell us, that there were some double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. This offering was accompanied with incense, with which the loaves were to be perfumed, but they were to be without leaven. Some commentators say, that there was a quantity of wine offered with

<sup>a</sup> Levit. xii. per tot.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xiv. 4, & seq.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. 49, & seq.<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ii. 11.

(A) It will not be amiss to observe here, that all the offerings, which had life, were called קורבן, *Corban*, and those which had not, מנחה, *Minchah*; the first is derived from קרב, *Karab*, to approach, because the victims were brought to the door of the tabernacle, the other signifies a present; but both of these consisted of such things as were commonly eaten, if we except the incense and the wood, which were likewise called offerings. The *Corban* was always looked upon as the most sacred, and was therefore called קדש קדשים, or most holy, the others קדש קלים, or holy things of a lighter, or inferior nature. These *Minchahs* were of five sorts. 1. Of bare flour. 2. Made into cakes, and baked in an oven. 3. Fried in a pan. 4. Upon a gridiron. And 5. The first fruits, of which we shall speak under the next head. Again, these cakes were either kneaded with or fried in, or only rubbed over with oil, which was always that of olives; and as none of these three were to have any leaven, so neither were they to have any honey (91). If this last was at all offered, it was by itself, and under the notion of first-fruits.

There is one of *Moses's* laws which expressly forbids the priests to offer any thing to God, that is in any way marred or spoiled, and particularly any bread from the hands of a stranger, as being polluted and corrupt (92); by which some understand any kind of sacrifices, and others only that of these cakes, or meat-offerings; but in either case there is no doubt, but if a stranger was so well disposed as to offer any sacrifice to

the God of *Israel*, the priests could furnish him with either victims or bread ready baked, provided he payed the price of them †. But be that as it will, it seems from two or three texts, that they had a constant reserve of loaves or cakes, kept in baskets for those who came to offer up these meat-offerings, or any other sacrifices that required them (93). And here we might add likewise, under this head, the meat-offerings of the *Nazarites*, and the cake of jealousy; but they will be better seen in their proper places, when we come to speak of them in the sequel.

(B) The words are לחם פנים, *Lechem-phanim*, which name some, especially of the Jews, affirm to be given, because the loaves had four *phanim* or faces, that is, were four-square (94); but it is more likely that they were so called from their standing continually, לפני מלכיהם, *Lipnei-melchihem*, before the Lord. Some have thought it improper to place this shew-bread among the meat-offerings, because they were not offered upon the altar as these were. For our part, we think with some others, that the sacred table on which they were set (which may not improperly be deemed an altar) their being kept before the Lord, and called hallowed bread, and as such allowed only to be eaten by the priests, may easily excuse our ranking them under this class, rather than any other, especially they being accompanied with incense, and offered in the name of the twelve tribes. The Jews add, that they were covered with leaf-gold; but do no where tell us where they are commanded to do so.

(91) Levit. ii. 11, 12. (92) Levit. xxii. 24, 25. † Vide Num. xv. 14, & seq. (93) Compar. Exod. xxix. 32. & Num. vi. 15, & alib. (94) Vide Maim. Treat. חמדין, ABR. HAROFH. שלמי גבורים, & al.

- a them, but the text mentions nothing but incense and salt \*. These loaves were called the hallowed bread, in opposition to the common sort which every body might eat †.

5. FIRST-FRUITS. We have already spoken of those that were offered at *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and at the feast of *Tabernacles*; and these were offered in the name of the whole nation; but besides them, every private man was likewise obliged to bring the first-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowledgment that God was the giver of them. Neither the time nor the quantity being prescribed by the written law, the former was left to the convenience of the people, and the latter was determined in some sort by their wise men, yet so as to leave room for generosity to exert itself more or less according to the disposition of each person. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer at least the sixtieth part of the product; but some did offer the fiftieth, and some even the fortieth part \*. After the building of the temple they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows.

As soon as the person who came to offer them had reached the court of the priests, the *Levites* began to sing the 30th psalm, after which the person made this confession: *I do this day make a publick acknowledgment before the LORD your God, that I am entered into the good land which he swore unto our fathers that he would give us* (C). Whilst he was speaking these words, he took his basket off his shoulder, the priest lending him a hand, and, whilst these two held it up, he made an end of his confession in these remarkable words prescribed by *Moses* †, *A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation great, mighty, and populous; and the Egyptians did evil intreat us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our afflictions, our labour and oppression. And the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and stretched out arm, and with great terribleness, with signs and with wonders;*  
d *and brought us into this place, and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. And now behold I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me.* After this the basket was set before the Lord by the side of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering which were always to accompany the first-fruits, and having paid his devotions to God, he went to make merry with his acquaintance with his share of the peace and meat-offerings. And here he was likewise obliged to impart some portion of his good cheer to the fatherless, widows, and to the *Levites*, that they might rejoice with him. And this the rich, who sacrificed a bullock,

\* Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & seq. † Vide 2 Sam. xxi. 3, 4. ‡ Vide Mishn. Tract. Terumoth & Bekorim, & commentat. in eund. vide & MAIM. in loc. † Deut. xxvi. 4, & seq. Vide MUNK. JUV. & al. in Levit. xxii. xxiii. & Deut. & xxvi.

(C) The *Talmud* adds several other remarkable particulars concerning the bringing the first-fruits to the temple, which we can neither warrant nor disprove to have been used during the first temple. They are as follows. As soon as a man was got to the foot of the mount on which the temple stood, he was to take up his basket (in which the first-fruits, or rather a sample of them, were laid, not confusedly, but every sort by itself) and put it on his shoulders, and carry it up to the priest's apartment. They tell us that the kings themselves were not dispensed from it. These baskets were more or less magnificent, that is, from those made of gold wire to the common coarser ones, according to the circumstances of the persons. To prevent confusion as much as possible, they used to join themselves by troops of four and twenty to a troop, which drove before them a bullock crowned with olive-branches, and having his horns tipped with gold or silver, which was to be

offered with their first-fruits. They generally had a man to go before them, playing upon a flute or some such instrument, and in that order they marched to *Jerusalem* singing some psalm or hymn proper for the occasion. As soon as they came near the gates of *Jerusalem*, the inhabitants used to go out to congratulate, and bid them welcome. These first-fruits did not consist of all the different products of the earth, but only of six kinds; namely, barley, wheat, grapes, figs, dates, and olives; to which some add apricocks, or peaches and pomegranates. These first-fruits are not indeed called in the text מנחות, *Menachoth*, or offerings, from *Mincha* mentioned in a former note, nevertheless we have ventured to rank them under that class, because they were offered up at the altar (95). They add, that, after each band had performed their duty in the manner mentioned above, they were to lie one night in the city, and then return to their homes (96).

(95) Vide Deut. xxvi. 10, & alib. (96) Vide BARNAG. ex Cunnæ tom. 3. lib. iii. c. 2.

might be the more ready to do, because they were forbid to leave any fragments a till the next day <sup>1</sup>.

UNDER this head we may add the first cake of every lump of dough that exceeded the bulk of forty eggs, of which the woman was obliged to set aside one part to be given to the next priests or *Levites* <sup>2</sup>, in order to sanctify the rest. But as *Moses* did not determine the quantity, it was left to the discretion either of the master or mistress of the house, till the rabbies assigned the twenty-fourth part of that which was baked for one's own family, and the forty-eighth part of that which was designed for sale <sup>3</sup> (D).

6. FIRST-BORN. The *Mosaic* law makes a threefold distinction of these; namely, the first-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (E). <sup>b</sup> We have already spoken in a former section of the first of these, of the reason of their being consecrated to God, and of their redemption by their parents <sup>†</sup>. And here we must observe, that the word first-born of the males must not be restrained to the eldest son; for he may be eldest, and yet not first-born. And therefore *Moses* adds, that first opened the womb: so that it was possible among the *Jews*, where polygamy and polygyny was allowed, for a man to have several first-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, as soon as they were thirty days old, at which time they were presented to the priest, and the mother offered the sacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article, and, the price being payed for the child's redemption, he <sup>c</sup> began then to belong to the parents, and not till then <sup>¶</sup> (F). How they redeemed them since the destruction of the second temple is out of our purpose. The reader may see it in *Leo de Modena* and other *Hebrew* rabbies; only we may observe that the children of the priests needed not to be redeemed at any time.

THE first-born of clean beasts, such as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were also consecrated to God; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacles or temple, and there be killed, the blood was poured at the foot of the altar, the fat burnt upon it, and the rest of the flesh was the priest's perquisite, with this precaution, however, <sup>d</sup> that if the beast had any natural or legal defects, such as blindness, lameness, the want of a limb and the like, it was not to be sacrificed: the priest took it home, and there killed and eat it; and might invite whom he would

<sup>1</sup> Levit. vii. 15, & alib. <sup>2</sup> Num. xv. 19, & seq. <sup>3</sup> Vide Mishn. Tract. חלה, c. 1. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 502. c, d. <sup>¶</sup> Exod. xiii. 2. Num. xviii. 15, & alib.

(D) The *Jews*, we are told, were so scrupulous in this, that, if they could come at neither priest nor *Levite*, they threw the cake into the oven and burnt it to ashes, before they put the bread into it (97). This is one of the three things that are committed to the care of the women, who were to say a blessing at the same time that they separated the paste; and this extended according to them to the bread that was made of wheat, rie, barley, wild barley, and oats.

(E) We must remind our *English* readers, that this expression has no such harshness in the original, as it has in ours, and other languages, because the word which in these is rendered first-born, in the original, is בכור, *Becor*, which properly implies the principal or most excellent of every thing or creature in its kind, whether in a good or bad sense. Thus God expresses himself concerning *David*, I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth (98); where the word means nothing like first-born in a strict sense. On the other hand, a most cruel death is in *Job* called בכור מוות, *Becor-maveth*, the first-born of death (99); and *Isaiab* called the poorest, or rather

the weakest of all בכורי דלים, *Becore-dallim*, the first born of the weak (100). It is therefore probable that this word was figuratively applied to the first-born, to imply their excellency in strength and dignity, according to *Jacob's* expression to *Reuben*, his eldest son (1).

(F) According to this law we find the virgin *Mary* redeeming her child *Jesus* (2); nevertheless it has been much disputed, whether he was subject to this or not, tho' he is allowed on all hands to have been her first-born. Some think he was not, because he did not break open the seal of her virginity (3). Others, thinking that every male opening the matrix is equivalent to every first-born male, maintain that he was to be redeemed (4). But some of the fathers have still improved this argument, affirming, that in strictness of speech this law of redemption was only applicable to *Christ*, seeing he was the only male child that did properly open the womb of his mother, whereas in other women it was opened, if not before, yet at least when the first-born was begot. For which reason they think this law to have been wholly typical of *Christ* (5).

<sup>1</sup> (97) *Mishn. Tract. חלה*, PHIL. de *Præm. Sacerd.* HIERON. in cap. 45. *Ezek. Maim. Leo de Moden.* & al. (98) *Pf. lxxxix.* 27. (99) *Job xviii.* 13. (100) *Isai. xiv.* 30. (1) *Gen. xlix.* 3. (2) *Luke ii.* 22, 23. (3) CYRIL. HIEROSOL. *Homil. de Octurf. Domin.* (4) Vide CORNEL. a *lapid. on Exod. xiii.* & ant. ab eo citat. (5) ORIGEN, IERTUL. AMBROS. & al. ap. CALM. *sub voc. premier ne.*

- a to partake of it, as of any other common meat. But if it was an unclean beast such as an ass, a dog, and the like, the owner was at his liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five shekels of money, or to break the neck of it<sup>a</sup> (G).

As to the first product of the trees, all that is meant by it is, that every new planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumcised and impure during the first three years. It was not lawful to gather, much less to eat the fruit of it; on the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the Lord's, and consequently the perquisite of the priests, from whom however the owner might redeem it if he thought fit by an equivalent<sup>b</sup>: but from that time the owner was at liberty

- b to make the same use of them as he did of his old ones<sup>c</sup>.

7. TITHES. These and the first-fruits, and the redemption of the first-born, were the most constant and considerable income of the priests and *Levites*; tho' the first is by far the more ancient, as we have seen in several places of this history\*. However, we confine ourselves to those prescribed by the laws of *Moses*, in which he has been so strict, that he ordained, that, of all those which consisted of clean animals, none should be redeemed at any rate, but that they should all be sacrificed to the Lord; and that those which consisted of the fruits of the earth, such as grains, fruits, and the like, should not be bought off, without paying one fifth part more than their intrinsic value<sup>d</sup>. We need not here observe, that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any share in the division of the land, nor any portion or inheritance with the rest of the people (H).

- THESE tithes were of four sorts; namely, 1. Those which were thus assigned to the tribe of *Levi*<sup>e</sup> (I), and these not being of the higher rank of holy things; all the *Levites*, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. 2. The tenths of these tithes which were assigned to the priests, for these last did not gather the tithes themselves, but that office belonged to the *Levites*, who were not to touch any part of them, till they had paid that proportion to the priests<sup>f</sup>, and had sent it to *Jerusalem*. 3. After a layman had payed his first tithes to the *Levites*, he was obliged to set aside a second tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to *Jerusalem*, and there make a feast, and invite, besides his friends and relations, the priests and *Levites* to it<sup>g</sup> (K).

<sup>a</sup> Vide Num. xviii. 17, & seq. Exod. xiii. 13. Deut. xv. 20, & seq. \* Vide præc. affirm. 137. <sup>b</sup> Levit. xix. 23. <sup>c</sup> Vide sup. p. 323. a. & note (S). 440. d. <sup>d</sup> Levit. xxvii. 30, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Num. xviii. 20, & seq. Deut. xiv. 22, & alib. vide & 2 Chron. xxxi. 4, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Num. xviii. 25, & seq. <sup>g</sup> Deut. xii. 17, 18. xiv. 22, 23.

(G) *N. de Lyra*, a learned convert from *Judaism*, tells us, that dogs and such like creatures of no intrinsic value were never to be redeemed, but put to death, by reason of a precept in *Deuteronomy*, against bringing the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog into the house of the Lord (6); wherein he is followed by the learned *Boschart* and others, as the most received opinion of the rabbies (7). But we question very much whether the generality of the *Jews* were so exact as to observe which came out first of a whole litter, it is more likely that the more scrupulous destroyed them all for security's sake.

(H) And, perhaps too, with a very judicious view of making them more careful to keep up the religious observance of God's laws among the people, too prone naturally to back-slide; since their income was sure to rise and fall, according as the spirit of religion and obedience proved more or less vigorous.

(I) Some authors have been of opinion, that every man was obliged to bring or send by proxy these first-tithes to *Jerusalem* (8); but besides that, there doth not appear the least shadow of a pre-

cept for it, it seems rather from the second tithes, which the *Levites* were to send to *Jerusalem* (9), to the priests, that the first was to be payed upon the spot, or at furthest in the cities of the *Levites*. And indeed it would have been too great trouble and expence, especially for those that dwelt at a considerable distance from *Jerusalem*, to have even sent them thither. If it be objected, that it was equally so to the *Levites*, the answer is obvious, that it was much easier for them to send a tenth part, than to carry the whole thither, and be forced to bring nine parts back to their respective homes.

(K) That this tenth is different from the first that was payed to the *Levites*, whatever some commentators have thought to the contrary, is plain, 1. Because the first was the hereditary right of the tribe of *Levi*, which would have starved without it, and this was consumed by the owners and their friends. 2. The *Levites* were obliged to refund a tenth part of the first to the priests, but in this they were only invited as guests. 3. The first was payed all the land over, but this only at *Jerusalem*.

(6) Deut. xxiii. 18. (7) Vide *Mishn. MAIM. & al. & MUNST. in loc.* (8) JOSEPH. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. Vide SIXT. AMAS. de Decim. & ant. ab eo citat. (9) Comp. Deut. xiv. 22, 23, with Nehem. x. 34, & seq.

4. The last kind of tithes, which *Moses* commands, was to be set by every a third year, and be consumed in feasts at home, to which they were obliged to invite the *Levites*, the poor fatherless, widows, and strangers \* (L).

WE read indeed of another kind of tithes, such as *Samuel* threatened the *Israelites*, their king, if they persisted in the choice of one, would levy upon them out of their fields, vineyards, and flocks \*. But as there is nothing of such a right mentioned by *Moses* in the rules which he settled for the conduct of their future kings \*, it is likely the prophet only forewarns them of what they would be apt, rather than of what they might lawfully do.

WHAT the first sort of tithes consisted in, which were thus appropriated to the maintenance of the priests and *Levites*, whether in all great and small cattle, and other kinds of animals, as well as all sorts of grain and fruits, or only in the latter, is not easy to determine. The *Jews*, if we will believe some of the learnedest among them †, affirm that they had no share nor title in the former, and that the flesh of all those creatures that were decimated belonged to the owners; and *Obadiah de Bartbenora* adds, that there is not one passage in the whole law that proves, that the priest had a right to any part of it \*. It is hardly worth the while to dive further into this matter, because we cannot attain to any certainty about it. As for the manner in which the cattle was usually decimated, we shall give it in *Maimon's* own words \*. "A man, says he, who out of ten lambs, for instance, should have c  
" let aside one, or ten out of an hundred, would not be reckoned to have paid  
" the tithes of them: the right way therefore of doing it was as follows. They  
" did shut up all the lambs, kids, or calves, in a stable, which had one  
" door so strait that two of them could not get out a-breast: they then  
" brought their dams to the door, that their young ones, hearing their voice,  
" might strive to get out; pursuant to what is said in *Leviticus* xxvii. 32.  
" Every thing that passeth under the rod. Accordingly it was required, that these  
" young ones should come out of themselves, and not be driven out; and as  
" fast as they came out one after another, they that stood by told them one,  
" two, three, and so on to ten. This tenth was immediately marked with red d  
" lead, and whether it were male or female, whether with or without blemish;  
" the owner said, *this shall be consecrated to pay the tithes*. If it was fit, it  
" was then to be sacrificed to God; if not, it might be killed and eaten  
" where the owner pleased; for it could be neither redeemed nor exchange-  
" ed † (M).

\* Deut. xii. ver. 28, 29. † 1 Sam. viii. 15, & seq. \* Deut. xvii. 14, & seq. † Vide MAIMON. in Becoroth, c. 6. \* BARTHENOR. in Zebachim, c. 5, & al. \* MAIM. ubi sup.  
b Vide BASNAG. Rep. Heb. tom. iii. lib. 33. c. 4.

(L) It is however more likely that this last tenth differed in nothing from the third, but only in that this was spent at home every third year, and the other at *Jerusalem* on the other two years; so that there might be properly but three sorts of tithes, that of the *Levites*, of the priests, and these last, which were rather a kind of eucharistical agape, which the *Jews* therefore called מעשר עני, and the *Greeks* εὐχαριστία, the tenth of the poor, and *Tobit* the third tenth (10).

(M) The reader will not perhaps think it amiss, if we add some few remarks concerning their manner of sacrificing their living creatures, not so much with regard to their slaying them, concerning which all that needs be said is, that they were extremely careful to let out all their blood, and to avoid every thing that might stagnate it in any part; but with respect to some ceremonies that were used by way of distinction between the sacrifices of a more, and those of a less sacred nature. Of the first sort were all the burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin, and those were always

killed on the north side of the altar; whereas those of the lower sort, such as peace, free-will, and all eucharistical offerings, were killed in any part within the court of the sanctuary. As for birds, the priest pinched their neck with his thumb-nail, and that which was for a burnt-offering had its neck quite pulled off, but that for sin only broken (11). We have already spoken of those victims of the first rank, whose blood was carried and sprinkled within the tabernacle, that of the others they only poured at the foot of the altar, except touching the horns with some of it, on some occasions (12). The *Jews* add, that there was a grate through which the blood did fall into a kind of sewer which carried it into the brook *Cedron* (13). However, as for these aspersions they were always to be repeated seven times; and from them, as well as the seven days of the week, of the week of years, and of seven weeks of years, as likewise from the seven-fold circumvection of the ark round the walls of *Jericho*, *Naaman* being commanded to plunge seven times in *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature the

(10) Tob. i. 8. (11) Levit. i. 15. v. 8, & alib. (12) Levit. xvi. 14, 15, & alib. (13) Vide Misp. Tract. Middot.

- a To these kind of offerings we might add some others, such as that of incense, which the priests only were to burn every day upon the altar of perfume (N), before the morning and evening sacrifice, and the high-priest once a year in the holy of holies, both which we have already said something of, and those which were offered on solemn festivals, new-moons, sabbaths, and the like, besides some others of less note; but we have already dwelt too long upon this article, and shall only add, that as *Jerusalem* became afterwards to the *Jews*, what the camp was during their abode in the wilderness, those victims, which were ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were, after the building of the temple, to be burned out of the walls of the city.

the *Jews*, especially the *Cabbalists*, tell us great wonders of the number seven, too great indeed for us to enter upon.

The next thing was the flaying and dividing the victims, according to the design for which they were offered, wherein we shall only take notice of one circumstance with respect to the burning the fat of them; namely, that, if it was a sheep or lamb, they always burned also the rump (14), because they are commonly very fat; especially in that kind of *Syrian* sheep whose rump was between two and three cubits long, and weigh'd as far as 30 or 40 pounds (15). So that not being able to drag them after, without wounding them against the ground, the shepherds laid them upon a kind of sledge, which the creature drew after it. Hence one may understand the meaning of that prohibition in the *Mishna* (16), *the sheep shall not be sent to pasture on the sabbath, that bath its sledge tyed to it*. As to the burnt-offerings of four footed beasts, the priests were obliged to wash their legs and intestines in water before they burnt them (17). This was done in a place by itself, that the court might not be defiled with their dung. *Philo* thinks there is a mystery in it, and that it implies, that we ought to wash away all our sinful filth before we present ourselves to God (18). *Grosius* says almost the same things concerning the fat of the kidneys, &c. which were not to be eaten, but burned, those parts being the seat of lust (19). But, however that be; it is certain, that they were not allowed to eat any fat except that which stuck to the flesh. After these sacrifices were duly dissected and salted, a number of priests brought them upon the altar with the usual quantity of wine and cakes. They were more or fewer, according to the days and the sacrifices, and each carried one piece thither. Thus every common day, at the morning and evening sacrifice, when there were but nine in waiting; the first carried the head and right foot; the second the two fore-feet, or hands, as the rabbies call them; the third the back-bone, liver, and kidneys; the fourth the breast and neck; the fifth the ribs; the sixth the inwards and legs in a dish; the seventh a cake to be joined to the lamb; the eighth the cake that belonged to the high-priest; and the last brought up the wine for the drink-offering; each having his province decided by lot. All these pieces of the victim were to be set upon the altar, close by one another in the same order as they were in before their being dissected, according to what is enjoined by *Moses*; and the priests, the sons of Aaron, shall lay the parts, the head, the fat, in order, &c.

(20); after which the fire was kindled and kept under them till they were consumed. This formality however was observed only for those burnt-offerings which were made for the whole people, but not for those which private men offered for themselves. There are many more particularities relating to these and other offerings, the bare mention of which would be too tedious; the reader may see them at full length in the *Mishna* and the two rabbies mentioned above, and more particularly in *Cunæus*. All that we shall add is, that whatever was to be burnt of them upon the altar was to be done, not with common, but with sacred fire, which was preserved for that purpose (21).

(N) Some authors who have inadvertently followed *St. Austin's* mistaken notion, that this altar stood in the most holy place, have affirmed accordingly, that none but the high-priest was to offer it up, and have even maintained, that *Zacharias*, the *Baptist's* father, was invested with that dignity. These have been sufficiently confuted by *Cunæus*, among many more. However there is one expression in *Moses* (22), which seems to favour that notion, where he says; that *Aaron shall burn incense every morning, &c.* But the *Jews* have made it plain, that the high-priest never offered it but on expiation-day, and on the first day of his installation; on all other days, it was left to the priest in waiting, as the lot fell out (23), exclusive of the *Levites*, and all other persons, under pain of death. This mixture, which our version doth simply call incense, was rather a perfume, the composition of which is prescribed by *Moses*, and forbid under pain of death to be used by any but priests, or any where but in the sanctuary (24), tho' any other composition might, and was lawfully used, as appears by several places of scripture. Thus we read that *Hzekiab* shewed several sorts of them among other rarities of his treasure-house, to the king of *Babylon's* ambassadors (25); and king *Asa* had some such like sort used at his funeral (26).

As to the reason of this continual burning of incense, tho' we grant that it might be typical of the prayers of the saints, yet we believe we may take that of the learned *Maimon* along with it, that the multitude of victims, that were continually offered up, would have made the holy place smell like a slaughter-house, and consequently have inspired the comers rather with disgust and contempt, than awe and reverence, had it not been overpowered by the agreeable fragrantcy of those perfumes (27).

(14) *Levit. iii. 9. & alib.* (15) *Vide HERODOT. lib. iii. PLIN. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 48, & al.*  
 (16) *Vide Tract. Sabbath. c. 4.* (17) *Levit. i. 9.* (18) *De Anim. Sacr.* (19) *Comm. in Levit. iii. 5.*  
 (20) *Levit. i. 8.* (21) *Comp. Levit. x. 1, 2. & xvi. 12.* (22) *Exod. xxx. 7.* (23) *Vide Luke i. 9.*  
 (24) *Exod. xxx. 34, & 39.* (25) *2 King. xx. 13.* (26) *2 Chron. 16. ult.* (27) *Ap. BARNAB. in Cun. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 12.*



*Laws concerning vows.**Laws concern-  
ing vows.*

AS these made a solemn part of the *Jewish* worship and offerings, they <sup>a</sup> may properly be joined as an appendix to the former, tho' their being free and arbitrary doth not permit us to put them in the same rank. How soon they began to be in use, we have seen an instance of in *Jacob's* vowing the tenths of all his acquisitions, as he went to *Padan-aram* †; however we confine ourselves to those under the *Mosaic* dispensation, concerning which that law-giver made several regulations, in order to direct and enforce the performance of them <sup>c</sup>.

Vows were of a twofold nature; namely, 1. Of such as devoted the thing vowed, whether men, beast, money, or any part of a man's possession to the service of God <sup>d</sup>. 2. Of such as devoted them to utter destruction <sup>e</sup> (O). <sup>b</sup> Under the first head it plainly appears, that persons that were *sui juris* might vow themselves, their children, or any part of their possessions to God. We say *sui juris*, because the vows of a son or a daughter, of a wife or slave, were of no further force, than as they were approved or disapproved by those under whose power they were <sup>f</sup>. So that a parent, husband, or master, if he heard the vow when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a sanction, or to disannul it: but if the latter, he was obliged to do it on the same day, according to the text, or in twenty four hours, according to the *Jewish* doctors.

OF persons vowing themselves in this sense, we meet with no plain instance, <sup>c</sup> but of their vowing their children we have, among others, that of *Samuel*, who was dedicated to God by his mother's vow, ratified, as is to be supposed, from what we just now hinted, by her husband <sup>g</sup>; and he was accordingly consecrated to God's service all his life-time. However in these cases the law of *Moses* allowed of a redemption or commutation for a sum of money, which was either greater or less, according to the age and sex of the person vowed, for which the reader will find a rate fixed to each of them, and an allowance made for those who were not able to pay that sum, in the chapter above quoted concerning vows <sup>h</sup>. It was otherwise with respect to cattle, lands, or the product of them, and the like. For these could not be redeemed or <sup>d</sup> exchanged, in any case, except, where a man had vowed, for instance, a lamb, calf, or any such creature, which, before the time came of his offering it, had contracted any legal defect, which made it unfit for sacrifice. For in such cases he was to substitute another that was perfect and equivalent unto it, and, if the beast which a man had vowed was an unclean one, he was, besides the equivalent, to add a fifth part of its value by way of fine <sup>i</sup>. The same was to be observed if it was a house, field, or the like. As for the first-born of cattle, they could not be vowed, because they belonged to God already <sup>k</sup>.

*Anathema's.*

THE case was quite different, with respect to those things which were vowed to destruction; for they could not be redeemed at any rate <sup>l</sup>. That <sup>c</sup> which had life was to be put to death, and that which had not was to be destroyed by fire, or some other way. We meet with various instances of it in the *Jewish* history, but shall single only a few of the most remarkable. We may remember, that the children of *Israel* vowed the whole kingdom of *Arad* to destruction, and that all the cities of the *Canaanites* were under the same

† Vide sup. p. 472. b. <sup>c</sup> Levit. xxvii. pass. <sup>d</sup> Ver. 2, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Ver. 28, 29. <sup>f</sup> Num. xxx. pass. <sup>g</sup> 1 Sam. i. 21, & seq. <sup>h</sup> Levit. xxvii. 3, & seq. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. ver. 13. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. ver. 14, & seq. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. ver. 28, 29.

(O) The original distinguishes them by the words נָדַר, *Nadar*, which signifies to vow in the first sense, and חָרַם, *Charam*, which implies to lay a thing or person under an anathema, or to devote it or him to destruction. Several learned commentators indeed will not allow of this last meaning, when it relates to men; but think that those persons, who were thus vowed, were to be-

come wholly devoted to God beyond the possibility of redemption (28): but the reader may see, by the instances which we shall give above, that it meant quite another thing; namely, the death of the person, and extermination and destruction of the thing anathematized; and that the difference between the first and second vow was, that the first might be redeemed, but not the second.

- a anathema <sup>a</sup>, and more particularly *Jericho*; and that *Acban* and all that he had fell under the same curse, because he had saved some of the plunder of that city, <sup>a</sup>, which was to have been destroyed. As for *Jephtha's* vow, besides that it was not exactly of the same nature, and authors are much divided about the manner of his fulfilling it, it will be more proper to examine it when we come to the history of that judge. The *Israelites*, assembled at *Mizpeh*, vowed those to destruction that did not assist in punishing the tribe of *Benjamin*, for their barbarous usage of the *Levite's* concubine <sup>a</sup>; and *Saul* would have sacrificed his own son *Jonathan*, for ignorantly incurring the curse, which he had laid upon those that should eat or drink whilst he was in pursuit of his victory;
- b had not the whole army strongly opposed it. By all which instances and many more that could be brought, it appears that nothing less than death was the lot of the persons devoted by this kind of vows.

THOSE who think that, when they related to human victims, they meant no more than that they should be dedicated to God's service as long as they lived, do, indeed, object the abhorrence which God expresses against all kind of human sacrifices; but we beg leave to observe, that the case here is not about sacrifices, but vows, and such as, for aught appears to the contrary, by all the instances we meet with, were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, as in the case of the land of *Arad*,

c or of the kings and judges, as in the other instances above-mentioned. Besides they seem altogether to relate to those idolatrous nations they were a going to conquer, the measure of whose sins had already provoked God to pass sentence of destruction against them; in which case, if they bound themselves by a solemn vow to put it in execution, they would be more likely to fulfil it. Accordingly we find them very exact where that was the case, and as remiss when it was not, else they had not left so many nations undestroyed, to be a continual snare to seduce them into all manner of idolatries. If therefore it was of so great consequence to them to remove all such dangerous incitements, we need not wonder if they were in some measure led into it by the stronger

d obligation of an oath. But after all, this precept may be only an enforcement of that vow, which *Moses* had exacted of the whole nation a little before his death <sup>a</sup>\*, of observing all the commandments of God, one of which was the extirpation of all these nations, with all their monuments of idolatry; in which case the meaning of those words will be only this, that, as they had solemnly vowed it to God, they must not pretend hereafter to exempt themselves from it, upon any pretence whatever (P).

WHAT curse *Jonadab* the son of *Rechab* had laid upon his posterity, if they did not observe his arbitrary injunctions, of abstaining from wine, from planting, sowing, and the like, doth not appear; but how strict observers they were

c of them we may conclude from their answer to *Jeremiab*, when he invited them to drink wine <sup>a</sup>. We shall conclude this article with a short account of the *Nazarites*, often mentioned in the *Old Testament*, who were persons that either *Nazarites*.

<sup>a</sup> Num. xxi. 1, & seq. Deut. vii. 23, & seq. xx. 15, & seq. <sup>a</sup> Josh. vi, & vii, pass. <sup>a</sup> Judg. xxi. 5. \*†\* Vide sup. p. 541. b. <sup>a</sup> Jerem. xxv. pass.

(P) Those who understand the original know that the future tense is very often used for the past, and so *vice versa*: so that the words may be properly rendered, *shall have vowed*, instead of *shall vow*. These two verses therefore seem to us to come in as an exception to the regulations which *Moses* had made a little before, concerning the redemption of those things which had been vowed in the first sense; and which he therefore prefaces with the word *אם*, *if*, notwithstanding or nevertheless, whatsoever shall be vowed in the second sense, that is, to destruction, whether of men or beasts, &c. shall not be redeemed, but be put to death: that is, ye have all bound yourselves by a solemn oath to destroy all those nations that will not accept of proffered peace, and forsake their idolatry,

and to eliminate all that belongs to them, remember therefore that there is no redemption for them, and that if you suffer yourselves, either through pity or covetousness, to spare any of them, you will not only incur the punishment of perjury and rebellion, but be insnared into greater guilt, by conforming to their ways. Had *Sam* been mindful of this, he had not saved the king of *Amalek*, and the choicest of the cattle and plunder (29). When therefore he made that weak and puerile excuse, that he designed the latter as an offering to God, *Samuel* did justly reprove him, by shewing him how vain it was to pretend to atone for one open violation of God's command by another.

(29) 1 Sam. xv. 9, & seq.

dedicated themselves, or were so by their parents, to observe the laws of *Nazaritehood*. These were of two sorts; namely, of such who obliged themselves to it only for some short space, as a week or a month, and those who were bound to it all their life, and these were most commonly dedicated by their parents. Of this kind were *Sampson* and *Samuel*<sup>a</sup>, and all that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abstain from wine and all intoxicating liquors, and to wear their hair to its full length. As for those of the first sort, they were moreover to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into a house where a dead person was; for, if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin a-fresh<sup>b</sup>. Women as well as men might bind themselves to this vow, and, after it was accomplished, they presented themselves to the priest, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle or temple, where they offered the sacrifices prescribed by *Moses* in such cases<sup>c</sup>, after which he caused their heads to be shaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the sacrifice, and then pronounced them freed from their vow.

Those that lived at such a distance from the temple, that they could not reach it by that time their vow was expired, might shave their heads at what place soever they found themselves, at which time they set aside the price of their sacrifice, in order to bring or send it to the temple by the next opportunity. This is what we find *St. Paul* did, who made this vow at *Corinth*,<sup>e</sup> shaved his head at *Cenchrea*, and went soon after to *Jerusalem*, to accomplish it by the usual offering<sup>f</sup>.

#### *Laws concerning the Priests, Levites, and Netbinims.*

*Laws concerning the Priests.*

THE two last things to be considered under this head of the worship of God, or, as it is commonly called, the commands of the first table, are, 1. The persons, and 2. The things, which were in a more peculiar manner consecrated to his service. Of the first sort were the priests, *Levites*, and *Netbinims*; of the second, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all the pompous apparatus of utensils prescribed by God himself to *Moses* on the mount, in order to inspire the carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion. As to the tribe of *Levi*, we have seen above how and upon what account it was separated from the rest, and appointed for this important office<sup>†</sup>. Before that time the priesthood, or sacrifice, is generally thought to have belonged to the first-born; and when *Moses* ratified the covenant between God and the people at the mount, he acted the part of chief-priest, and chose a set of young men to act under him<sup>‡</sup>; but after the tribe of *Levi* had been thus set apart for the inferior, and the family of *Aaron* for the higher offices of the ministry, it became a capital crime for any other tribe to interfere with them in the sacred function; insomuch that God's vengeance did miraculously display itself in the punishment of the first offenders, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and in confirming the priesthood in that family by the supernatural budding of *Aaron's* rod<sup>§</sup>. It is not indeed easy to reconcile what is said of the *Levites* being chosen above all other tribes, upon the account of the zeal which they shewed in punishing the worshippers of the golden calf<sup>||</sup>, with *Aaron's* being raised to the highest dignity in that tribe, he who had so basely consented to, and countenanced that defection. This choice may therefore more properly be ascribed to the meer pleasure of God, like that which he made before of *Seth*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and since of *David*, and many more.<sup>f</sup> But, however that be, *Moses* tells us in another place, that God took the *Levites* instead of the first-born of *Israel*, to be his own tribe, and it is remarkable, that when the sums of both were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, he commanded that the over-plus should be redeemed at the price of five shekels per head, and the price to be given to *Aaron* and

<sup>a</sup> Judg. xiii. 5. <sup>b</sup> Sam. i. 11. <sup>c</sup> Num. vi. 1, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 13, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Acts xviii. 18. <sup>f</sup> Vide sup. p. 537. note (C). <sup>†</sup> Exod. xxiv. 5, & seq. <sup>‡</sup> Numb. xvi, & xvii, pass. <sup>§</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 8, & seq. & alib.

- a his sons <sup>7</sup>. So that it is plain, that here was an actual substitution or exchange of the *Levitical* tribe in lieu of the first-born which God had claimed to himself for his having spared those of *Israel*, when he destroyed those of *Egypt*; and a superiority given to the family of *Aaron* over all the rest of that tribe; both as to office and dignity, as we shall presently shew under each head. As for the *Netbinims*, they were not so much as of the seed of *Jacob*, and we only rank them here, as being appointed to serve in the lowest offices of the tabernacle and temple.

### I. Of the priests.

- b **W**E have heretofore taken notice, that the tribe of *Levi* consisted of three main branches, distinguished by their principal heads, namely, *Gershon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. But the priesthood was given solely to the family of *Aaron*, which was no more than a small branch of that of *Kohath*, whilst all the rest of it, even the sons of *Moses* himself, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of *Levites*, and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the ministry, whether of the tabernacle, or afterwards of the temple. So that these were always subject to, and dependent on the priests, as will appear in its proper place.

- c **A**T the head of the priesthood was the high-priest, who was also the head of the *Jewish* church, and the final judge of all controversies, whether concerning religion, or even about the administration of common justice. This last at least seems plainly implied in the directions which *Moses* gives the people, to have recourse to the priests in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination under pain of death <sup>a</sup> (Q): and in this sense *Josephus*, *Philo*, and almost, if not all the *Jewish* rabbies understand them <sup>a</sup>. However in this respect he acted rather as a civil judge, than as high-priest. The same may be said of the subaltern priests and *Levites*, which were commonly admitted to sit in their inferior courts of judicature; for it is plain, that the main end, for which they were set apart, was to bless the people in God's name, and to offer up incense and those sacrifices to him that were prescribed by the law, exclusive of all other tribes <sup>b</sup>; under the severe penalties above-mentioned (R).

<sup>7</sup> Vide Numb. iii. 12, 13, 45, & seq. <sup>a</sup> Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. xix. 17. xxi. 5. xxii. 10. xxxiii. 20. vide & Ezek. xlv. 24. <sup>a</sup> Cont. Apion. & alib. PHIL. MAIMON. Vide SELDEN. de Synedr. ver. Hæbr. & al. <sup>b</sup> Numb. xvi. & alib.

(Q) The words of *Moses* run thus (30). "And if there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, or stroke and stroke, being a matter of controversy within thy gates" (the sense of which from the last words is plainly, that if the matter is too hard for the judges of that city to which the contending parties belong (31), in such a case) "thou shalt arise and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come unto the priests and *Levites*, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, — and thou shalt exactly observe and do according to their sentence, — without swerving from it to the right hand or to the left; — and the man that shall presumptuously refuse to abide by the determination of the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or to that of the judge, that man shall be put to death." — Now, by the priest there mentioned, the generality of commentators understand the high-priest.

(R) This ought not however to be understood too strictly, because it is certain that several kings, judges, and prophets have taken this office upon them, that were not of that tribe. Thus we read

in one place, that *Samuel*, who was of that of *Ephraim*, was waited for to bless the sacrifice (32); and in another, that he offered up a lamb for a burnt-offering (33), tho' these two functions did properly belong to the priests. Thus again *Saul*, *Elijah*, and *David* are said to have offered up burnt-offerings to God (34), and both he and his son *Solomon* to have blessed the people in the name of the Lord (35).

It is indeed commonly answered, that they only caused the priests to perform that office for them; but this exposition is forced, and incompatible with the plain meaning of the original. We think it therefore more probable, that these persons above-named, not so much as being heads of the people, but as being prophets, and being directed by the spirit, might perform these functions upon particular occasions, such as these we have quoted, for the greater solemnity of the ceremony. For even *Saul* was for some time endowed with the spirit, and *Samuel* told him that he might follow the directions of it upon all emergencies (36); when therefore that prophet reproved him for his indiscretion (37), it is not so much for having offered up a burnt-offering, as for doing it contrary to his judgment, and out of an untimely

(30) Deut. xvii. 8. & seq. (31) Vide sup. p. 432. note (F) (32) 1 Sam. ix. 13. (33) Ibid. vii. 9. (34) Ibid. xiii. 9. & seq. 1 Kings xviii. 30. & seq. (35) 2 Sam. vi. 17, 18. 1 Kings viii. 55. & seq. (36) Vide 1 Sam. x. 7. & seq. (37) Ibid. xiii. 13.

THE laws relating to the high-priest are reducible to these three heads; 1. Such as related to his office. 2. To his consecration. And 3. To his dress.

The high-priest's office.

As to his office, besides his having it in his power, whenever he pleased, to perform any of the functions of the inferior priests, his being alone possessed of the divine oracle of *Urim* and *Tbummim*, spoken of more particularly in a former section \*, and his being alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies, and to pronounce that solemn blessing on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head; all these great privileges were confined to him, and intailed on his son and successor, either of his own body or family. Accordingly we find the two branches of it, that of *Elezar* and that of *Ithamar*, the sons of *Aaron*, in the high-priesthood at different times, till the captivity, whilst the other occupied the next in rank, and this is the most probable reason why the prophet mentions a high-priest, and a second priest ‖. How *Phineas's* line came to be set aside from the first rank, the text doth not tell us; but the legal imperfections, which disqualified a man from that high dignity, were so many and so frequent, that it is probable that some of them might be the reason of its passing to *Heli*, who was of the younger branch, in whose house it continued till *Saul's* time. After this it shifted once or twice more in *David's* time, till *Solomon*, dissatisfied with *Abiathar*, restored *Zadock* of the *Phinean* family to the first rank again, where it continued to the end. So that *Abiathar* cannot so properly be said to have been deposed by that prince, as to have been reduced to the pristine rank of his branch (S). Accordingly we find him named in the very next chapter but one, after his supposed deposition, as second to *Zadock*. And *Zadock* and *Abiathar* were priests \*\*. But to return to the high-priest, there was such a particular sacredness inherent in his dignity, as obliged him to several strict laws, from which the rest of the priests were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or a harlot; the person whom he took to his bed was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe. He was forbid to put himself into mourning for the nearest relation, or to go into any house where a corps was †; he was further obliged to abstain not only from matrimonial commerce during those festivals in which he was to officiate, but also from all food and other things which might occasion any defilement. Besides all these he was in common with other priests to be free from all natural defects mentioned by *Moses* ‡; that is to say, that he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither scurvy, itch, nor any disease in his skin, or defect in any of his limbs,

\* See before, p. 537. note (C) ‖ Jerem. c. ult. ver. 24. vide 1 Chron. xxiv. 2. \*\* Comp. 1 Kings i. 26, 27. and iii. 4. † Levit. xxi. 10, & seq. ‡ Ibid. xiii. & seq.

timely fear, lest *Samuel* should disappoint him, and his enemies surprize him unprepared, for *Saul* adds, and I forced, or did violence to, myself, that is, my fear drove me to this action, contrary to my own judgment.

(S) This right was then only so far hereditary, that the high-priesthood always descended to one of the two branches, as long as it was capable of succeeding, if not, one of the next was chosen that was duly qualified. 'Tis true *Moses* has not left any written direction about it, but we find that *Eli*, who was both high-priest and judge in *Israel*, was not of the family of *Elezar*, but of that of *Ithamar*, for his name is not to be found in the genealogy of the former (38), and, *Josephus* tells us, that he was of the family of the latter (39), and the first of that line that was raised to that high function, and in whose family it continued uninterrupted till *Saul's* reign.

It were needless to trouble our readers with the various conjectures that have been made about the reason of this translation of the high-priesthood from the eldest to the youngest branch; it is enough for us, that it was not done without divine approbation, as appears by what a prophet

sent from God said unto *Eli* (40), to this effect — I chose the house of thy father *Aaron* to offer up incense and sacrifices upon my altar — Why then do ye kick at my sacrifices — Wherefore, tho' I said that thine house — should stand before me for ever — Now far be it from me to honour those that dishonour me — Lo, the time cometh that thy sons *Hophni* and *Phineas* shall be cut off in one day — And then shalt behold an enemy in thy habitation — and I will raise me up a faithful priest — Whilst those that are left of thine house shall fall into the utmost poverty and contempt. How and when this prophecy was fulfilled will be seen in its proper place. It is sufficient at present to have given the best light we can get to the manner of his sacred succession. We beg leave only to add, that where the prophet tells *Eli*, thou shalt see an enemy in my habitation, the word signifies more properly a rival, and seems to point directly at the eldest branch, which, tho' set aside for a time, would again be reinstated to that supreme dignity, as it actually was, when *Saul* caused *Abimelech* to be slain, and *Zadock* to be put in his place.

(38) Vide 1 Chron. vi. 3, et seq.

(39) Ant. lib. v. c. ult.

(40) 1 Sam. ii. 27, et seq.

- a especially in his testicles. As many, as had any one of these blemishes, were absolutely rescinded from all priestly functions, from entering into the sanctuary, and offering the shew-bread, only they were allowed to live upon a portion of the offerings that were made there \*.

- 2 His consecration. This ceremony was prescribed by God himself on the mount †, and was performed by *Moses* upon his brother *Aaron*, with a solemnity answerable to the sacredness of his office. It consisted chiefly in the six following particulars. 1. And before all things, he was presented to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, in the presence of all the people. 2. He was to wash himself all over in pure water, which was drawn out of a large capacious vessel, that stood near the altar, and was set up there for all such purposes. 3. He was then immediately invested with all the pontifical vestments, of which we shall speak under the next head; and with the breast-plate and *Urim*. 4. His next business was offering the sacrifices appointed for this purpose; namely, a bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, and another for his consecration, with the blood of which, *Moses*, 5. Anointed the tip of his right ear, thumb, and great toe, besides the usual aspersions on the altar, and other wave, meat, and drink-offerings. The last ceremony was the anointing him with the sacred oil, whose composition was likewise prescribed by God ‡, and was not to be used for any other purpose. These ceremonies were repeated seven days successively, at least as far as relates to the washing, the sacrifices, and the unction, for it doth not appear, that the ceremony was repeated relating to their putting on the priestly garments §. During all this time, *Aaron* and his sons were not permitted to go out of the tabernacle, but continued there, and feasted themselves with the daily sacrifices, which they offered for their consecration, of which no fragment was to be left till the next morning, but was to be burned that very night. On the eighth day *Aaron* entered into his office by a double sacrifice, one which he offered for himself; and the other for the people, whom he blessed for the first time, and this his inauguration was signalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the descent of the holy fire from heaven †, which was thence forwards preserved till the destruction of the first temple, and the use of any other in the sacred ministry, expressly forbid under pain of death ‡.

- There is one thing to be observed in this first consecration, that not only *Aaron*, but his sons, were consecrated at the same time, and with the same ceremonies, tho' these were to continue still in the rank of common priests. This may be the reason why *Eleazar* is afterwards said to have been installed into the high-priesthood, by the sole investiture of his father's garments without any other ceremony, from which several commentators have concluded, that the rest were not to be used at the installation of any new high-priest. It is true, we can offer nothing conclusive out of the *Mosaic* text to confute that notion, yet, if we believe the ancient *Jews*, who may be properly enough look'd upon as the best judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the investiture till the destruction of the first temple, when *Josiah* did deposit the sacred oil in so secret a place, that it could never be found out after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity. From which time, and not till then, they began to content themselves with the bare investiture, without the unction.

(T). However that be, it seems reasonable to think, that *Moses* was commanded

\* Ibid. xxi. & seq. † Exod. xl. 12, & seq. ‡ Ibid. xxx. 22, & seq. § Levit. viii. 1, & seq.  
 † Ibid. ix. pass. vide ver. 23. & 24. ‡ Vide sup. p. 524 a. \* Vide SELD. de Successione ad Pontificat. lib. ii. c. 9. BASNAG. Rep. Heb. tom. i. lib. 2. c. 7.

(T) The rabbies add, that those that were consecrated by unction were called *anointed*, and the others, only, *invested*, and that they did never venture to make a new composition of the sacred ointment after that of *Moses* was gone (41). But we can see no reason for joining with them, because *Moses* was so far from forbidding any such thing, that he has left a plain receipt how to make it.

It is certain, that many ancient fathers believed that it continued till the time of *Christ* (42); and *Zechariah* speaking of his vision of the two high-priests, *Jehoshua* and *Zerubbabel*, calls them בני הִשָּׁחֵר, *Bene Hishchar*, the sons of oil or unction (43), which *Kimchi* renders, rightly enough, *anointed*, because, says he, *Jehoshua* was anointed high-priest, and *Zerubbabel* king (44).  
 We

(41) Vide SELD. de Succes. ubi sup. (42) EUSEB. Demonst. Ev. lib. iv. c. 4. CHRYSOST. Orat. 2. cont. Judæos. CYRIL. Jeros. Mystag. cont. Jud. ANAST. de incarnat. verb. vide & CALM. sub voc. unction. (43) Ch. iv. ver. ult. vide MUNST. in loc. (44) Vide ABARB. & MUNST. in Zechar. ubi sup.



manded to consecrate *Aaron's* two sons, *Eleazar* and *Itamar*, at that grand ceremony, as being the two branches unto which the high-priesthood was confined, as he did at the same time all the priestly garments, the tabernacle and all the sacred utensils of it, which were to be entirely consecrated to the service of God for ever after<sup>1</sup>.

*His dress.*

3. His priestly vestments. And all that we can with any certainty advance concerning these is, that they were likewise prescribed by God himself, and that they consisted of every thing that could make them truly rich, sumptuous, and venerable, such as a great variety of precious stones, gold, silver, purple, scarlet, the finest of silk, linnen, and the like: but as to the fashion of them, all that has been advanced about it, tho' with never so positive an air, is all meer conjecture, because *Moses* has contented himself with giving us the names of them, without any further description, as being altogether needless. *Josephus* has indeed been more particular in this respect<sup>2</sup>, but all we can depend upon him for is, that he has described them as they were worn in his time, and how far the fashion of them might have altered during so long a space, and such a variety of circumstances which the Jewish commonwealth went through, is not easy to guess. The rabbies have described them vastly different from him, and St. *Jerom* describes some of them differently from those two<sup>3</sup>. So that we may truly say, that those moderns who have lately given us such lively descriptions of them, both in writing and in various prints, have rather furnished the world with new models for masquerading habits, than informed us with any thing either certain or indeed material. This caution being premised, we shall now endeavour to give our readers the best account we can of them, with any tolerable certainty, and refer the reader to *Josephus*, and those modern authors who have treated more fully of them<sup>4</sup>.

THEY were of two sorts, the one made of linnen, and common to him and all the other priests; and if there was any difference between them, it was in the former being made of finer linnen and woven in a richer manner. We have already mentioned them under the head of expiation, they being the only ones that he is supposed to have worn when he went into the holy of holies. Only one would be apt to think, that these were made of a finer linnen, because they are called by another name; namely, *Seshb*, which is thought a fine Egyptian sort, whereas that which is called *Bad* is a more common one. These were the mitre, or turban, long robe, or vest, his drawers, and his girdle. The others, which were peculiar to him, and which he was to wear upon all solemn days and occasions, were so rich and magnificent, that the Jews called them *Bagde Zahab*, vestures of gold, to express the richness of them; and *Moses*, the glory and ornament of *Aaron*<sup>5</sup>. The first was a blue or purple robe, which he put over his linnen vest (V). This garment had no sleeves, or any seam, according to *Josephus*, being woven, like that of our Saviour's from top

<sup>1</sup> Vide Levit. viii. 10, & seq. ad 30. ix. pass. vide & vers. 23, & 24. <sup>2</sup> Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. <sup>3</sup> Hieron. ad Fabiol. <sup>4</sup> Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. CUNÆUS, BASNAG. LAMY, CALMET. & al. <sup>5</sup> Exod. xxviii. 2.

We may add an adage of the *Gemarrists* concerning the *דין ירושה*, *Din Yerushah*, or, hereditary right, about which they make this distinction, that an high-priest, the son of an high-priest, must be anointed, because that right is not absolutely in him, but the son of an anointed king needs not be anointed, because it is in him. *Abarbanel* adds, in his comment upon the place, that it was the judgment of their wise-men to chuse him for high-priest *מאדוי*, from among his brethren, that was *נדיב בנדיב בעושר נדיב בכוח* the most beautiful, the richest, and strongest; who was therefore to be anointed, that the rest might thereby know that he was duly chosen from the midst of his brethren (45).

How this anointing was performed is not very clear, but by the expression of the psalmist (46), as well as that which *Zechariab* makes use of here, it

seems to have been performed by pouring the oil upon the head so plentifully, that it ran down to his beard and thence upon the skirts of the garment (47). The rabbies are of that opinion, only some say that it was poured in form of an X, others in that of a *צ* *Caph*; but these are not worth dwelling upon (48).

(V) We have no great certainty about these colours, especially the blue. The *Greek* and old versions render the word *תכלת*, *Tekelath*, by *Hyacinth*, but as there is a stone of that name, which is of a yellow, and a flower of a light blue, or purplish colour, it is not easy to know to which of these the interpreters alluded. The old *Flemish* version, among some others, renders it yellow silk, but as that colour, when mixed with scarlet and purple, is too glaring, especially when there is so great a mixture of gold, the generality of interpreters

(45) *ABARBAN. Com. in gemar in loc.* (46) Vide GOODWIN's *Moses & Aaron*, lib. i. c. 5. note 1. (47) *Pf. cxxxiii. 2.* (48) Vide TOSTAT, JANGEN. MANOCH.

a top to bottom, with a slit to put his head through. The border of it; which reached almost to his ancles, was trimmed with a rich fringe, to which were interchangeably hung little bells and pomgranates curiously wrought in pure gold, at equal distance one from another, that by their tinkling his approach might be the more easily distinguished. This vest was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice round his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

OVER this vest was a third, called the *ephod*, curiously wrought with gold and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a short coat, about two foot in length. On the top of it, on each side, were two shoulder-pieces, to which were b fastened two precious stones (W) set in gold, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes, six upon each stone, that he might always have before his eyes those that were committed to his pastoral care. Upon the breast of it was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length, and a proportionable breadth, on which the breast-plate was to be fastened. This was a folded piece of the same rich embroidered tissue, on which were fastened twelve precious stones, set in gold, on each of which were engraven the name of one of the tribes. These were set in four rows, three in each row (X), and the whole was fastened at the four corners; those on the top to each shoulder-piece by a golden hook or ring, at the end of a wreathen chain; and those below to the girdle of the c ephod, by two blue strings or ribbons, which had likewise two rings and hooks; so that the whole might be tied fast to the garment, beyond the danger of falling off. For these were never to be severed, and the *Jews* tell us, that if the high-priest did at any time, either through inadvertency or wilfully, put on the one without the other, he was to be punished for it. This ornament is therefore called the *memorial*, to put him in mind how dear those tribes ought to be to him, whose names he wore over his breast. It is also called the breast-plate of judgment, because it had the divine oracle fastened to it. At least the far greatest part of interpreters have understood the command of

ters think it to be the colour of the flower so called. As for the *ארגמן*, *Argeman*, which we translate purple, it is most likely to have been a dye made of the blood of a shell-fish of that name, which was caught upon the coasts of *Palestine*, and for which the *Tyrians* became so famous. Some *Jewish* etymologists make *Argeman* to be a kind of adjective of the word *רֶגֶם*, *Regem*, which, according to them signifies a prince or royal person; for which reason they chuse to translate it a princely colour, such as the kings wore themselves, and clothed their greatest favourites with. Thus *Daniel* was clothed in purple by *Belshazzar* (49); and *Christ* with a robe of mockery of the same colour (50).

Neither are we much more certain concerning the Hebrew words *בד*, *bad*, *שש*, *sheesh*, *פשתה*, *pishtah*, and *בזז*, *buzz*; whence the *byssus*; that is, whether they all signify linnen made of flax or hemp, differing only in degrees of fineness, or weaving; or whether the *sheesh* was not either a kind of cotton or silk. There is no reason to doubt but these were both used and esteemed at that time; and as the priestly robes were to be made of the most costly things, it is not improbable but these went into the composition under one of the three first names. As to the *buzz*, by which interpreters commonly understand, the finest of *Egyptian* linnen, it is most likely to have been a silk, made of the tail of a fish †. But this last is not to be met with in the *Mosaic* writings. The last quoted author has at least made it probable, that

the *sheesh* was a kind of fine cotton ‡, and as for what the *Jews* say, that there could be no linnen thread mixed in these garbs, because it was contrary to the law, which forbids the mixture of linsy woolsey \*, it is probable, as *Cunæus* observes, that it related only to stuffs made for common wear or use, and to distinguish them from those that were for sacred purposes, such as the curtains, &c. of the tabernacle, and the robes of the high-priest, which were made of and intermixed with every thing that was splendid and costly.

(W) The word in the original is *שֹׁהַם*, *shohem*, which our version, after several others ancient and modern, translate *onyx-stone*, tho' the *Septuagint* and some others think it signifies the emerald. The truth is; that all the light we can get from commentators, whether *Jewish* or *Christians*, ancient or modern, is too dim to lead us to the certain knowledge either of this or any other of the twelve stones of the breast-plate, because it is hardly possible for any of them to have been sufficiently acquainted with their true signification. And this is the reason, why we find so little agreement among them. However, as the thing is of no great consequence, we chuse to follow our *English* version, which, for aught appears to the contrary, may have guessed as right as any other. Those who are curious in such things may, if they please, consult those authors quoted in the margin (51), who have wrote about them *ex professo*.

(X) These were divided one from another by the little golden partitions into which they were set, and were disposed in the following order, to which

we

(49) *Dan. vi. 29.* (50) *John xix. 5.* † *BASIL. in Hexamer. PROCOPI. de Fabric. ap. CALMET. Comm. in Exod. & Paralipom.* ‡ *Idem Comm. in Exod. & Diff. sub. voc. Cotton.* \* *Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11.* (51) *Vide Commentat. in Gen. ii. 12. LUD. DE DIEU, in Exod. xxviii. 17, & seq. BRANNIUS de Vest. S. Sacerd. Heb. FRA. DELL. STRAD. de Gemmis, & al.*

God to *Moses*, of putting the *Urim* and *Thummim* to the breast-place<sup>a</sup>; as if it implied them to be a distinct thing from it; and this has made them run into various notions, as we shall shew presently.

What this oracle consisted in, and how it was consulted, we have seen in a former section<sup>†</sup>; and have now nothing left to enquire about, but its form and make. But here we are also left so much in the dark, that it would require a new *Urim* and *Thummim* to acquaint us with it, because no inspired writer has given us any hint, and those who have since wrote their conjectures about it seem to have given so great a scope to their fancy, that one shall scarce find two or three of them agreeing in the same notion. Some ancients thought that there was a thirteenth stone in the breast-plate, whose extraordinary lustre and beauty above the rest did signify to the high-priest God's approbation or dislike of the thing enquired about<sup>1</sup>. And though St. *Austin* has plainly proved, that there was not the least foundation for such a supernumerary stone<sup>2</sup>; some moderns have not scrupled to add another, in order to answer the two names of *Urim* and *Thummim*<sup>3</sup>. An ancient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks that those two words were either engraven on a plate of gold and fixed to the breast-plate, or embroidered in raised work upon it<sup>4</sup>. Most of the *Jews* believe, that it was the *Tetrogrammaton* written upon a plate of gold, or some other way fixed to the breast-plate<sup>5</sup>; and *Le Clerc*, that *Urim* and *Thummim* were the names of two kinds of precious stones, set in a gold chain or collar, which were hung about the high-priest's neck, and came down to his breast; probably, as he thinks, in imitation of the *Egyptians*, whose chief magistrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of justice and truth engraven on some precious stone<sup>6</sup>. A modern traveller, in a letter dated from *Cairo*, tells us, that he saw a very ancient mummy in *Egypt*, which had a large collar hanging down to its breast, with a bird engraven in gold fastened to the end of it<sup>7</sup>. *Spencer*, after *De Castro*, believed that the breast-plate had two little golden figures, enclosed in a kind of purse, which did give answers, *viva voce*, to the questions of the high-priest<sup>8</sup>; and for this he quotes

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxviii. 30. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 537. (C). <sup>1</sup> EPIPHAN. Traët. de XII. Gemmis. SUIDAS, in Εξοδ., <sup>2</sup> Quest. in Exod. 117. <sup>3</sup> ARK. MONT. & al. <sup>4</sup> CYRIL. Exposit. Symbol. <sup>5</sup> Ita Rabbin. vide R. SALOM. vide EGUB. & MONT. in loc. <sup>6</sup> Comm. in loc. vide DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. ii. c. 3. <sup>7</sup> ELIAN. Var. Hist. & al. <sup>8</sup> PET. VALLA, Epist. xi. Dissert. de Ur. & Thum.

we have added their *Hebrew* names, together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them (52):

1. אדם Odem	Sardius REUBEN	2. פטרה Phiterah	Topas SIMEON	3. ברקת Barketh	Carbuncle LEVI
4. נפק Nophek	Emerald JUDAH	5. ספיר Saphir	Sapphire DAN	6. יהלום Jahalom	Diamond NAPHTHALI
7. לשם Leshem	Ligure GAD	8. שבו Shebo	Agate ASHER	9. אחלמה Achlamah	Amethyst ISSACHAR
10. תרשיש Tarshish	Berit ZERULON	11. שוהם Shohem	Onyx JOSEPH	12. ישפה Yashphe	Jasper BENJAMIN

Some of these stones, it must be owned, are of so hard a nature, especially the diamond, that one may justly question how they came so soon by the art of engraving on them. But here the *Talmudists* wonderfully help us out, by assuring us, that they were not engraven by any tool, which would have wasted some part of the stone, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being, which, being set upon each of these stones, did sink itself all along those places which *Moses* had chalked to it, and so impressed the letters into the stones, in the same manner as we might do into some things of a soft and yielding substance, without taking off any part of it. They relate likewise several other wonders about this worm and these precious stones, which we shall not trouble our readers with, after what we have owned in the last

note, concerning the little certainty we can have, from any good authority, of even the true signification of their names. The *Jews*, among other things, tells us, that the names of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* were engraven also over the name of *Reuben*, in the first stone, and in the last, under that of *Benjamin* the words, שבטי יה, *Shibte-jah*, the tribes of the Lord: in order to make up the whole alphabet, some letters of which were wanting in the names of the twelve patriarchs (53). But this is only to confirm an hypothesis of theirs, that the divine oracle was known by the protuberance or superior lustre of such letters as composed the answer. But of this we have already spoken in another place<sup>†</sup>.

(52) Vid. Exod. xxviii. 17, & seq. (53) MAIMON, *Kele hammikdash*. c. 9. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 537. (C)

- a *St. Jerom* and *Cedrenus* among the ancients; *Cornelius a Lapide* and *Ludovicus de Dieu* among the moderns, with some *Jewish* writers: but this notion has been so severely answered by the learned *Pocock* \*, as absurd and impious, that we know not of its having been embraced by any author since. *Philo* indeed seems to hint something like it †, only with this difference, that he says those two figures, or virtues, namely, manifestation and truth, were only embroidered upon it: and it must be owned, that, if there were any such figures or symbols, it is more reasonable to suppose them, with him, to have been only embroidered, than, with *Spencer*, that they were real figures, whether cast or carved by any other way; because this latter seems too contrary to the prohibition in the
- b second commandment (Y). But we see no need of supposing any such figures, upon the authority of either, because *Josepbus*, who was also a priest, and may be reasonably supposed to have been as well acquainted with it as *Philo*, doth not so much as hint any thing like such figures, but makes the oracle to consist in the supernatural brightness of the twelve stones at the time of enquiring, as we have seen already; and as for *Spencer*, it is plain, that he is too fond of fetching the origin of every thing from *Egypt*. Sure it is, that whoever compares the places where *Moses* mentions the *Urim* and *Thummim* ‡, will have reason to wonder, that God, who took such particular care to give him the most exact directions for all the other garments, utensils, &c. should not give him the
- c least hint about these; unless we do suppose them to have been things sufficiently known both to him and to all the people. If therefore we might be permitted to prefer one opinion to all the rest, it would be that of the judicious *Hottinger*, who thinks, that when *Moses* is commanded to put into the breast-plate the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which words, as has been shewn already, do signify light and perfection in the plural, it means only that he should make choice of the most perfect set of stones, and have them polished, so as to give the most consummate lustre § (Z). And this seems most agreeable to what *Josepbus* and *Maimon* said of it, except the miraculous lustre which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle, concerning which we have elsewhere
- d offered a more probable conjecture ¶. However we are far from disapproving of that more spiritual notion of the learned *Prideaux*; who believes that those two words were chosen to express the clearness and certainty of the oracle, by a particular divine virtue communicated to the breast-plate at its consecration, only we are more inclined to suppose, that this latter sense was emblematically signified by the genuineness and brightness of the stones. At least we find that the *Jews*, immediately after their return from the captivity, thought it necessary to imitate this breast-plate in all its parts, and to call it by the

\* Comm. in Hof. iii. 4.    † In. vit. Mos. lib. iii. de Monarc. l. ii.    ‡ Exod. xxviii. 30. xxxix. 8. & Levit. viii. 8.    § In Mos. & Aar. lib. i. c. 5. note 11.    ¶ Sup. 537. note (C).

(Y) If it should be objected here, that the cherubims in the sanctuary were as contrary to that prohibition, as these supposed figures, we beg leave to observe, that there was not the least danger of the former being mistaken for a symbol of the deity, even by the most stupid, because God is expressly said in several places to dwell between the cherubims; so that they could only look upon them as ornaments to the mercy-seat, or at most, as symbols of those heavenly beings, who continually adore and praise him, and fly with the utmost speed to perform his commands. And this seems to be the reason of the humble posture in which they were represented, and of their having so many wings. We cannot say the same of the latter, because their delivering the divine oracles in any way, but more especially if they had done it *in voce*, as our author pretends, could hardly have failed of inspiring the people with the same idolatrous notions that the rest of the *Heathens* entertained concerning their false deities.

(Z) This conjecture is so far from jarring with

the literal sense of the original, that the very expression, which *Moses* makes use of in the places above quoted (§4), seems to lead one to it. For after God had given him all the particular directions for making the breast-plate, such as the length and breadth, the materials, the precious stones, &c. even to the hooks, rings, chains, and strings, by which it was to be made fast to the ephod; he adds, ונתת אל חושן המשפט את האורים, ואת התומים which literally runs thus; and thou shalt give to the breast-plate of judgment these lights, or lustres and perfections; namely, of the twelve stones before described. We need not to add, that according to the *Hebrew* idiom the word אור, or light, doth often imply the brightness, and תום, thom, the goodness of a thing in its kind, and that the plural number, as here, is often used to express the highest degree of it. However we leave it to the reader to adopt which of all these seems most probable to him, and, if he is desirous to know more about this point, he may consult the learned *Buxtorf* the younger, who has almost exhausted the subject (§5).

(54) Exod. xxviii. 30.

(55) Exercit. iii. de Ur. & Thum.

same name, tho' they own that it had not the oracular virtue of the former<sup>a</sup>. Now it is plain, that such an imitation would have been ridiculous, if not impious, upon any other supposition than that they understood the words *Urim* and *Thummim*, to have been designed by God, not as absolutely expressive, but as symbolical, of the light and clearness of this oracle.

THE last garment peculiar to the high-priest was his mitre or bonnet. Whether, and how far it differed in fashion from that of the common priests, *Moses* doth not tell us, neither is it easy to guess, tho' their being called by different names, and made at least of different kinds of linnen (A), inclines one to think, that there was some considerable difference between them; if not in shape, yet in beauty and richness. The reader may see in the next note<sup>b</sup> all that can be conjectured concerning it (B), from *Jewish* and *Christian* authors; however the pontifical one was remarkably distinguished from the common, by the golden plate on which were engraven in *Hebrew* the words, HOLINESS TO THE LORD<sup>c</sup>. This plate is also called in some other places a crown<sup>d</sup>, and was fastened to the fore part of the mitre, by two blue ribbons or strings.

THESE words, the *Jews* tell us, were raised by a kind of enamel above the gold<sup>e</sup>: but this seems contrary to the meaning of *Moses's* words, who expressly says, that they were to be written, like the engraving of a signet. However, there is no doubt but it was designed to express the holiness of the character of the person that wore it, which was to be such, that the least defilement, tho' never so involuntary, disqualified him from performing his office, till he had been legally purified from it. Concerning this point, the *Jews* acquaint us with a particularity which, tho' not mentioned by *Moses*, is well worth inserting here, as having no small probability. They tell us out of their *Talmud*<sup>f</sup>, that on expiation-day, the high-priest being to perform the service of that solemn fast, and it being far from impossible, that he might contract some impurity, which might unfit him for his office, notwithstanding all his care and caution, they used, on the eve of it, to appoint him a vicar to officiate for him, in case of such a defilement. This vicar was neither anointed nor consecrated for the place, tho' his new office did oblige him to go into<sup>d</sup> the most holy place instead of the pontif. They add, that as soon as this last was

<sup>a</sup> Vide *MAIM.* Kele hammikdash, cap. x. § 10. <sup>b</sup> *Exod.* xxviii. 36. <sup>c</sup> *Exod.* xxix. 6. xxxix. 30. *Levit.* viii. 9. <sup>d</sup> *MAIM.* ubi sup. c. ix. § 1. <sup>e</sup> *Idem* in *Massek.* in Yoma.

(A) As to the names, that of the high-priest is called מצנפת, *Miznepheth*, from which the boldest etymologists, that we know of, have not ventured to draw any hint about its make. It is not so with those of the common priests, which being called מנבעות, *Migghagboth*, they conclude, were higher than the former, because גבעה, signifies a hill (56). Tho' the word, being in the plural, would rather incline one to believe, that there were some partitions in those prominences, like unto the mitres worn in the church of Rome; but the learned *Abraham Ben David* has rejected that notion in his observations on *Maimon*, and maintains, that the high-priest's mitre was higher than all the rest. We shall not take upon us to say which of these is most in the right.

Another difference marked by *Moses* is, that that of the high-priest was made of שש, *shesh*, and that of the priests of כנ, *bad*. We have already taken notice, that the former was, if not a silk or fine cotton, yet at least a finer sort of linnen than the latter (57).

(B) All that we can gather from *Josephus*, *St. Jerom*, *Maimon* (58), and others concerning this ornament is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike a hemisphere, which consequently did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped several times about with a piece of fine cotton or linnen, of a considerable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribbon or string, to prevent its falling off. *Josephus* adds, that the

mitre was covered with another of fine blue or purple, having a triple crown of gold about it, and that on the top, just in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, resembling the bud of a plant which he is there very particular in describing. But we shall refer the reader to the author. The *Jews* further add, that, as the crown or plate of gold did go but half way round the head, the other, that is, the hinder part, was filled up with artificial flowers or festoons to the place where it was tied. Both the high-priest and the inferior ones were very careful to tie their bonnets fast when they officiated, because it was thought a mark of reverence to appear with the head covered, and of irreverence and boldness to be seen bare-headed: According to which notion the *Chaldees* paraphrast renders those places, where the *Israelites* are said to have marched out of Egypt, with a high band (59), by the words *bare-headed*, that is, with boldness and intrepidity. On the contrary, the greatest token of respect with them was to be bare-foot; and this is the reason why we find no mention of shoes or sandals among the priestly robes, they being all obliged to perform their office bare-foot; and in this they became so scrupulous, that if they perceived any thing, tho' but a straw, between their feet and the ground, they were obliged to remove it, or else their ministry was esteemed null.

(56) *MAIMON.* ubi sup. c. viii. § 19. (57) See pag. 637 sub not. (U) (58) *Jos. Ant. lib. iii. c. 7.* *HIERON.* ad *Fabiol.* *MAIM.* Kele hammikdash, c. ix. 10. (59) *Exod.* xiv. 8, & alib.

- a cleansed, he re-entered into his office, and the other relinquished it, and returned into the rank of common priests, only with this difference, that he had some kind of superiority and rule over the rest; and if the high-priest died before him, he succeeded him in that dignity of course. *Josephus* confirms this by the instance of the high-priest *Matthias*, who having defiled himself by a dream, on the night preceding the expiation, *Joseph*, the son of *Eli*, a near relation of his, officiated for him<sup>a</sup>. *Maimon* calls this vicar *Sagan*, and adds, that he had two priests to wait upon him, as he himself waited on the high-priest; with some other particulars which we shall not dwell upon, because they appear of later institution<sup>1</sup> (C). However, with respect to the high-priest, it is plain,
- b that he might be sullied so many unforeseen ways, and ran such risk if he entered the most holy place with any such pollution, that it is more than probable, there was some person appointed by way of precaution to perform his office in all such cases. But who this substitute was, how, and by whom he was appointed, we dare not affirm; tho' it is not improbable that he might be the head of the other branch, which, as we observed at first, did hold the next rank to him, and is therefore most likely to be the person meant in the last chapter of *Jeremiah*, where it is said, that *the captain of the guard took Seraiah the high, and Zephaniah the second priest* \*. In this sense likewise it is thought by many of the learned, that *Annas* and *Cajaphas* are said, by St.
- c *Luke* †, to be high-priests in the same year; but, concerning the person that named him, or the ceremony by which he was qualified for it, *Moses* has left no written direction, any more than about the choice of a successor to the pontifical dignity, when the next immediate heir was unfit for it.

#### Laws concerning the priests.

- WE have already taken notice, that these were descended from *Aaron* the first high-priest, by his two sons *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*. *Moses* indeed mentions only these two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the priesthood, but it were absurd to suppose from thence that they were the only two that officiated under their father; for we find that *Phineas* was already come to years of manhood, by that zeal which he shewed against the *Midianitish* defection<sup>k</sup>; and probably there were more of age sufficient to perform the priestly functions. These being subordinate to the high-priest, and of a rank and office superior to the *Levites*, may be considered in a threefold view, namely, with regard to their consecration, office, and dress. But of these we shall not need say much, because there was nothing of pomp or solemnity used in any of them.

- THEIR consecration, if we except that of the sons of *Aaron*, which we mentioned in a former article, was performed with little or no ceremony. They were first carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects and impurities (D), and if so, they were introduced into the court of the taberna-

<sup>a</sup> Ant. lib. xvii. c. 8. <sup>1</sup> Vide *MAIM.* Kele hammikdash. \* Verse 24. † *Luke* iii. 2. vide CAUSAB. adverb. Baron. JOS. SCALIGER, Prolog. in EUSEB. HOTTING. in GOODWIN's *Mos. & Aar.* lib. i. c. 5. sub note 19. & al. <sup>k</sup> Numb. xxv. 7. et seq.

(C) The truth is, that after the *Babylonish* captivity, when they became more scrupulous observers of the law, their priests and wise-men made abundance of ordinances for keeping a stricter discipline, even to the administering a solemn oath to the high-priest on the eve of expiation, that he would exactly conform to the *Mosaic* injunctions, according to the traditions then received. This caution became highly necessary, not only after the high priesthood became venerable, and the purchasers less scrupulous about the functions of it, but also by reason of some difference in opinions about the burning of incense in the holy of holies, the scape-goat, and some other things concerning which the reader may consult *Ben Maimon* (60).

(D) These were the same as unqualified the high-priest, and are mentioned under that head out of *Leviticus* (61); but the *Jews* tell us that these are but a sketch of those that exclude from the priestly functions, which they have enlarged at a very strange rate. We shall just mention the heads of them. They reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eye-lids, seven to the eye-brows, nine to the ears, as many to the nose, six to the mouth, three to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, sixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the skin and flesh, and at least eleven to the upper skin (62).

Besides

(60) *Halaka haevodath yom bakiphurim*, c. 1. Vide *BASHAG.* in *CUN.* lib. ii. c. 6. (61) *ch.* xxi. 18, & seq. (62) Vide *MAIM.* in *Batb hammikd.* ch. 8. *BASHAG.* ubi sup. tom. iii. lib. 2. c. 4.



cle or temple, where they washed themselves with pure water preserved there for a that purpose; after which, being clothed in their priestly habit, they were brought to the high-priest, who presented them to the Lord; and after the usual sacrifices prescribed by *Moses*, that pontif, or the priest in waiting, sanctified them, or, as the original imports, *filled their hands*, by which is understood their being immediately set about some branch of the priestly office. At least these ceremonies are inferred from those of the consecration of the *Levites*<sup>1</sup>; for as these were of an inferior rank, it is reasonable to suppose that the priests could not be consecrated with less ceremony; but even here it is very much questioned, whether any of these, except only the two or three first, were ever used, unless in cases of some signal defection, or long disuse of their office and the like, such b as frequently happened during the reigns of some of their wicked kings<sup>2</sup>.

Office.

THEIR office, which was severally determined by lot, and which they did cast at their first coming into waiting, was either to burn incense morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily sacrifice, to kill, dress, and offer up the victims proper for the day, to pour the blood at the foot of the altar, to keep up a continual fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings, to light the lamps, and to make and offer the shew-bread upon the golden table, with some others of the like nature, the most material of which we have had occasion to mention under the articles of sacrifices, first-fruits, purifications, and the like. Their waiting was weekly from sabbath to sabbath, and quarterly according to their c classes; the age, in which they were to begin to minister, was fixed by *Moses* at about twenty-five or thirty years of age, and ended about fifty<sup>3</sup>; but in *David's* time they were made to serve from the age of twenty<sup>4</sup>. Those, who either by age or infirmity were disabled from ministering, were maintained by the offerings of the altar, and other perquisites of the priesthood; and any *Levite*, that willingly offered himself to serve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance<sup>5</sup>, as we shall see in its place. Some other important parts of the priestly office were the instruction of the people<sup>6</sup>, judging of controversies<sup>7</sup>, of leprosy and other pollutions<sup>8</sup>, causes of divorce, and the use of the waters of jealousy<sup>9</sup>; of vows, and of the fitness or unfitness of victims; d blowing the trumpets, in order to proclaim the sabbath and solemn feasts, the calling of assemblies; sounding to war; encouraging the combatants, and others of the like nature, which have been occasionally spoken of already. But the most sacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preserving the volumes of the law, and blessing the people in God's name<sup>10</sup>. There were likewise some severe inhibitions relating to their office, some of which were explicit, and some implicit. Of the first sort were those which forbade them to make use of any strange fire<sup>11</sup>, of drinking either wine or any intoxicating liquors, when they came to minister<sup>12</sup> (E). They were likewise forbid to begin any sacerdotal function, till they

<sup>1</sup> Numb. viii. 5, & seq.    <sup>2</sup> Vide 2 Kings ii. 5, 7.    <sup>3</sup> Numb. iv. 3. viii. 24.    <sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.    <sup>5</sup> Deut. xviii. 6.    <sup>6</sup> Lev. x. 11. Malach. ii. 7.    <sup>7</sup> Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. xix. 17, & alib.    <sup>8</sup> Lev. xiii. xiv. & xv. pass. & alib.    <sup>9</sup> Numb. v. 12, & seq.    <sup>10</sup> Numb. vi. 23, & seq.    <sup>11</sup> Lev. x. 1, & seq.    <sup>12</sup> Ibid. ver. 9.

"Besides these, which unqualified a man, either from being admitted to the priestly office, or from being continued in it, if he contracted them after his admittance, there were several other voluntary ones for which he was set aside from the ministry, either for a time, or for his life. Of the first kind were several legal pollutions, the greatest of which was that of a dead body. For this reason they were not allowed to assist at the funeral of any but the nearest relations, that is, a father or mother, and a brother or sister that died virgins. In all such pollutions they were forbid not only to perform any sacerdotal office, but even to eat of holy things, till they

had thoroughly purified themselves, according to the law (63). Those that excluded them wholly from the priesthood, besides the natural and accidental ones above-mentioned, were, for instance, unlawful marriages, that is, the marrying a harlot, or a *Canaanitish*, or any strange woman, and refusing to put her away. Something like this we find practised in the time of *Ezra* (64), after the captivity, to which we may add, that of the prophet (65), that they were even forbid to marry the widow of any but a priest. Idolatry likewise, and many other crimes of that high nature, did wholly exclude a person from the priesthood (66.)

(E) The reason of this prohibition we have hinted

(63) Lev. xxii. 6, & seq. (64) Ezr. x. 10, & seq. (65) Conf. Ezek. xliii. 22. & Levit. xxi. 13. (66) Vide MATTH. Biath Hammikdash. c. 1.

- a they had first washed their hands and feet<sup>7</sup>. The implicit ones were such as these, not to appear in the ministry without their priestly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, because they were tokens of mourning; or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To these the *Talmudists* have added some others, such as sitting down whilst they performed any part of their office (F); making use of the left hand instead of the right (because *Aaron* and his sons had their right ears; thumbs, and great toes sanctified by the blood of the victims); and others of less consequence<sup>8</sup>.

- In *David's* time the two families of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* were, for better order's sake, divided into twenty-four classes, according to the number of each family; so that the former, being the more numerous; was divided into sixteen; and the latter into eight classes. These took their turns in the ministry, according as it was assigned to them by lot, which was commonly cast before the king, high-priest, and other persons of distinction, to avoid fraud and confusion: an account of which the reader will find in the twenty-fourth chapter of the first book of the *Chronicles*. All that we shall add is, that these classes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that commonwealth, and from this the heads of each class came afterwards to be called *chief-priests*. This is the reason why we meet in two of the evangelists <sup>a</sup>†, with an assembly of them, which ought therefore to be distinguished both from the high-priest and from his suffragan.

- We have already said something of their dress when we spoke of that of the *Dress*. high-priest going into the holy of holies. It consisted of a vest, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre or cap, all of linnen. The cap resembled, according to *Josephus*, and those who follow him, a helmet or pointed turban. Their girdle was variegated with the finest colours about three finger's-breadth, and woven round like an eel-skin. Their vest or long coat; it is pretended, was without seam, woven from top to bottom, and with the sleeves to it. Some of those authors have ventured to give us the print of a loom or frame for making such kind of garments<sup>9</sup>. No priest was to wear his hair to its full length, but was obliged to clip it with a pair of scissors, at least when he went into waiting<sup>b</sup>. As to their dress, they were only bound to wear it at the time of their ministering, at other times they were left at their liberty. What relates to their maintenance, revenue, and perquisites, will be best seen when we come to speak of the *Levites*: In the mean time, we cannot forbear making one observation upon the garb both of the high and lower priests (in describing of which we have followed *Josephus* and the current of interpreters) namely, that if their vests had been of the length which they tell us of, and had really had what all versions render breeches or drawers under them, there would scarce have been any room for that precaution of building the altar without steps, for fear of their discovering that which modesty requires to be hid<sup>c</sup>. We hope this will be a sufficient excuse for our enlarging no further on that subject.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. xxx. 21.    <sup>8</sup> Vide *MAIM. Biath Hammikdash*, c. i, & seq. *BASNAG. R. H.* tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 4.    <sup>a</sup>†. *Math.* xxvi. 3. *Mark* xv. 1.    <sup>9</sup> See the version of *JOSEPHUS, LAMY, CALMET*, and others.    <sup>b</sup> *Comp. Levit.* xxi. 5. & *Ezek.* xlv. 20    <sup>c</sup> *Exod.* xx. ver. ult.

hinted at heretofore †, but as express and plain as it is, the *Jewish* doctors have subtilised a considerable part of it away, and thereby frustrated its main design, by distinguishing between wine under or above forty days old; between the latter and other strong drink; between drinking the quantity of a quarter of a pint, at one or at several draughts, and the like (67). It is plain, that this prohibition was intended to prevent all kind of blunders and indecencies in God's service, whereas, by these futile distinctions, a priest might drink enough to endanger his being

guilty of them, and yet be deemed guiltless, or at the worst come off with a bastinado.

(F) Some of their rabbies have indeed been more remiss, and allowed them to sit down when they were not in the actual performance of their office; but the *Talmudists* are so far from such an indulgence, that they would not permit them to sit, or to be in any other than a standing posture, even whilst they washed their feet. And this they inferred from the words of *Moses*, *The Lord has chosen them to stand to minister*, &c. (68).

† *Vide sup.* p. 524. 2.    (67) *MAIM. ubi sup.* (68) *Dent.* xviii. 5, 7, et alib. *Vide* *CHRYSTOST.* ad *Hebr.* x. 11. *MAIM. ubi sup.* c. 5. *R. SAL. JARCHI* in *Dent.* xviii. 5, et al.

## Laws concerning the Levites.

Levites.

Their consecration and dress.

THESE related either to their office, or to their privileges and incomes, for as to their descent, the choice of their tribe, and their consecration, we have had already occasion to mention all that is material concerning them; only with respect to the last of these, it is observable, that this ceremony was began with sprinkling them with the water of separation, which was that with which they used to purify those who had contracted any legal impurity, with shaving their whole body, and washing all their cloaths before they were presented by the people to the high-priest<sup>a</sup>. As to their dress it was the same with that of the rest of the *Israelites*, *Moses* not having appointed them any particular one. We have likewise heretofore given an account of their number, classes, incampments, marches, carrying, setting up and taking down the tabernacle and all its moveables<sup>c</sup>; of their being subject to their brethren of the family of *Aaron*, and officiating under them in the lower and more laborious branches of the ministry, during all the time that the ark, and the tabernacle, &c. were removing from place to place. But after these were once fixed, they were freed from that labour, and their service became easier and more delightful<sup>f</sup>. This seems to be the reason why *Moses* ordered at first, that they should not be admitted into their office, till they had attained to the age of between five and twenty and thirty, and that they should be discharged from it at fifty<sup>b</sup>; their office being then such as required more strength and vigour; but in *David's* time, when they were eased of it, they were then thought fit for it at the age of twenty<sup>h</sup>. And it is more than probable, that they continued in it much longer than to the fiftieth year, as we shall shew presently.

BEFORE *David* did divide them into classes, their ministry was in common; they took it by turns, from week to week, as the priests did, and their business was, some to bring the water, wood, and other things, that were used by the priests; others to keep the court of the sanctuary, and all the utensils that stood out of the tabernacle, clean and decent, and others to keep guard at night before the tabernacle. Some were likewise appointed to sing and play upon instruments, others to study and expound the law to the people, and to assist at the inferior courts of judicature; and these provinces were, in all probability, assigned to them according to their several capacities. But after *David* had once fixed the ark at *Jerusalem*, by which time they were become very numerous, and yet not more so, than the vast project he had premeditated of building the temple would most likely require; that wise monarch made several necessary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the dissolution of the *Jewish* polity. We have seen above, that they were distinguished into three families; namely, *Gershon*, *Kobath*, and *Merari*. To each of these, which he also subdivided into twenty-four classes, which were to succeed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their several functions, as follows: To the one he assigned the assisting the priests at the tabernacle, preparing of flour, cakes, wine and oil for the sacrifices, and all other services of that kind. The second was appointed to sing, and play on musical instruments, at proper periods of the divine service; and the third, to keep a constant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over these classes he appointed from among them proper officers and overseers of several ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He chose likewise from among them men of learning and piety, to teach and breed up the younger *Levites*, either to their ministry, or to expound the law unto the people (G); besides those whom he appointed to assist at the courts of judicature of every city. Now it is plain, that in all

<sup>a</sup> Numb. viii. 7, & seq. <sup>c</sup> Vide sup. p. 549. c. Numb. iv. 3, & viii. 24. <sup>b</sup> 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Maim. & BARNAG. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> Comp.

(G) The *Jews* tell us, that the *Levites* pass through four different degrees. From one month old to the twentieth year, they were instructed

in the law of God. From twenty to twenty-five they were taught the functions of their ministry: From thence to thirty they served as it

were

- a all these functions there was nothing that could incapacitate a man from performing them after the age of fifty, if we except, as the *Jews* do, that of singing, for which it is possible enough for old age to render one incapable, by reason of the disagreeable tremor which that brings to the voice<sup>1</sup>.

THESE singers king *Solomon* distinguished from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a linnen kind of robe, or surplice, when they were upon duty<sup>\*</sup>; but the rest did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king *Agrippa*, about the year of *Christ* 62, and about six years before the destruction of the last temple. *Josephus* adds<sup>1</sup>, that the priests did highly resent it, and observes, that such innovations seldom went unpunished. It is true that he calls them singers; but it is

- b plain he must have been either mistaken or miscopied; unless we suppose, that he there speaks of a particular garment to be worn by them at all times, as well as at the divine service.

2. Their revenues. We have chosen to speak jointly of those of the priests *Their revenues.* and *Levites*, because they were intermixed together by God's own appointment, at least in their main branches, those of the tithes, cities, and some other perquisites. As for what either of them had in particular it is scarce worth mentioning. The reader may recollect, that, according to *Jacob's* prophecy, the tribe of *Levi* was to be interspersed among the other tribes<sup>\*.\*</sup>, and that they were excluded by an express law of *Deuteronomy*<sup>m</sup>, from having any share in the division of the

- c land, and had their portion assigned to them out of the tithes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the first-born of the *Israelites*, in whose stead they were substituted. We have already spoken of all these, but as it was necessary that they should have some certain places of abode appointed for them, as soon as they were come to the plain of *Moab*, over-against *Jericho*, God was pleased to assign them forty-eight cities, with their suburbs, thirteen of which were to belong to the priests, and the other thirty-five to the rest of the tribe of *Levi*<sup>n</sup> (H). The only difference between them was, that the cities of the priests were for the most part of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and consequently nearer to *Jerusalem*; whereas those of the *Levites* were divided unto them by lot, out of all the other tribes on either side *Jordan*. Thus did God turn *Jacob's* curse into a blessing, and the priests and *Levites*, whose office it was to preserve knowledge, became so dispersed accordingly, that the people might be every where supplied with it. What those cities were is not worth enquiring, seeing we know little more of

<sup>1</sup> Vide *OSAD. BARTENOR*, Tract. Cholin. c. i. § 6. <sup>\*.\*</sup> Vide sup. p. 462. a, and note (F), & alib. pass. <sup>m</sup> Ch. xviii. pass. <sup>n</sup> Numb. xxxv. 1, & seq. Josh. xxi. 10, & seq.

<sup>\*</sup> 2 Chron. v. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Ant. lib. xx. c. 8.

<sup>m</sup> Ch. xviii. pass.

<sup>n</sup> Numb. xxxv. 1, & seq.

were, an apprenticeship to them, and began to exercise themselves in some of the lower branches of it, such as cleaning the courts and vessels, guarding the gates, singing and playing upon instruments: lastly, when they attained the thirtieth year, they were peremptorily installed into their office. Some such degrees we find observed among the vestal virgins, who were bound to the strictest chastity during thirty years; the first ten of which they spent in learning the mysteries of their profession, the second ten they administered in holy things, and the last ten they bestowed in bringing up of young novices (69). And it is probable that the apostle alluded to this, when he tells *Timothy*, that they, who have performed the office of a deacon well, do purchase to themselves καλὸν βιβλίον, a good degree (70). *Moses* indeed ordered (71), that they should be discharged at the age of fifty from serving any more; but he adds in the next verse, that they should minister to their brethren in the tabernacle, and keep the charge, but do no service: by which it is plain, that they were only exempted from the harder sort of service, but

continued still in some others, such as they were fittest for, in which number the breeding up the young *Levites*, teaching, judging, and the like, may be reasonably reckoned (72).

(H) The right of the *Levitical* tribe to these cities and lands adjacent is not without some difficulties, which have made some authors doubt whether they had any more than the bare use and income of, without the power of alienating them (73). Thus it is objected, that *Hebron* was given to the priests as a city of refuge; and yet *Caleb*, who was of the tribe of *Judah*, had the fields and villages belonging to it assigned to him (74). This difficulty may be easily removed, by supposing with our author, that *Caleb* did yield the city unto them, because the Lord had determined it for a city of refuge; but that he reserved the territories to himself, as being out of the case. However, as to the priests and *Levites* having power to alienate their houses and lands, or even to purchase new ones, exclusive of those allotted to them, we have sufficient proof of, as the reader will see by what follows above.

(69) Vide *DION. HALICARN.* lib. ii. *Vide* *MAIM. ubi sup.* *ABARBAN.* in loc. *BASHAG. R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 2.* (70) *1 Tim.* iii. 13. (71) *Numb.* viii. 25. (72) *Vide* *BASHAG. ubi sup. c. 7.* (74) *Josh.* xxi. 11, & seq.

them than their names, and the tribes they were in. All that we shall examine a at present is, what their rights, privileges, immunities, and revenues consisted in, and how far they did extend. (As for the six cities of refuge which were chosen out of that number, we shall speak of them in a separate article.) With respect then to the privilege of the former, which some authors have questioned the extent of, further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may observe on the contrary, that their owners had power to sell or mortgage them, as well as the other tribes, only with this advantageous difference on their side, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able, and if not, they devolved to them on the year of *Jubilee*: whereas, as we observed before, those alienated houses of the laity, which stood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably b lost to the first owner\*. Hence it is plain, that their right to their houses was even stronger than that of the people, for which reason it is called their inheritance†. The case was indeed different with respect to the grounds that were annexed to those cities, which could not be alienated upon any account‡; but the reason of it was, that they were in the nature of a common to them, to which therefore every one had an equal right, they being the only pasture ground they had for their cattle; and if they agreed by consent to inclose or appropriate any part for fields, orchards, gardens, and the like, the division was made in proportion to the largeness of their families, which could not have subsisted, had such an alienation been permitted. o

It is likewise manifest, that their being excluded from any portion, in the distribution of the land, was so far from depriving them of the right of possession, or even of purchase, that we have several instances to the contrary in both cases, and they authorized by God. With respect to the first, we find, among other regulations concerning vows, that if a man had vowed his house or land unto the Lord, and had not wherewith, or was unwilling to redeem them, they were then to continue sacred unto God, that is, the priests became the right owners of them; accordingly we find that the high-priest *Abiathar* had some estate of his own, into which he was relegated by *Solomon*§; and, even in the apostles time, *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, had some land which he sold for the use of the church¶. d To this we may add, if what *Maimon* tells us be right, that the tribe of *Levi* had their twelfth share of all the lands which were got by the sword\*. As for their having it in their power to purchase estates, we need but read the 32d chapter of *Jeremiab*, who was a priest, where we shall find a curious account of his purchasing a piece of land, and with it all the formalities that were then used in such cases\*\*. e

EVERY one of these cities had suburbs, the limits whereof were also appointed by God himself‡; but *Moses* has expressed them in such terms, that it has given more pains to interpreters to reconcile the two numbers mentioned by him, than our readers would care to be troubled with (I), in which e

\* Levit. xxv. 29, & seq. † Ibid. ver. 33. ‡ Ibid. ver. 34. § Levit. xxvii. 14, & seq. ¶ 1 Kings ii. 26. \*\* Acts iv. 36, 37. \* Halak. Shemit veyobel. Vide BASNAG. ubi sup. † Ver. 7, & seq. ‡ Halak. Havoda. Hacokabin Umazaloth, ap. BASNAG. R. H. tom. i. lib. i. c. 7.

(I) *Moses* expresses himself in one verse thus, and the suburbs of the cities of the Levites, from the wall of the city outwards, shall be one thousand cubits round about; and in the next verse it is said, thou shalt measure from without the city, on the east—west—north—and south sides of it, two thousand cubits, and the city shall be in the middle, &c. (75). To reconcile these two numbers, *Jeanius* (76) has supposed the latter to be mentioned *kat'exegesein*, of the diameter of the suburb, the city abstracted, so that, which way soever one measured it, it had two thousand cubits; but this construction seems to us somewhat too forced and unnatural; we therefore think with the *Jews*, that the two numbers may be more properly joined together, namely, the last as a further addition to the first.

The original word מִגְרָשׁ, *Migraß*, which we translate, *Suburbs*, doth properly signify expulsion, or thrusting out, from מִגְרָשׁ, to expel (77); and consequently, in a figurative sense, may signify extension. Accordingly the *Chaldee* renders it a space. The sense might therefore, we think, run naturally thus: the first extent of the *Levitical* cities shall be one thousand cubits from the out wall; after which thou shalt measure again from without the city another space of two thousand cubits, and this shall be the extent of their outward space or territories. We own however, that this latter sense is not altogether literal, but we hope it will be found less forced than the former, and to remove the seeming contradiction to the full as well.

(75) Num. xxxv. ver. 4, & 5. (76) In loc. (77) Vide KINCH. BUXTORF. PAGN. in Rad.

- a uncertainty we are unwilling to rely on the *Jews*, who tell us, that those two numbers were to be taken jointly; so that the extent of those suburbs, or rather territories, should extend to the distance of three thousand cubits from the out walls<sup>7</sup>. They add, that the first thousand were assigned for pasture ground, on which therefore it was not lawful to build, sow or plant, but, within the limits of the other two thousand cubits, they might do any of them. One thing further is remarkable, namely, that they were not permitted to bury their dead either within those cities or their suburbs, but that they had, according to the *Jews*, a piece of ground allotted to them by the people for a burying-place, which was quite out of the verge of those limits. We shall
- b venture no further on the rights and privileges of these cities, concerning which the *Jews* tell us wonders, but without any probability; those, that are fond of such fables, may find more than they can give credit to in *Maimon*<sup>8</sup>, and other *Jewish* commentators, on these places of the pentateuch where mention is made of them<sup>9</sup>. This however we may safely add concerning the cities themselves, namely, that they were not taken by equal numbers out of every tribe, but according as they were found more or less abounding in each of them. Thus, for instance, the tribe of *Judah*, whose lot was full of them, did allot nine, whereas that of *Benjamin*, which had but a few, was obliged to part with four only<sup>10</sup>; as to the nomination and distribution of them
- c among the *Levites*, it was done in the same manner as they had done the land itself, namely, by lot; which was the most effectual way to prevent all difference; for even this tribe doth not seem to have been so disinterested, that any other method could have satisfied them but this (K).

*Laws concerning the six cities of refuge.*

- THESE were chosen out of those forty two which had been assigned *Cities of re-*  
to the tribe of *Levi*<sup>a</sup>. They differed from the *Asyla* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in that they were designed to protect innocent persons only, from the rigor of the law; in cases of involuntary homicide, whereas theirs did equally shelter the guilty and innocent from it. There is an express command in *Exodus* with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty person shall be torn even from God's altar to be put to death<sup>b</sup>; from which one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a sanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderness, but all the time of their abode in the land of *Canaan*; at least, the instance of *Joab's* taking refuge there seems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it<sup>c</sup>. And indeed so severe were God's laws against murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, in correcting of a servant, or in some other cases, which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty person could not go unpunished<sup>d</sup>. And where the fact was accidental and involuntary, tho' his concern for the life of the innocent person was such, that he not only appointed these cities for his protection, but seemed, as it were, to take the fault upon himself (L), yet he condemned him to

<sup>7</sup> Vide Commentat. in Ex. xxi. 13. Num. xxxv. 6. Dent. iv. 21. & xix. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Numb. xxxv. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Rab. SALOM. in loc. vide & MOS. DE COTZI, MUNST. JUN. & al. in loc. <sup>c</sup> Josh. xxi. pass.

<sup>d</sup> Numb. xxxv. 6. <sup>e</sup> Exod. xxi. 14. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings ii. 28. <sup>g</sup> Exod. xxi. 12, 20.

(K) According to those lots, the tribes of *Judah*, *Simeon*, and *Benjamin* furnished the thirteen cities, which were allotted to the priests: Those of *Ephraim*, *Dan*, and half of *Manasseh* on the other side *Jordan*, yielded ten to the *Kohathites*: The *Gershonites* received thirteen, namely, two from the other half of *Manasseh*, three from *Naphtali*, and eight from *Issachar* and *Asher*; and lastly, *Reuben*, *Zebulun*, and *Gad* gave four each, to the *Merarites* (78).

(L) The words are, *if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand*. This we purposely take notice of, because these, and such like expressions, which occur in scripture, what-

ever sinister sense some may put upon them, import no more, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* idiom, than that, though a man may die contrary to the seeming course of nature, yet he cannot be taken off without the permission of heaven, whose providence directs all such events, either for the punishment of the person, or for some other wise purposes beyond our reach. However, it is plain, that it is only used in this place, to shew the injustice there would be in punishing a man for an act which had been so directed by providence, that one person lost his life without the least design in the other of hurting him.

(78) Vide Josh. xxi. pass.



a kind of banishment, till the death of the high-priest then in being<sup>c</sup> (M):<sup>a</sup> infomuch that if he ventured out of the limits, *Josephus* says out of the walls, of the city<sup>b</sup>, it was lawful for any relations of the deceased either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of justice.

THESE cities were not only for the *Israelites*, but for all strangers that either lived among them, or came thither occasionally. The *Jews* do indeed confine the benefit of them to their proselytes, but this sense seems to flow more from their narrowness of soul, than from the words of the text<sup>c</sup>. We may remember, that *Moses* ordered three of them to be assigned on either side *Jordan*<sup>d</sup>. This partition seems indeed somewhat unequal, because one side had but two tribes and half, and the other nine and half; the reason of which<sup>e</sup> some *Jews* tell us was, because there were a great many more homicides committed in the former by way of self-defence, than in the latter: But this is ridiculous, and that of *R. Nachman* is by far more probable and judicious, namely, that the extent of the country of the former was at least as large as that of the latter, tho' less inhabited; which made it necessary for them to have so many of those cities. However, as to those tribes on the other side, God permitted them to add three more to their number, whenever the largeness of their conquests should make it necessary<sup>f</sup>; but as this depended upon their constant obedience, and they, on the contrary, proved continually stubborn and disobedient, they never found occasion for this addition, for which reason they think it will be made in the days of the *Messiah*.

How, where, and by whom, the examination of the manslayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded the benefit of the city of refuge; that is, whether by the next judges of the place where the fact was committed, or by those of the city, where the man fled for sanctuary, is neither clear from the text, nor agreed by interpreters. However, as a late author justly observes<sup>g</sup>, from an expression in *Deuteronomy* and *Joshua*<sup>h</sup>, there seems to have been a double trial, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls there the congregation; by which is understood either those of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council; and<sup>i</sup> this seems to us to have been necessary only when the avenger of blood appealed from those of the place of refuge. As soon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his first business was to flee with all convenient haste to the next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were, by God's own appointment, to be kept in good repair (N), that nothing might

<sup>a</sup> Numb. xxxv. 25. & seq. <sup>b</sup> Ant. lib. iv. c. 7. <sup>c</sup> Vide Numb. xxxv. 15. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 14. Deut. xix. pass. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. ver. 9. <sup>f</sup> CALM. sub. voc. Refuge. <sup>g</sup> Deut. xix. 11, 12. comp. with Josh x x. 6, 9.

(M) We shall not trouble the reader with the various reasons which interpreters have conjectured, concerning the time of a man's return being fixed to the death of the high-priest. Some of the *Jews*, who affirm, that the death of so great a person, which was universally lamented, was the most proper motive to make all resentment on the part of the prosecutor to cease, seem rather to trifle than to be in earnest (79), and one would wonder, that they should have been followed by any *Christians*. But the far greater part of these look upon this circumstance to have been typical of the reconciliation which *Christ*, our eternal high-priest, made of sinners to God by his death (80). This is what the apostle to the *Hebrews* seems to intimate (81): However, it must be owned, that some men have given too great a scope to this way of allegorizing; and that, where so little light is to be had from the sacred writings, it would be more advisable to say nothing, than to say all that a pious fancy suggests.

(N) The text (82) says only, *thou shalt prepare thee a way, and divide the coast of the land into*

*three parts, that every slayer may flee thither*. But the *Talmudists* and *Rabbies* add a great number of circumstances for keeping those roads in continual repair, that the person might meet with no obstruction in his flight. These roads, according to them, were to be 32 cubits in breadth, smooth, plain, and without ascent, descent, or ditches. At every place where the road parted, a post was to be set up to direct them, which had the word מִלְּטָה, *milkat*, refuge, engraven upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the surface kept smooth and hard. To these precepts the words of the *Baptist*, *prepare the ways of the Lord, make his paths straight, every valley shall be filled, and every mountain levelled*, &c. are thought to allude. Once a year at least, in the month *Adar*, which answers in part to our *February*, the magistrates of every city were obliged to visit them, and see that they were kept in good order; otherwise, in case the avenger chanced to overtake and kill the slayer, the magistracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate

(79) Vide MAIM. More Nevoch. c. 40. (80) Hieron. August. & al. vide & Grot. Jun. Corn. a Lap. & al. mult. in loc. (81) Heb. ix. 15. (82) Deut. xix. 3.

- a might retard his speed. As soon as he came to the place, he presented himself to the judges of it, and declared the occasion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the person, and according as his account appeared true or false, he was admitted or excluded their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the nearest relation to the deceased, came to demand justice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges did either confirm their former sentence in favour of the manslayer, or delivered him up to be punished, if the fact was proved to be wilfully done; but if the former, he was to be conducted to the place where the fact was committed, and there tried a second time, and if he was found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a sufficient guard, and remained there free from all further prosecutions, and, at the death of the high-priest, he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at least, is what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been their proceeding in such cases. However, as the account we have of it from *Moses* is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were sometimes at such a distance from the place where the fact was committed, that the manslayer might be easily overtaken by the prosecutor, before he could reach it: we think it, at least, as reasonable to suppose, that he went and surrendered himself to the judges of the nearest place, and, having cleared himself before them from the guilt of wilful murder, was, by their order, conducted safely to the next city of refuge, where the magistrates had a further hearing of the cause, and either confirmed or revoked the sentence of the former, according to the evidence of it. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the last note, about the conveniences of the roads leading to such places, would be needless in this case; but we look upon their testimony to be very dubious, and in some cases plainly wrong. Thus the *Talmud* tells us\*, that those cities were to be situated by some rivers, in order to be well supplied with water, and all kind of provision, that access to them was to be easy and without ascent; and yet it rather appears, that the far greater part were built upon rocks. There are many other particulars which they tell us there, which we purposely omit, because they are still more incredible. But the reader is at liberty to chuse which supposition he likes best.

BESIDES these cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly observed above, and afterwards the temple, had likewise the privilege of sanctuariship, especially the altar of burnt-offering†. The rabbies do indeed tell us, the latter was only for the priests; but we have seen the contrary, in the instance

\* Gemar. Traët. Makloth.

† Vide PHILO, Legat ad Cai.

moderate bigness, well furnished with water, provisions, artists, and all manner of conveniences, weapons excepted. The reason they give for excluding this last was, lest the avenger should, in a fit of anger, make use of them against the slayer (83). Thus far they agree, in some other points they are divided. Some pretend, that the refuted was to be kept at the charge of the city; and others affirm, that he was obliged to follow some trade, if he could not maintain himself without it. Some say, that the houses in the suburbs were to obstruct the entrance of the prosecutor, till they had taken all proper means to pacify him; and others, that they only sent some grave and reverend deputies to meet him without the gates, to persuade him to clemency and moderation. Some add, that the tribe of *Levi* was excluded the benefit of these sanctuaries; so that if any of them happened to kill a man, how accidentally soever, they were forced to wander from place to place (84). The modern *Jews* do so far keep up this custom, that a manslayer is banished for three years into some city, in which they have a synagogue, where,

by way of penance, he is forced to say aloud, *I am a man-slayer*, both at his entering into the synagogue, and at every courteous civility that is shewed to him (85).

*Maimon* and some other rabbies tell us, from ancient tradition, that all the forty-two cities of the *Levites* were places of refuge, with this difference, however, from the six properly so called, that the former might refuse their protection to any man, how innocent soever, but the latter were obliged to receive him; and that in the former he lived at his own, and in the latter at the publick charge (86). The *Mishna*, on the contrary, tells, upon the authority of *R. Eleazar*, that the death either of the high-priest, or of him that is anointed for the war, restored the slayer to his freedom, and that the mothers of these two prelates did find the refugees in food and raiment, that they might not by their prayers accelerate the death of their sons, in order to their speedy release from their banishment (87).

(83) Vide Gemar. Traët. שְׁלֵחִין, præcept. aff. 75, & seq. Rab. SALOM, MUNSTER, & al. in Num. xxxv.

(84) Targ. ONKEL. Fag. in Num. xxxv. (85) Vide BASNAG. lib. ii. c. 7. (86) Item ibid. vide & CALM. sub voc. Refuge. (87) Ap. HOTTING. in GOODWIN, lib. ii. c. 5. sub note 9.

of *Joab* mentioned above. Those indeed, who were guilty of wilful murder, sheltered themselves there in vain; and were, by God's express command, to be taken away from the very altar, to condign punishment. To this end there were proper judges appointed there also, whose business it was to make a strict examination of the case, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of justice, or send the innocent under a proper escort to one of the cities of refuge<sup>a</sup>. There are several other material circumstances relating to those kind of cases, which, *Moses* having left no particular directions about, may be reasonably supposed to have been left to the discretion of the judges. Such as, for instance, when the fact was committed just before, and the sentence of the judges not obtained in favour of the homicide, till after the death of the high-priest; or when it was done in the time of an interregnum; or in case the high-priest was killed by some friends of the exiled person; or lastly, when the high-priest himself became a man-slayer, which was far from impossible: concerning which, and several others of the like nature, the *Talmudists* have made very judicious and equitable regulations; but which we shall not trouble our readers with.

*Netbinims.* THE *Netbinims* are the last sort of persons dedicated to the worship of God (O). These were not of the children of *Israel*, but of the *Gibeonites*, who obtained a treaty of peace with the former by a stratagem, which we have taken notice of before<sup>†</sup>, and whom *Joshua* condemned to the lowest and most laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*, such as drawing of water, fetching and hewing of wood for the altar, and the like<sup>‡</sup>. We do not find that this name of *Netbinims* was given to them till after the captivity, when a small number returned with *Ezra* and the rest of *Israel* from *Babylon*. That name imports as much as *given*, and *Ezra* says<sup>§</sup>, they were given or appointed by *David* and other kings, to serve in the temple under the *Levites*; and in another place, that they were the children of *Solomon's* servants<sup>¶</sup>. So that by this time the name was not confined to the *Gibeonites* alone, but was given also to *Canaanites*, whom these princes had conquered and converted<sup>\*\*</sup>. We read of some such abject persons also in the time of *Moses*, who mentions them in his last pathetick speech, in these words: *You all stand this day before the Lord—your little ones and your wives, and the stranger that is in your camp, from the bearer of thy wood, to the drawer of thy water*<sup>\*\*\*</sup>. And probably the lowness of their condition, might be one main reason why so few cared to return from the captivity, where they did perhaps fare better. For we do not read of above two hundred and twenty that came with *Ezra*<sup>††</sup>, and three hundred and ninety two with *Zerobabel*<sup>‡‡</sup>; which number was so insufficient for the exigences of the temple, that, *Josephus* tells us, they did institute a festival, which he calls *Xylophoria*, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood to the temple, to supply the altar of burnt-offering<sup>§§</sup>: and not unlikely,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. *MAIMONID.* apud *HOTTING.* lib. ii. c. 5. note 2, & *Commentatori*, in *Numb.* xxxv. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 331. c. <sup>‡</sup> *Josh.* ix. 23, 27. <sup>§</sup> *Ezr.* viii. 20. <sup>¶</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 58. <sup>\*\*</sup> *Kings* ix. 20, 21, & alib. <sup>\*\*\*</sup> *Deut.* xxix. 11. <sup>††</sup> *Ezr.* viii. 20. <sup>‡‡</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 58. <sup>§§</sup> *Wars of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 17.

(O) We may, however, add another sort, who were called *מַשְׁכֵּנִי מַמְדָּא*, *Anshe Mahmad*, *Station-men*, which were a pious, grave sort of persons, chosen, not out of the tribe of *Levi* alone, but out of all the twelve indifferently, to assist at the sacrifices, as representatives of a certain number of people. They were called by that name, because, as we observed before, no man was allowed to be in any but a standing posture during the time of divine service. The law required, that every man should come and make his offerings, of what kind soever, in person, and to stay there till the ceremony was ended; but because this was not practicable in many cases, as when an offering was made for the whole nation, or in times of great resort, be-

cause the place could not contain them; they chose these representatives to perform that duty for them. These were divided, as the priests and *Levites*, into twenty-four classes, who took their turns weekly as they did; each class having a head or captain, who was called *רֹאשׁ מַשְׁכֵּנִי*, *Rosh Mahmad*, or head of the station (88). We do not indeed read of any such order of men in the sacred writings, and consequently do not think it of divine institution; but the *Jews* do fetch it from the oral law, and believe that it began long before the captivity; but most *Christians* are rather of opinion, that it began soon after their return from it (89), for which reason we shall say no more of it.

(88) Vide *MOS. KOTZ.* מִצְוֹת גִּרְל. (89) *GOODWIN'S Mos. & Aar. lib. i. cap. 5.* *HOTTING. Dissert. de Viris Stationar.*

- a that also of bringing water thither from the pool of *Siloab*, on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, the institution of which is attributed to the prophet *Zachariah*; of which we have made some mention before.

## II. Of things consecrated to the service of God.

- THESE were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candlestick, and other utensils belonging to it. 5. The table of shew-bread. And 6. The court, with all the utensils which were repositied in it. Concerning all which, whatever can be said, with any tolerable certainty, is so well known to the curious in this kind of learning, and so disregarded by the rest of the world, that we should gladly content ourselves with the bare mention of them, did we think that our readers would be satisfied with it, without a further description of them. It may indeed appear somewhat surprising, that *Moses* should have bestowed almost as many pages in describing the structure of the tabernacle and its sumptuous furniture, as he has lines in his account of the creation, and yet that we should be so much in the dark about it, and that there should be so much room left for conjecture, for want of knowing the proper signification of a great number of its parts and materials. But as this is plainly the case, we shall not expatiate upon them, unless we can do it upon some sure grounds, or where they have an apparent relation to the gospel.

1. THE tabernacle was built by the command and directions of God himself, <sup>The tabernacle.</sup> that he might dwell in the midst of his people \*. Their rebellions and murmurings having provoked him to prolong the term of their wandering in the wilderness, and thereby delayed the time of their entering into the possession of the promised land; it was necessary that this sacred place, where the most solemn parts of the divine worship were to be performed, should be fitted to their frequent marches, and be easily set up and taken down, as occasion required. For which reason, among other names it has in the *Mosaic* writings (P), it is most commonly called by that of *Obel*, which doth properly signify a tent; but such a magnificent one, both in its structure, materials, and utensils, as might inspire both the *Israelites*, and all other nations, with an awful respect and regard for the service of God. To this end, the most costly and precious things, which they had brought with them from *Egypt*, and from those other kingdoms which they had conquered, were liberally bestowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ablest artificers, to be wrought in a manner suitable to the design of it, and to the richness of the materials †.

- OUR learned *Spencer* has here again been at the pains to fetch this tabernacle, the ark, altars, and all their appurtenances from *Egypt* ‡. He quotes the sacred and profane writings, to prove that the *Heathens* had such portable temples, in which they deposited the most valuable utensils that belonged to their religion. It is, indeed, easy enough to prove, that they had both these, and many other things, very like those of the *Jews*; but to infer from thence, that they had them before them, and that God condescended so far to the genius of the *Israelites*, as to introduce them into his own worship, to be a kind of fence against their proneness to their idolatrous superstitions, is not only

\* Vide *Exod.* xxv. 8, & alib. pass.    † Vide sup. 523. 2.    ‡ De Leg. Rit. Hæbr. Dissert. i.

(P) The tabernacle is called by several names in scripture, the most common of which is that of *אהל מועד*, *Ahel Moad*, the tent or tabernacle of the congregation or assembly, because it was made in the fashion of a magnificent tent or pavilion (90). For this reason *Josephus* calls it *μικροῦ ναοῦ*, *naos*, a portable temple (91); we find it elsewhere called *מקדש*, *Mikdash*, the holy place (92), and by the *Septuagint* *αγίασμα*, because it was made holy by God's presence; it is therefore elsewhere

called by way of excellency *המשכן*, *Hamishkan*; the habitation, which the *Greek* renders *σκηνη*, accordingly (93). Sometimes this last is joined with the word *העדות*, *Habeduth*, testimony (94), the habitation or tabernacle of testimony, because God delivered his oracles from thence; lastly, it is in other parts of scripture called *היכל*, *Hecal*, palace, and the palace of the Lord (95), which name was afterwards given to the temple.

(90) *Exod.* xxviii. 43, & alib. pass.  
(93) *Ibid.* ver. 9. & alib. pass.

(94) *Ibid.* xxxviii. 21.

(91) *Ant. lib.* iii. c. 5.

(92) *Exod.* xxv. 8.

(95) 1 *Sam.* i. 9. iii. 3. 1 *Kings* xxi. 1,

very presumptuous and unlikely, but doth too evidently thwart the known design of them, and the typical application which the apostle to the *Hebrews* makes of them<sup>d</sup>. And yet this sophistical way of reasoning is justly enough observed by a later author \*.\* to run through all his writings on this subject; for which reason we shall forbear saying more about it, having so often given our reasons for dissenting from him. The reader, however, may see this last supposition sufficiently exploded by the author last quoted, and but weakly defended since by *Le Clerc* \*+\*.

THE tabernacle was of an oblong square figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in height. It had two apartments within, divided by a row of four columns of shittim-wood (Q), covered over with massive gold, fixed in the same number of pedestals or sockets of silver; from which probably might come that ancient method of setting porphyry columns on bases of white marble. *Moses* doth not tell us whether they were round or square, but it seems more likely to have been the latter, not only because they became much in vogue in the inside of great buildings, under the name of pilasters, but also because they were more proper for the design for which they were intended, and more easy of carriage, with the boards and other flat pieces, than round ones. To the tops, or rather chapiters of these, was fastened by golden hooks a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, and distinguished the outward, called the holy, from the inward apartment, called the most holy, or the holy of holies. This latter was but ten cubits deep (R), and con-

<sup>d</sup> Heb. ix. pass. & ver. 8. \*.\* Vide SAURIN'S Discourse on the Pentateuch, Disc. liv. pass. & alib. pass. \*+\* Bibliot. A. M. tom. xii. part 2. § 1. pass.

(Q) This wood, tho' so famous in scripture, is yet so unknown, that interpreters have not ventured to translate its name. St. *Jerom* has retained its *Hebrew* one, and the *Septuagint* only calls it imputrable wood; and indeed, it is more than probable, that it was called *Shittim*, from the place where it grew, often mentioned in scripture †. Our readers, therefore, may be perhaps willing enough to be let into that little light that can be got about it. The most probable account we can meet with is, that of St. *Jerom*, who says, that it is a hard, smooth wood, free from knots, and of exquisite beauty and lightness; in-somuch that the rich used to make skews of it for their presses: that its leaves and colour were not unlike the white thorn, but that it grew to such a height, that one might saw it into boards of a considerable length, and that it grew no where in the *Roman* empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of *Arabia* (96). Hence some authors have concluded, that he meant the black *Acacia*, not only because it has all the smoothness, hardness, length, and beauty, which he speaks of, but because this latter is the only one that is to be found in those parts of *Arabia* (97). But whoever reads the description, which other authors give us of the *Acacia* (98), will find that it cannot be the *Shittim* of St. *Jerom*, tho' we are told by very many travellers, that it is the only tree that grows in those deserts (99); but be it which of the two it will, 'tis plain, they were both very fit for *Moses*'s purpose.

It is certain at least, that it could not be a kind of cedar, as some have imagined; not only because the *Hebrew* has another name for that tree, but because there grew none nearer than the *Libanus*, which was at too great a distance from *Sinai*; and yet the *Jews* are not ashamed of entertaining a more ridiculous notion, that *Moses* caused it to be brought from *Egypt*, whi-

ther *Jacob* had carried and sown the first seeds of it, foreseeing what use his posterity would have for it (100). But, had *Moses* known any thing of a tabernacle being to be reared in the wilderness before he came thither, 'tis certain, the *Jews* had something more valuable to load themselves with than timber, how rare and useful soever.

(R) This proportion is not mentioned by *Moses*, so that the reader is at his liberty to fix the partition in any other place, or, according to the rules of architecture, in the middle, and so make both apartments of equal length. What has determined the generality of interpreters to fix it where we do is, that, in the temple of *Solomon*, the most holy place was but half the length of the holy one (1), and is reasonably supposed to have been made according to the dimensions of the tabernacle; the only difference between them being, that the one was a fixed, and the other a moveable temple. To this may be added, that the most holy having nothing but the mercy-seat in it, and none but the high-priest being permitted to enter it, less room sufficed than for the outer one, which had the table of shew-bread, the altar of incense, candlestick, &c. and was more frequented. *Josaphus* (2), tho' he agrees with *Moses* in the length of the tabernacle, adds two cubits both to its height and breadth, with some other particularities, some not mentioned by *Moses*, and others differing from him. See the next note. However, it is not improper here to take notice, once for all, that the cubits were something longer than ours, though how much is not agreed. The most received opinion is, that from twenty to twenty-two inches. The *Jews* add a strange distinction between the cubits within and without the tabernacle, making the former longer by one hand, or three inches, than the latter, but we find no warrant for it but their bare word.

† Num. xxv. 1. xxxiii. 49. Micah. vi. 5. (96) Hieron. Comm. in Joel iii. ad fin. in Mich. vi. 5. & alib. (97) Bellon's Observ. lib. ii. c. 56, & 80. Aëtius, lib. iv. c. 11. (98) Vide Prosop. ALPIN. ap. Autor. Notar. in lib. iv. THEOPHRAST. THEVENOT, LA ROCQUE, & al. (99) Vide LE CLERC, CALMET, & al. Comm. in Exod. xxv. 5. THEVEN. LA ROCQUE, KADZIVIL, LUDOLPH, & al. (100) Vide BARNAG. ex Canaan, tom. ii. lib. ii. ch. 3. (1) Vide 1 Kings vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3. (2) Ant. lib. iii. c. 6.

- a frequently square. The other was twenty cubits, and at the entrance of it, at the west end, hung a second curtain to another row of five columns of the same fabrication with the former, only the bases of these were of brass, and this covered the inside of the holy place from common sight. The curtain, or, as it is called, the veil, that parted the holy from the most holy place, was made of the richest stuff, both for matter and workmanship; and adorned with cherubims, festoons, and other ornaments, curiously embroidered upon it. The whole was inclosed on the north, west, and south side, with a slight of boards of the same wood, covered also with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into sockets or mortises like the columns. These boards were ten cubits in length, and one and half in breadth; so that there were twenty on each side, and eight at the west end. They were moreover fastened to one another by a five-fold row of golden rings, at equal distance one over the other, five to each board, and through these were run five bars of gilt shittim-wood, which locked or unlocked them on those three sides. As for the east end, it had no boards, but was sheltered by a veil, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this outward one had no cherubims imbroidered upon it, as the innermost had, for these were never exposed to publick sight, but it was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and such like embellishments of needle-work\*. How low this curtain did hang is neither expressed in the text, nor agreed about; some thinking that it came no lower than five cubits, and afforded the people a view of what was done in the holy place†; others believing that it touched the ground, and concealed it all‡; which last is the more probable of the two (S). The whole had four different coverings, the two innermost of which were by far the richest, being of a beautiful light blue mohair, striped with scarlet and purple, or crimson, and adorned with cherubims§. The other two were made, the under one of rams-skins, with the wool on, of scarlet dye, and the uppermost of all, of badgers-skins, of a light blue. These two last were intended to preserve the other two from wind and rain; for which reason they were made to hang down to the ground on the three sides that were boarded, whilst they left the outward veil open to publick view on the west end, which was the entrance into that sacred place. The inside of both these apartments was still made more awful by the darkness that reigned in them: For we do not find that there was any overtures made for the light; so that the most holy had none but what the censor gave it, when the high-priest went into it on expiation-day: As for the holy place, it had the golden candlestick, with a sufficient number of branches to enlighten it in the night. We shall follow the Jewish law-giver no further in his succinct account of every minute part that composed this portable edifice, much

\* Exod xxvi. 36.

† JOSEPH. Ant. lib. iii. c. 6.

‡ PHILO ap. BASNAG. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5.

§ Exod. xxvi. 1.

(S) *Josephus* adds further, that there was another curtain over that which came down to the ground, and was to preserve it from the weather, being made of stuff that was proof against rain, but that it was drawn aside on the sabbath and other festivals, to give the people a view of the inner one, and of its ornaments; if so, it must at the same time expose the altar of incense, candlestick, &c. to publick sight. *Philo*, on the contrary, pretends (3), that no layman was suffered to see the fumigations which were performed within that place, the priests being the only persons who had that privilege. This seems at least more likely, by what we read of *Zechariah's* tarrying longer than usual in the holy place, and of the people's waiting without, not knowing what had happened to him (4). However that be, *Moses* calls these two curtains or veils by different names, namely, this outward one by the name of מוסך *Mussak*, which only signifies a covering; whereas the inward, which divided the

holy from the most holy place, he calls פרוכת *Paroketh* from *Parak*, which signifies to take, or snatch away, and figuratively, to free, because it covered the mercy-seat, and kept it from publick sight.

The *Talmud* adds another particular concerning this last veil, namely, that it consisted of two curtains, which hung parallel a-cross the tabernacle, at the distance of two cubits from each other; and that, when the high-priest went into the most holy place, he lifted up the first curtain at one end of it, and so walked between them quite to the other end, and then entered within the second curtain, and marched forwards towards the ark (5); if so, it was the most effectual way to keep that sacred place from sight; but we dare not warrant the truth of it. The apostle to the *Hebrews* mentions indeed a second veil\*, but whether in allusion to this double curtain, or, what seems more probable, in opposition to the *Mussak* or outward veil, we shall not determine.

(3) Ap. BASNAG. *ubi sup.*

(4) Luke i. 21.

(5) Vide MAIM. *Kele Hammickdash*. \* Hebr. ix. 3.



less those who have commented upon him, the greatest part of whom have given a such a scope to their luxuriant fancies, that they seem rather to have viewed it with the utmost nicety, than to have taken their description from him: We think it sufficient for us to say, that there was nothing wanting in it that could make it rich, sumptuous, and venerable, firm, lasting, and easily moved <sup>1</sup>.

*Of the mercy-seat and ark of the testimony.*

*The ark and  
mercy-seat.*

THESE were the two chief things that were deposited in the most holy place, and the former was as a lid or covert to the latter; for which reason some interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word *Kaphoreth*, by which *Moses* calls it. But most versions do more properly render it the *Propitiatory* <sup>2</sup>, others the *Oracle* <sup>3</sup>, and ours the mercy-seat (T); because God is said to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubims, which cover it. Besides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary sanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of God's immediate presence; for which reason, there were such severe judgments inflicted on those who presumed to approach it <sup>4</sup>. *Moses* was commanded to make it of pure gold <sup>5</sup>; from which one may conclude, that it was not made of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, like the ark, the golden-table, and other sacred utensils. The length of it was two cubits and half, and the breadth of it one cubit and half; so that it exactly fitted the dimensions of the ark. It was fixed with the cherubims that overshadowed it in a frame, or, as *Moses* calls it, a crown <sup>6</sup>, not of a round, but oblong square figure, which closed the upper part of the ark, like a rim or ogee. As to the cherubims, it is certain, that they were made of gold, but whether solid, and cast of the same piece, and in the same mould with the mercy-seat, as some *Jews* and *Christians* render it <sup>7</sup>; or only chased and hammered, as the original, which only expresses it by hardened gold, seems rather to intimate; is not worth disputing. It would indeed be more material to know something concerning their form, posture, and attitude; but *Moses* has here also left us in the dark, except where he says, that they stretched out their wings on high, and covered the mercy-seat with them from each end of it, and faced one another, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-seat <sup>8</sup> (V); from which we may reasonably conclude, that they were at least in a kind of bowing posture. This attitude, tho' not so clearly expressed by *Moses*, may be further evinced,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. tot. <sup>2</sup> LXX. <sup>3</sup> Hieron. Vulgat. & al. <sup>4</sup> Vide 1 Sam. vi. 19. 2 Sam. vi. 6, & seq. <sup>5</sup> Exod. xxv. 17. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. ver. 18. <sup>7</sup> Chald. Paraph. R. Sal. Arr. Montan. Tremel. & al. in loc. ver. 18. <sup>8</sup> Ibid. ver. 20.

(T) The word כַּפֹּרֶת, *Kaphoreth*, indeed comes from the verb *Caphar*, which doth signify to expiate, to forgive, in a figurative sense, and in the primitive one, to cover, according to that of the psalmist—*whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sin is covered* (6). But it would be absurd to infer from hence, that the word here signifies only a bare covering; especially when the apostle to the *Hebrews*, who in other cases has followed the version of the *Septuagint*, departs from it here, and calls it simply ἡλασμός, the propitiatory, or mercy-seat (7), where they had rendered it ἡλασμός καὶ σκεπτήριον, the propitiatory lid or covering.

(V) We have had occasion in another place to hint something concerning the form of these cherubims; not that either these which *Moses* speaks of here, or those which were embroidered on the veils and curtains, can help us to form any idea of them, except we have recourse to other places of scripture, where they are somewhat more particularly described. The generality of interpre-

ters, both ancient and modern, have supposed them to have human shapes, because *Moses* says here, that they had their faces turned towards the mercy-seat; and elsewhere (8) that *God set them with flaming swords*, in their hands it is supposed, to guard the entrance of paradise. But this concludes nothing, because face and hands, if any had here been mentioned, are attributed to beasts as well as men, in the *Hebrews*. The greatest part of the *Jews* derive the word from another, which signifies, to be like a child, from which they conclude that they were like young men naked, and covered only for decency with some of their wings (9). But it is certain, on the contrary, that the prophet *Ezekiel* represents them quite otherwise, and speaks of the face of a cherubim as synonymous with that of an ox or calf (10); according to which, the *Apocalypse* calls them ζῴα, beasts (11), and it is not improbable, that the different descriptions we meet with of them, in several places of scripture, made *Josephus* say, that they were a kind of winged creature

(6) Ps. xxxii. 1. (7) Hebr. ix. 5. (8) Gen. iii. ver. ult. (9) Vide Kimc. & Buxtorf. sub voc. Cherub. BASNAG. R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5, 6, & 7. pass. (10) Conf. Ezek. i. 10. & x. 14. (11) Apoc. iv. 6.

- a evinced, not only as it was the most decent and respectful, but as it seems to be alluded to by the psalmist, who having declared that God was seated between the cherubims; and expressed his majesty, justice, and power, in the two or three verses following adds, *prostrate your selves before his foot-stool* \*. Neither is it improbable, that what is said of their looking down upon the mercy-seat, in a kind of admiring posture, might give occasion to that beautiful allusion of St. Peter, when, speaking of the mysteries of our redemption, he says, *which the very angels desire to look into* \*. We might likewise give a very probable conjecture of their height, if it be allowed that their wings, which met about the middle of the mercy-seat, did bear the usual proportion to the rest of their bodies: But these enquiries are more curious than useful.

b THE ark was a small chest made of shittim-wood, and covered over with beaten gold. We have seen the dimensions of its length and breadth, by those of the mercy-seat; its height was equal to its breadth, that is, one cubit and half. It is called the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the testimony; the first, because it was a symbol of the covenant made between God and his people, and contained the two tables of it, the pot of manna, and Aaron's miraculous rod which were deposited in it, to be as so many witnesses against every deviation of theirs. It had on each side two gold rings, through which were fastened the two bars, by which it used to be carried on the priests shoulders. These bars were made of the same wood with the ark, and like it overlaid with gold; and these were never to be taken off. The ark with its covering stood length-wise, and not cross-wise, as some have imagined, in the midst of the most holy place. Moses doth not tell us, whether or no it had either feet or some pedestal to stand upon; and yet it is hardly to be supposed that it stood upon the bare ground.

- c SEVERAL learned rabbies have a notion that there were two arks, the one made by Moses, and the other by Bezaleel; because Moses is said in one place to have made an ark of shittim-wood, into which he put the two tables of stone; and in another place, that Bezaleel made an ark, and covered it with gold. But they might as well conclude, that Solomon built one temple, and his workmen another; however they add, that Moses did always carry his own, and the priests the other; and that this latter, which had in it the book of the law, was always carried with them when they went to engage their enemies \*. Abenezra endeavours to confirm this opinion, by what is said in Joshua of the distance that was to be kept *between the people and it*, (the ark) \*. He pretends that the participle *it* is in the plural in the original, and that the words should be translated *between you and them*, that is, the two arks \*. But besides that, his criticism has no foundation, but on the different reading of the *Mazorites*, and that grounded on the disputed authority of the points; we have elsewhere seen, that the plural is sometimes used to express the excellency of a thing; so that we see no reason to suppose two arks from either of these arguments; and yet some Christians have given into that opinion \* (W).

## BESIDES

\* P. s. xcix. 1, & seq. \* 1 Pet. i. 12. \* Deut. x. 3. \* Exod. xxvii. 1. \* NACHMAN, KIMCHI, ZACHUT, & al. Vide BASNAG. ubi sup. \* Josh. iii. 4. \* ABENEZ. in Deut. x. \* GOODW. & HOTTING. ubi sup. Differt. de Tabernacul. § 13.

creature, answering to the description of that which Moses saw about the throne of God, but to which no man had ever seen the like before (12).

However, we think with many learned moderns (13), that the word is derived from *Charab*, which, in the *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic*, signifies to plow; according to which, *Charub*, or *Cherub*, doth often imply a strong man, or beast; and as the ox is known to be very proper for agriculture, both on account of his strength and docility, the authors above quoted have made no difficulty to believe, that the cherubims here spoken of resembled them, if not in the whole, at least in face, and some other parts of the body. To these we may add the authority of an ancient father, who believed, that the *Egyptian Sphinx*,

and other hieroglyphical beasts, were borrowed from those of Moses and Ezekiel (14). And indeed Moses seems to hint at least, that the cherub-work, which was embroidered on the veil and curtains within the holy of holies (15), was full of such symbolical figures, after the manner of the famous *Phrygian* tapestry. Whether therefore, these took the hint from Moses, or he from them, is not very material; either supposition may be allowed without any harm. If the first, Moses might thereby design to intimate the existence and office of those spiritual beings; and if the latter, it might serve to expose the folly of their *Gentile* worshippers, seeing they were here represented as meer servants to the God of *Israel*.

(W) R. Kimchi adds, speaking of these two arks

(12) Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. (13) GROT. BOCHART, SPENCER, LE CLERC, MEDE, & al. (14) CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. v. (15) Exod. xxvi. 1.

BESIDES the ark and mercy-seat, there was still in this most holy place the volume of the law, which *Moses* gave the *Levites* to deposit by the side of the ark<sup>a</sup>; whether on the in or out-side is not agreed, but most probably without<sup>†</sup>. *St. Paul* omits this in the mention he makes of the things that were preserved there<sup>b</sup>; for which no other reason can be given, than that it was sufficiently known, for it is said elsewhere, that there was nothing in the ark but the two tables of stone, which *Moses* put into it at *Horeb*<sup>c</sup>; tho' it is plain, that the pot of manna and *Aaron's* miraculous rod were likewise preserved in it. But we do not think that either of these seeming inconsistencies, or the disposition of the sacred volume, and the other holy utensils, are matters of such weight, as to deserve all the pains which some learned authors have given themselves to little purpose<sup>d</sup>. However, as to the book itself, we must not suppose that it was the only copy, seeing it would not have been lawful for the high-priest to have fetched it out and in but on expiation-day; whereas the publick reading of it was to be on the feast of tabernacles. We may therefore suppose, with the *Jews* (X), that there were several copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preserved to prevent the rest from being corrupted. Lastly, after the ark was brought back from the *Philistines*, they deposited the little chest with the golden mice and emrods, not in it, but by the side of it<sup>e</sup>.

THE utensils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incense. 2. The golden candlestick, And 3. The table of shew-bread.

1. THE altar of perfume is sometimes called the golden altar, because, tho' it was made all of shittim-wood, yet it was so well covered over with gold, that it looked like a solid piece of it. It is also called the inner altar, to distinguish it from that of burnt-offerings, which stood without the tabernacle. Its use was twofold, namely, to burn incense morning and night, as we hinted elsewhere, and to be sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, which were offered for sins of ignorance committed either by particular priests, or by all the people in general<sup>f</sup>. It was one cubit square, and two cubits high, so that the smoke had still eight cubits to ascend. Two bars of the same wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, served to carry it about, like the ark; only these might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogee round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewise covered with gold. The main difficulty is how to understand what

<sup>a</sup> Deut. iii. 26. <sup>†</sup> Vide PRID. Connect. part i. lib. iii. <sup>b</sup> Comp. 1 Kings viii. 9. with Heb. ix. c. 1 Kings viii. 9. <sup>d</sup> GOODW. ubi sup. § 18, ad 24. 1 Sam. vi. & alib. vide PRID. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. vi. & alib. <sup>f</sup> Vide Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18.

arks, that the one had the pieces of the two tables which *Moses* had broke, and the other, those which he made afterwards. And even the *Talmudists*, who do not seem to have dreamed of a double ark, are yet of opinion, that those precious reliques were preserved in that one in which the new were repositied. It is indeed scarce credible, that he left them scattered on the ground; but, as he has not told us what he did with them, it is more reasonable to suppose, that he took them up into the mount, and there buried them out of sight, than that he deposited them in the ark, where they could be of no use, unless it were indeed to put them in mind of their abominable idolatry, which had occasioned the breaking of them.

(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preserved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite so clear, namely, that, after the building of the temple, this last was taken out of the sanctuary, and deposited in the treasury of the temple; and that it was this volume

which was found there by the high-priest *Hilkiah*, in the reign of *Josiah* (16). But if the latter be true, it is more likely that it was taken out of the sanctuary, and repositied in some such private place, to prevent its undergoing the same fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of *Amon* and *Manasse*, than that it was removed thence in *Solomon's* time, without any necessity, or command from God.

(Y) It is scarce worth the while to enquire into the various notions which interpreters are run into about the shape of these horns; some making them to be round, and others square knobs (17), others little plain, and others like twisted pyramids (18). What is worth observing to our *English* readers is, that the word קרן, *keren*, signifies either a horn, or a ray of light, from which, perhaps, as *Cumeus* observes, those rays which shone about *Moses's* face may easily have been transformed into horns; so that these on the corners of the altars might, for aught appears to the contrary, be nothing else but ornaments resembling in some measure the rays of the sun. However, those who think them to have been in shape like the horns

(16) 2 Kings xxii. 8, & seq. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, & seq. Vide KIMCH. in loc. & BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 8. (17) N. DE LYRA, post Rabbin. alig. (18) VILLALPAND, ARR. MONTAN. & al.

A MAP of the Kingdoms of JUDAH and ISRAEL, according to this History



BESIDES the ark and mercy-seat, there was still in this most holy place the volume of the law, which *Moses* gave the *Levites* to deposite by the side of the ark<sup>a</sup>; whether on the in or out-side is not agreed, but most probably without<sup>†</sup>. *St. Paul* omits this in the mention he makes of the things that were preserved there<sup>b</sup>; for which no other reason can be given, than that it was sufficiently known, for it is said elsewhere, that there was nothing in the ark but the two tables of stone, which *Moses* put into it at *Horeb*<sup>c</sup>; tho' it is plain, that the pot of manna and *Aaron's* miraculous rod were likewise preserved in it. But we do not think that either of these seeming inconsistencies, or the disposition of the sacred volume, and the other holy utensils, are matters of such weight, as to deserve all the pains which some learned authors have given themselves to little purpose<sup>d</sup>. However, as to the book itself, we must not suppose that it was the only copy, seeing it would not have been lawful for the high-priest to have fetched it out and in but on expiation-day; whereas the publick reading of it was to be on the feast of tabernacles. We may therefore suppose, with the *Jews* (X), that there were several copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preserved to prevent the rest from being corrupted. Lastly, after the ark was brought back from the *Philistines*, they deposited the little chest with the golden mice and emrods, not in it, but by the side of it<sup>e</sup>.

THE utensils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incense. 2. The golden candlestick, And 3. The table of shew-bread.

1. THE altar of perfume is sometimes called the golden altar, because, tho' it was made all of shittim-wood, yet it was so well covered over with gold, that it looked like a solid piece of it. It is also called the inner altar, to distinguish it from that of burnt-offerings, which stood without the tabernacle. Its use was twofold, namely, to burn incense morning and night, as we hinted elsewhere, and to be sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, which were offered for sins of ignorance committed either by particular priests, or by all the people in general<sup>f</sup>. It was one cubit square, and two cubits high, so that the smoke had still eight cubits to ascend. Two bars of the same wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, served to carry it about, like the ark; only these might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogce round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewise covered with gold. The main difficulty is how to understand what

<sup>a</sup> Deut. iii. 26. <sup>†</sup> Vide PAR. Connect. part r. lib. iii. <sup>b</sup> Comp. 1 Kings viii. 9. with Heb. ix. <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings viii. 9. <sup>d</sup> Goodw. ubi sup. § 18, ad 24. 1 Sam. vi. & alib. vide PAR. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. vi. & alib. <sup>f</sup> Vide Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18.

arks, that the one had the pieces of the two tables which *Moses* had broke, and the other, those which he made afterwards. And even the *Talmudists*, who do not seem to have dreamed of a double ark, are yet of opinion, that those precious relicks were preserved in that one in which the new were reposit. It is indeed scarce credible, that he left them scattered on the ground; but, as he has not told us what he did with them, it is more reasonable to suppose, that he took them up into the mount, and there buried them out of sight, than that he deposited them in the ark, where they could be of no use, unless it were indeed to put them in mind of their abominable idolatry, which had occasioned the breaking of them.

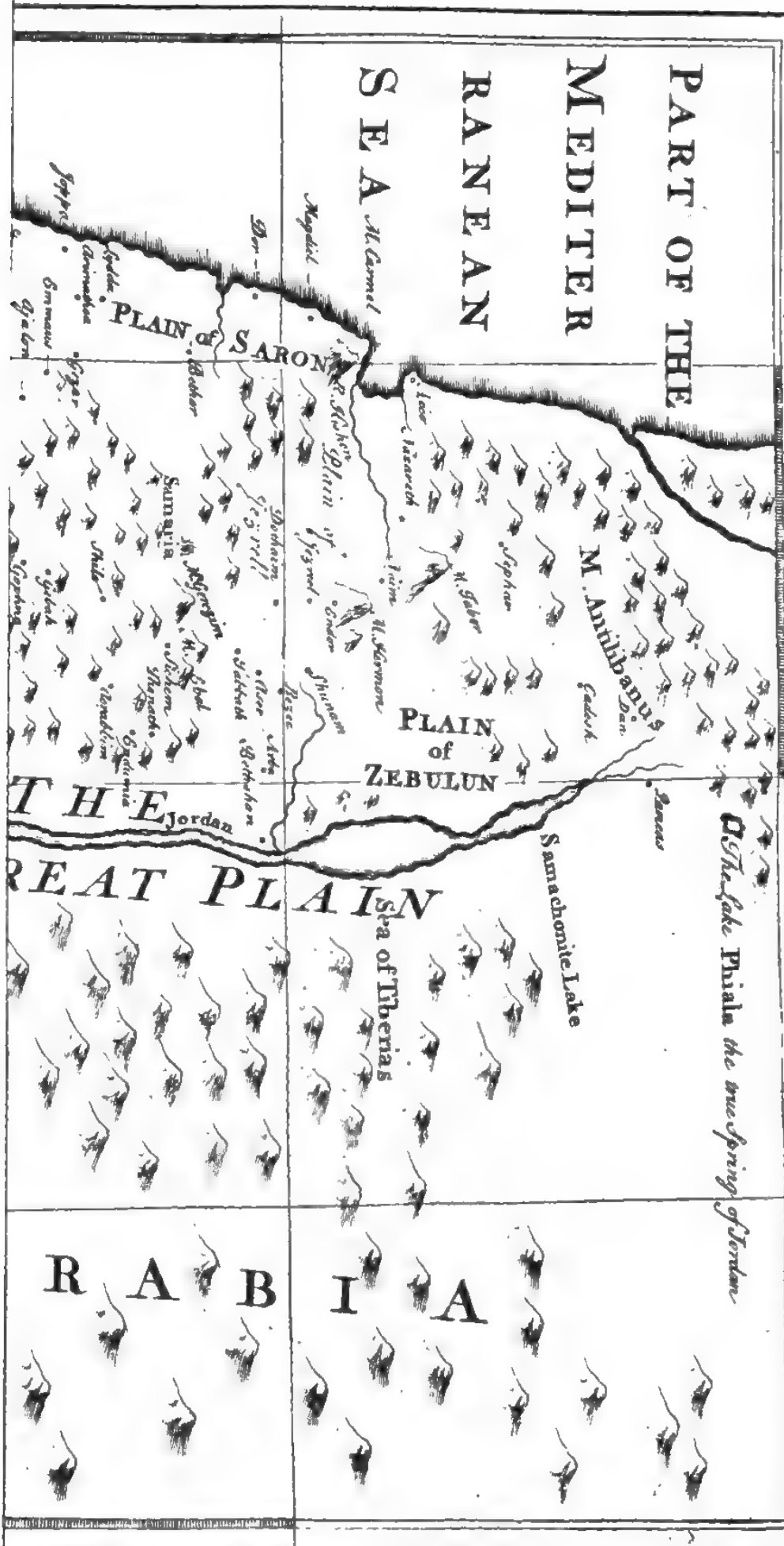
(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preserved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite so clear, namely, that, after the building of the temple, this last was taken out of the sanctuary, and deposited in the treasury of the temple; and that it was this volume

which was found there by the high-priest *Hilkiah*, in the reign of *Josiah* (16). But if the latter be true, it is more likely that it was taken out of the sanctuary, and reposit in some such private place, to prevent its undergoing the same fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of *Ammon* and *Manasses*, than that it was removed thence in *Solomon's* time, without any necessity, or command from God.

(Y) It is scarce worth the while to enquire into the various notions which interpreters are run into about the shape of these horns; some making them to be round, and others square knobs (17), others little plain, and others like twisted pyramids (18). What is worth observing to our *English* readers is, that the word קֶרֶן, *keren*, signifies either a horn, or a ray of light, from which, perhaps, as *Cunaeus* observes, those rays which shone about *Moses's* face may easily have been transformed into horns; so that these on the corners of the altars might, for aught appears to the contrary, be nothing else but ornaments resembling in some measure the rays of the sun. However, those who think them to have been in shape like the horns

(16) 2 Kings xxii. 8, & seq. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, & seq. Vide KIMCH. in loc. & BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 8. (17) N. DE LYRA, post Rabbin. aliq. (18) VILLALPAND. ARR. MONTAN. & al.

# A MAP of the Kingdoms of JUDAH and ISRAEL, according to this History







- a what is meant by the top or roof of it<sup>a</sup>, and how it could be ordered so as to bear the heat of the burning coals, without burning the wood through the gold that overlaid it. This has induced St. *Jerom*, and others, to translate it a grate, through which the small coals and ashes fell to the bottom<sup>b</sup>, but the construction of the altar is incompatible with it. *Josephus* calls it a golden fire-hearth, which is equally liable to the same inconvenience, unless we suppose it to have been of more than common thickness. The difficulty is still greater with respect to the altar of burnt-offerings, which, tho' made of the same wood, and only covered with copper, did yet bear a much more intense heat, by reason of the great number of victims, which were burnt constantly upon it. *Le Clerc* hath offered two ways of solving this difficulty, either by supposing the metal that covered it to be very thick, or that the *Shittim* was the same with the *Larix* of *Vitruvius*, which was an incombustible wood<sup>c</sup>; and, because he found the first solution to be insufficient, he published a short dissertation to prove the probability of the latter<sup>d</sup>: But the misfortune is, that we have no sufficient testimony, that any such wood did grow in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, or indeed, in *Arabia*. We shall speak of the latter altar by and by; as for this of incense, *Cuneus* seems to have found out the best expedient out of the *Jewish* rabbies, by supposing that the burning coals were not set upon the altar itself, but upon a censer like a chafing-dish; which conjecture he backs by a text or two, where such censers are commanded to be filled with coals, and set upon the altar<sup>e</sup>. However, if the readers should scruple to admit of these, it is but supposing, that this golden top or roof, with its crown or frame, was so fixed, as to be at some small distance above the altar itself, and the wood will be out of danger of being burnt, though it had not been overlaid with gold, because the heat naturally ascends. The situation of it is not clear in the text, which says, that it was to stand before the veil<sup>f</sup>. *Josephus*, who is universally followed, places it between the candlestick and the table of shew-bread<sup>g</sup>. We cannot contradict it, and yet we think, that if the candlestick were placed in the midst, which is the properest place for it, and the other two, which were near of the same form, height, and bigness, put on each side, and at a little distance between it and the sides of the tabernacle, it would be more agreeable to the rules of symmetry. The author of the second book of *Maccabees* tells us, that *Jeremiah*, seeing the captivity approaching, took this altar and the ark of God to mount *Neb*, and hid them in a cave there, and stopped the door so close, that it could not afterwards be found<sup>h</sup>. The *Talmudists* give a different account of it, namely, that *Josiah* having been admonished by some prophets, that all the precious vessels of the sanctuary would be carried away to *Babylon*, deposited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, *Aaron's* rod, and the breast-plate of *Urim*, and this altar of incense, into a subterranean place, which *Solomon*, from the same forecast, had caused to be built with such extreme care and privacy, that, at the return from the captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, if we believe the *Jews*, till the coming of the Messiah. One thing, indeed, seems reasonable to suppose, that if they had been carried into *Babylon*, with the rest of the sacred utensils of the temple, they would have been also restored to them; but we find on the contrary, that they were forced to make them new ones at their return, whatever became of the old<sup>i</sup>.

2. THE candlestick was by far the richest piece in the whole sanctuary, seeing it weighed a talent, not the common, but that of the sanctuary; and was made from top to bottom of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or sauder<sup>a</sup>. Its base or foot, or, as the original words it, its thigh, be-

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxx. 3. <sup>b</sup> Chald. Paraphr. *FAGIUS* in loc. <sup>c</sup> Comm. in Exod. in loc. <sup>d</sup> Bibliot. Anc. & Mod. tom. xii. p. 57. & seq. <sup>e</sup> Comp. Levit. x. 1. xvi. 12. Num. xvi. 6, 7. <sup>f</sup> Exod. xxx. 6. <sup>g</sup> Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. ad fin. <sup>h</sup> Ch. ii. 1, & seq. <sup>i</sup> Vide *Buxtorf* de Arc. c. 21, 22. R. *JACKUT*. *PRID. CONN.* part. 1. lib. iii. *CUNÆ. BASNAG.* & al. <sup>j</sup> Exod. xxv. 31, & seq.

horns of an ox or ram, may as probably guess right, since any of these forms might answer the purposes for which they seem intended, namely, in this small one for the greater ease and steadiness in moving and carrying it about; and in the great

one for tying the victims to them, according to the allusion of the psalmist (19), and perhaps, likewise, to hang the flagons of wine on, which usually accompanied those sacrifices †.

(19) *Pf. cxviii. 27.*

† *Vide Zechar. ix. 15.*

cause it probably resembled an inverted one, had a trunk over it, out of which <sup>a</sup> proceeded six branches, three on each side, and this last made the seventh in the middle. These branches were adorned with cups, knops, and flowers, alternate and equidistant, and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, shaped like an almond, which might be taken on or off, as occasion served; and in them were put the oil and the wick or cotton. These had their tongs or snuffers to draw the cotton in or out, and snuff-dishes to receive the sparks and filth that fell from the lamps. All these were of pure gold also. It was the priest's business in waiting every evening, at the time of incense, to go in and light them, and about the same time in the morning to put them out, to clean and replenish them \* (Z). As to the height of it, *Moses* has not mentioned any thing about it; so that whilst some have <sup>b</sup> lowered it to the level of the altar of incense, which would have cast but an imperfect light, especially on the table of shew-bread, where the loaves stood one upon another, others have carried it up to the height of five cubits, which is a worse extremity, since it must not only have required a ladder or steps to have reached it, but, it being the half of the height of the place, the smoke of it would soon have sullied and spoiled the rich curtains over head: It is therefore more reasonable to suppose it of such a height, that a man might easily reach the top of it, that is, about six foot high. We are likewise left to guess at its shape, breadth, situation, and several other particulars, in which every commentator thinks he has hit better than any of his brethren; for which reason we shall follow them no <sup>c</sup> further in the dark (A); but only add, that, after the building of the temple, *Solomon*, instead of one, placed ten candlesticks in the holy place, all of the same metal, with their other appurtenances; but whether that of *Moses* was one of the number, or made the eleventh, is not certain; the latter seems the more probable of the two, because the holy place here being considerably larger than that of the tabernacle; and all the vessels being made so accordingly; it is likely that the candlesticks did bear the same proportion; in which case the old one would not have been uniform with the rest. But whether it was new cast, or reposit in the treasury of the temple, or what became of it, is uncertain.

Table of shew-bread.

3. THE table of shew-bread. We have spoken of the bread elsewhere; <sup>d</sup> as for the table on which it was set, it was made of the same wood, and covered with gold like the ark: It was two cubits long, one cubit broad, and one and half high: it had a golden border or crown, which may be supposed

\* Comp. Exod. xxv. 37, with Num. iv. 9.    \* Comp. ver. 37, with Exod. xxx. 8. Levit. xxiv. 2. 1 Sam. iii. 3.    † Vide int. al. JOSEPH. ubi sup. Hieron. Ann. Mont. Villalp. Cun. Basnag. Vilet, & al.    \* 1 Kings vii. 49. 2 Chron. iv. 7.

(Z) Notwithstanding those texts we have quoted above, to prove that the lamps burned only in the night, some have stuck so close to the letter, where it is said elsewhere, that *they shall burn continually* (20), that they have affirmed them to burn all the day also. *Josephus*, as if he had been minded to split the difference, tells us, that three of them burned all day, and the other four were lighted against night \*. But if we must suppose, without any occasion, that any burned in the day, it were more reasonable to think, it was the middle one, which, being more capacious than the rest, may have been left burning all day, and served to light the others by at night. For as the sanctuary opened to the sun rising, we can see no occasion for supposing a greater number of lights, against so many plain texts. But *Josephus* has added some other particulars, which it would be hard to guess where he had them, such as that the knops, cups, flowers, &c. in the candlestick amounted to 70 in all (21). Whereas those, who will be at the pains to tell them after *Moses*, will find but about 58; that is, 18 cups, 18 flowers, and 18 knops, to the 6 side-branches, and 4 to the middle one. Of the

same kind is what he tells us there, that the 7 branches answered to the 7 planets; that the candlestick stood stooping, and such like, not worth a further enquiry.

(A) It may not, however, be amiss here, to say something of the oil that entertained these lamps; and this, the text tells us, was to be the purest virgin oil of olives, with which the land of *Canaan* abounded very much, as we have seen heretofore †; and indeed none but such would have been fit to burn in that place, where the furniture was so exquisitely rich. We may remember, that when *Moses* exacted a freewill-offering from the people, of all their costly spoils, oil was one of the things of that number; since then, there being always a certain quantity required with their other sacrifices, besides the tythes and free-offerings of the devouter sort, there could not be wanting a constant supply of it for this purpose. The *Babylonish Talmud* assures us, that, after the extruction of *Solomon's* temple, there was a place, by the women's apartment, appropriated for the keeping of it (22).

(20) Exod. xxvii. 20, & alib.    \* Ant. lib. iii. c. 8.    (21) Ibid. c. 7. ad fin.    † Vide sup. p. 464. note (N).    (22) Traët. Middoth.

a to be a kind of rim round it, like that of our tea-tables \*. It was also of pure gold, and might have an ogee or some such ornament about it. It stood upon four feet, which *Josephus* said resembled, in part, those that were used in the *Dorian's* beds †; but what he meant by it is not worth our enquiry. *Moses* seems to intimate, in another verse ‡, something like a second crown or rim, though some take it to be the same with the former; but it is more likely, that it was a lower one, which went round the four feet near the bottom, and kept them steady. To the upper rim were fastened four gold rings, two on each side, through which the bars were put that served for its carriage. On the top there were, besides the two rows of shew-loaves, some pans, or chafing-dishes of gold, in which the incense used to be burnt, with several other smaller utensils, which served for inferior uses in this holy place §, which we shall not dwell longer upon, because there are almost as many different opinions about the significations of their names, their form and uses, as there are interpreters. This table was afterwards changed for another by *Solomon* \*. *Josephus* tells us †, that it was larger than the old one, probably to answer the largeness of the place. The author of the book of *Chronicles* adds, that he made ten more, five on the north, and five on the south side of the holy place, which served to set all the other utensils upon ‡; and *Josephus* says, that there were as many more of different makes and sizes, as served to hold twenty-thousand cups, and other vessels of gold, and twice that number of silver ones §.

c 4. THE court of the tabernacle, with its utensils, is the last thing we have to speak of. The court was an oblong square, an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad (B), inclosed on all but the east side, which had an opening of twenty cubits for the priests and *Levites*, and people to go in and out with their offerings. This inclosure was not designed to conceal what was done in the court, since the curtains, that surrounded it, were made of a kind of a net or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. These curtains, which *Moses* therefore calls by a particular name (C), to distinguish them from those of the tabernacle, whose use was of a different nature, were supported by four flights of pillars, probably of shittim-wood (D), with  
brass

Court of the  
tabernacle.

\* *Exod. xxv. 23, & seq.* † *Ibid. ver. 25.* ‡ *Ant. lib. iii. c. 6.* § *Exod. xxv. 29, & alib. pass.* † *1 Kings vii. 48, & seq.* ‡ *Ant. lib. viii. ch. 2.* § *1 Chron. iv. 8.* † *Ubi sup.*

(B) This חצר *Chatzer*, or court, being mentioned in some places, especially by the psalmist (23), in the plural number, has induced some interpreters to suppose, without any reason, that there were at least two of them (24), one for the *Levites*, and the other for the people: But as *Moses* doth hint nothing like it, and we have observed already, that the plural is often used to denote the excellency of a thing; we see no ground for such a supposition, nor indeed for looking upon these expressions as prophetic of the three courts which *Solomon* made to the temple, viz. one for the *Levites*, one for the *Israelites*, and the last for the *Gentiles*, as some authors have done (25).

(C) The word here used is קלף, *Kelaf*, which signifies either a sling, or a net, or open work (26), probably because those slings, with which they slung their stones, had the bottom made of some such kind of open work. For this reason the *Chaldees* paraphrast translates it grate or crib-work, in which he is followed by the generality of *Christian* interpreters (27). Some rabbies add to it a flourishing of all sorts of leaf and flower-work (28); but they all agree, that the ground was open and transparent, so that these hangings might, in some measure, resemble a piece of point or lace.

The *Jews* tell us, however, that, after the tabernacle was fixed in *Shiloh*, they surrounded it with a good strong wall of the same dimension; but whether this had any apertures, or not, doth not appear. Sure it is, that these courts were in use, and esteemed as a piece of grandeur, in the earliest times, both among the *Egyptians* and other nations, and that not only their temples, but their palaces, were surrounded with one or more of them, either to obstruct the sight, or the approach of the people.

(D) As *Moses* makes no mention of any wood, but only of silver and brass, *Josephus* (29), and the old *Latin* version have supposed those pillars to have been made of this last metal. But besides that there is no likelihood that they should have added such a monstrous weight, as fifty-six such columns must have been, to all their other carriage, it is plain, *Moses* mentions nothing like it, where he speaks of all the other utensils made of brass (30), which he would hardly have omitted. However, lest this should not prove sufficient to confute that notion, a late author has been at the pains of computing all the brass that was used in the tabernacle, to prove, that there would not have been a sufficient quantity for other utensils, had these pillars been made of it (31). There is, however, some

(23) *Vide Ps. lxxv. 4. lxxxiv. 2. c. 4. & alib.* (24) *Vide CALVIN in loc.* (25) *Vide CUN. & BASNAG. ubi sup. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 6.* (26) *Vide BUXTORF. THESAUR. & ARR. MONTAN. sub voc. קלף.* (27) *R. SAL. JARCH. Vide MUNST. JUN. OLEAST. & al.* (28) *KIMCH. in Rad. & al.* (29) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. vide & RASCIUS in loc.* (30) *Exod. xxxviii. 29, & seq.* (31) *Vide BASNAG. ubi sup.*

brass pedestals or sockets ; and adorned with silver fillets, or rather chapiters, for <sup>a</sup> such they were \*. As for their height, as *Moses* has said nothing of it, authors have conjectured it variously, from ten to five cubits ; but as the design of them was only to support the curtains, and to hinder the approach, and not the view of the tabernacle ; the last seems the most rational, it being the height that *Josephus* assigns them, as well as that of the curtains ; only we may reasonably suppose, that the silver chapiters did rise above the curtain. We are likewise left to guess at their figure, only a square one may reasonably be supposed fitter both for carriage, and for holding the hangings tight, than a round one. They were fifty-six in number, twenty on each side, ten at the west, and six at the east end, besides those which supported the blue curtain which covered the entrance of the court, which was <sup>b</sup> of a fine sky blue flourished, and was made either to draw on either side, or to lift up ; the text doth not say which, but the *Jews* believe the latter †.

<sup>c</sup> **T**HU S the whole court had a circuit of three hundred cubits. Those therefore, who suppose, that the curtain, which surrounded it, was one entire piece, seem not to consider what a laborious task it would have been to the *Gershonites* to have folded or rolled it up ; besides that, the text, speaking all along of them in the plural number, shews that there were more than one or two ‡. However, though this court bore the same proportion with the tabernacle, and the four sides ran parallel to it, yet is not the tabernacle to be supposed to have stood in the center of it. There was no necessity for the *Area* on the west end to be of the same extent with that on the east, because we do not read of any considerable utensils placed in that ; whereas this latter had the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and several other things, of which we are going now to speak ; so that though *Moses* has not left us the dimensions of either, this last is supposed to have been of equal length with its breadth, that is, fifty foot square ; and, indeed, less than that space could hardly suffice for all the work that was done there, and the multitude of utensils that were used in it, since it was the only place in which all the victims were slain, and both they, and all other kind of offerings, were brought and offered up. For this reason it is disputed, both among the *Jews* and *Christians*, <sup>d</sup> whether the people, who came thither with the victims, were suffered to enter into it, in order to lay their hands on their heads, and to stay the whole time of the ceremony, as the letter of the law seems to require ? Or, whether they were not met by the priests or *Levites*, at the entrance into the court, and, having performed the ceremony of imposition of hands and confession of sins there, did go to behold the remainder of it, from the openings of the inclosure. If the former be admitted, it must be owned, that they must have been very much crowded at some particular times, or been forced to admit no more at one time, than the place would conveniently hold. We need not to add, that the brass stakes and cordages which reigned all round, within as well as without, in order to secure both the court and the tabernacle from storms and winds, did still streighten the place <sup>e</sup> considerably. There have been also various conjectures concerning the reason of its situation, and facing of the west, which we shall not dwell upon : The best we meet with from the *Jews* is, that it was done in opposition to the *Heatben*, who worshipped towards the rising sun. As for the mystical interpretation of some *Christian* divines, they are out of our province.

<sup>f</sup> **T**H E altar of burnt-offerings was placed, as we have observed before, at the east end of the court, and one may suppose it to have stood at such a convenient distance from the tabernacle, that neither the smoak of its constant fire, nor that of the victims which were burned upon it might fall upon, or damage its outward veil. This altar is also called the outward, to distinguish it from that

\* Vide Exod. xxxviii. 28.

† Ibid. xxvii. 9. ad fin.

‡ Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 12, & seq.

some difficulty in adjusting the equidistance of these pillars, so as to bring the whole to the length and breadth assigned by *Moses* ; and which cannot be otherwise removed, than by supposing

that those, that were at the end of the four sides, did come almost close to one another at each angle (32).

(32) BASNAG. ex CURIO, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 6. Vide MURST. JUN. CALM. & al. in loc.

- a of incense, which was within the sanctuary. We have already taken notice that it was made of shittim-wood, and covered over with brass. It was five cubits square, and three cubits high, and because it was portable, like the other, it had four brass rings, through which the two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the priests shoulders. It had four horns at the four corners, of the same wood, and covered with the same metal, but whose shape is equally uncertain with those of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, and may be supposed as capacious as the bigness of the altar will admit; was hung by four brass rings a cross bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through which the ashes fell. This was to be placed under that part which is generally rendered the compass (E.) of the altar<sup>b</sup>, but is variously understood, or rather fancied, in order to save the wood from being consumed within the copper-work. We shall content ourselves with giving our readers the most probable and approved conjecture, which is that of the author of the *Dissertations upon the Pentateuch*<sup>c</sup>. He supposes the cavity of the altar to have been about seven feet and half wide, from side to side, and the shittim-wood to have been covered with brass, within as well as without. The cross bar grate he supposes to have been a vessel, made in the most convenient form to receive and keep up the fire, which was constantly supplied with fresh wood; and to have been hung about a foot deep within the cavity. As for the *Carcob*, which we render the compass or circuit, he thinks that it was another copper vessel, whose form he leaves to the discretion of the reader, capacious enough to contain the flesh of the victims, which were to be consumed upon, or in it. This vessel being likewise suspended by four brass rings over the grate, at a convenient distance, was consequently surrounded by the continual flames from below, and might consume all that was in it in a very little time, without endangering the wood of which the altar was made; and both the *Carcob* and the grate, being thus suspended, might be easily taken on and off, whenever the altar was to be cleared or transported. Thus far our author; the reader may see his reasons for these suppositions in the original. The only thing that can be objected against this supposition is, that there are some express texts which enjoin the victims, with the head and the fat, to be laid, not over, but upon the wood, or upon the fire, which is upon, not within, the altar<sup>d</sup>. This seems also to have been the practice of the ancient patriarchs, before the Mosaic institution. So that this *Carcob* seems rather to have contained the fire; if it was really a distinct thing from the grate. As for what is said of this latter hanging in the middle, it may more easily be understood of the middle with respect to its sides, than its height. Since therefore invention must supply the obscurity of the text, as our author observes, may we not as well suppose this *Carcob* to have been a kind of cincture to the grate, capacious enough to contain both the wood and the victims, and to have been suspended so near the level of the altar, and at so convenient a distance from the insides of it, as not to heat the brass of it to a degree sufficient to burn the wood inclosed in it; whilst the crib might be a kind of bottom to it, serving to give it air from beneath, and to let out the ashes and other small rubbish, which might otherwise clog the fire. We may even venture to add, that the whole might be so artificially contrived, that the flesh being thus embraced on all sides, by a fierce and constant fire, and this by the circumambient air, might center the heat to such a degree as to consume every particle, and yet be entirely free from that offensive smell,
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<sup>b</sup> Exod. xxvii. 1, & seq. <sup>c</sup> SAURIN'S Discours. sur le Pentat. Disc. liv. <sup>d</sup> Levit. i. 8.

(E) The word כַּרְסוֹב, *Carcob*, is one of those that occur but once in the scriptures, and whose meaning must remain uncertain for want of parallels to fix it. The Jews, instead of helping us in such doubtful cases, do rather embroil them the more. R. Solomon, and after him, the learned *De Lyra* believed it to have been only a kind of ornament, that surrounded the altar; and other rabbies, who affirm, contrary to the text, that the altar was ten cubits high, and large in proportion, tell us, that it was a kind of gallery, upon which priests were forced to mount, in order to lay the wood and victims in due order, and that

the three cubits, which *Moses* assigns to the height of the altar, must be reckoned from that gallery, and upwards. But what quite confutes this wild notion is, that *Moses* says, this *Carcob* was to reach to the middle of the altar. If therefore the altar was ten cubits high, there must have been five cubits above, as well as five below this imaginary gallery, as *Cunæus* justly observes. Our commentators have therefore justly rejected them, and endeavoured to remove the main difficulty, without departing from the original, or giving into fabulous traditions.



which such quantities of flesh and fat must have necessarily caused (F). But this we submit to our readers. The truth is, that a man ought to have seen and examined the whole structure of the tabernacle and its apparatus, to be able to remove every difficulty that may be raised by the curious. But do we not find the same with respect to Greek and Roman antiquities, though we are better acquainted with those languages, and have such multitudes of ancient authors to consult, in comparison of those few that relate to the Jewish. It was on this altar, that the sacred fire, which descended from heaven at the consecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be asked how this could be done in their marches, when this and all other utensils were wrapped up in several coverings, the uppermost of which was of badgers-skins, without either burning those coverings, or extinguishing the fire, we need not to have recourse to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every where else (G). We may reasonably suppose that the *Carcob*, or vessel which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they removed, was carried in such a manner, as to preserve fire enough to kindle a greater one, when occasion required, as on the morning and evening sacrifice. The reader however must be reminded here, not to confound this *Mosaic* altar, with that spacious one which was afterwards reared by *Solomon*, of which this is not a proper place to speak. One common caution however belonged to these and all other altars (H), that the ascent to them was to be gradual, and not by steps, to prevent all indecency in God's worship<sup>1</sup>.

The great laver.

THE brazen laver is the last considerable utensil that was in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently situate between the east end of it and the altar of burnt-offerings. Its shape and capaciousness not being mentioned by *Moses*, we can affirm nothing certain about them. Its use was twofold. First it served for the priests to wash their hands and feet, who were expressly forbid, under severe penalties, to presume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, to wash the entrails and legs of the victims<sup>3</sup>. Some Jews do fancy, that there was another reservoir of water for this last use<sup>4</sup>, which is not improbable, not

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xx. ult.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxx. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Levit. xix.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Кімш. in loc.

(F) As a confirmation of what we have advanced, we beg leave to assure our readers, that we have seen in *France* a kind of portable hearth not unlike a chafing-dish, so artfully contrived, that the fire within it, tho' not very fierce to outward appearance, did consume feathers, brimstone, and other like foetid materials, without casting the least smell, or indeed any heat beyond the narrow boundaries of its focus. This curious piece was exposed to publick view by the owner, for a small piece of money at *Paris* and several other parts of *France*, and an account of it sent to the curious both in *England* and other parts of *Europe*, enough to assure our readers of the fact. However, if the reader thinks much of admitting the parallel, we beg leave to add, with respect to these two altars, that as that of incense was over-laid with gold, in order to answer the rest of the rich utensils of the sanctuary, so this of burnt-offerings was covered with brass, because all the other materials of the court were made of that metal; rather than barely to preserve the wood under it from the fire. The shittim therefore might be designed only as the mould or model of the altars, and to avoid either the excessive cost, or weight of massive ones: So that whether we suppose it to have been incom-bustible or not, the end was still answered, since, even upon the latter supposition, that of gold was out of danger, because the fire was set upon it in a separate golden vessel or censer, and this of copper might either be so contrived as to save the wood, or, if that should be burnt to a coal, the metal may be supposed strong enough to stand without it.

(G) It is by the same miraculous power that they pretend it was preserved against violent winds and rains, to which the altar was exposed, by stand-

ing in such an open place; but we may more reasonably suppose, that they took proper means to shelter it from both, such as *Moses* might leave to their discretion. As for the wood that entertained this fire, they tell us that it was not to be such as had served to any other purpose; that it was not to be canker or worm-eaten, and the like; and that, after the *Nethinims* had made it ready for use, it was the business of those priests, who were disabled from officiating at the altar, to examine it after them, and to throw aside all that they found any such defects in. As for this sacred fire, we need not to tell our readers how early it was in use among the *Chaldeans* and *Persians*, from whom it passed to the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other nations. It was called in the old *Persic*, *Orismada*, which some critics pretend to be derived from the *Hebrew* words, *urim esh yab*, light and fire of God, or from *esh men yab*, light and fire from God; and from thence infer, that they had this custom from the Jews<sup>†</sup>, but that is what we dare not venture to warrant. As for the Jewish one, we read in the *Maccabees* (33), that, at the approach of *Nebuchadnezzar* towards *Jerusalem*, the prophet *Jeremiah*, with some other priests, took it from the altar, and went and hid it in the bottom of a dry well, and that, at the return from the captivity, *Nehemiah* sent some of their grand-children to the well, who brought him some dirty water instead of fire, but, upon his pouring it upon the altar, it immediately blazed into a clear flame, which was kept afterwards till the destruction of the second temple. This story is likewise apocryphal, but the Jews believe it, only they compare this second fire to a dog, whereas the first, they say, was like a lion (34).

(H) As we are upon the subject of the divine laws, by

<sup>†</sup> BASNAO. ex *Cuneo*, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 14. ZACCUTII, *ubi sup.*

(33) 2 *Macc.* i. 19. & seq. ii. 1, & seq.

(34) R.

- a not only as it was more decent, but because we find it so ordered in *Solomon's* temple, where the brazen sea was for the sole washing of the priests, whilst there were ten other lavers besides for the washing of the victims<sup>1</sup>. If this was not the case here, we must suppose that they only took the water out of the laver into some other vessels to wash those entrails in, for it was not even lawful for a priest to wash his hands and feet in the same water. For this reason they suppose, that this laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was set to run upon their feet first, and then upon their hands, and was received into a basin underneath<sup>2</sup>. This fountain was to be kept continually replenished with water, and this office belonged to the *Levites*<sup>3</sup>, unless they made perhaps the *Nethinims* bring it to them
- b to the entrance of the court. *Moses* tells us in another chapter, that this brass laver and its foot was made of the looking-glasses of the women that came in crowds to the door of the tabernacle<sup>4</sup>, which has given ground for various speculations; and some interpreters have even ventured to turn the brass there mentioned into steel<sup>5</sup>, as if those ancient mirrors had been made of no other metal. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals also; such as brass, tin, silver, and the like, and some with brass mixed with tin or silver; the last of which, *Pliny* tells us<sup>6</sup>, were the most esteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it, and that it should be rendered, he made the laver and
- c its foot of a brass, like unto the looking-glasses of the women that crowd about the door of the tabernacle, by which is meant, that he made them either of the same metal, or that he gave them the same degree of brightness and smoothness (1). And if what an ancient father tells us be true of the *Egyptian* women<sup>7</sup>, that they used to go to the temple with a looking-glass in one hand, and a timbrel in the other, it will still give us a greater light into the meaning of the *Hebrew* women wearing such an ornament when they came to the tabernacle. As for what is said of their repairing thither in crowds, it was no more than what they usually did, as appears from other places of scripture<sup>8</sup>.

To

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. iv. 6. <sup>2</sup> Mishn. ap. ARR. MONTAN. in loc. <sup>3</sup> Vide N. DE LYRA in loc. <sup>4</sup> Exod. xxxviii. 8. <sup>5</sup> Vide TREMEL. in loc. <sup>6</sup> Lib. xxxiii. c. 9. <sup>7</sup> CYRIL. ALEXAND. de Adorat. in spirit. lib. ii. ap. CALM. sub voc. Miroir. <sup>8</sup> Vide 1 Sam. ii. 22, & alib.

by whose directions all these things were made, we must by no means forget that altar which God enjoined to be made to him, either of earth, or of rough stones, in all places where he should record his name (35). Whoever compares these words with the command of building the brazen altar, might be apt to think, that the *Israelites* were left at their liberty to offer up their sacrifices either upon the one or the other, as they liked best; and yet we find a severe prohibition against sacrificing any where but at this latter, and in the court of the tabernacle (36). To reconcile this seeming contravention, some have conjectured, that this brazen altar was filled with earth and rough stones, but what we have said above doth sufficiently confute such a supposition. We pass by several others equally crude to come at the most rational. There seems indeed a manifest difference between the laws relating to those two altars; that of the one, viz. the brazen one, confined it to the ceremonial part, in which the priests alone were allowed to officiate; whereas the other related properly to extraordinary cases, when some holy persons were commanded by God to offer some kind of sacrifices, without any regard to the tribes they were of; upon all which occasions they were obliged to rear such a plain altar as is above described.

The only thing, that can be objected against this solution, is that the words, *thou shalt build me an altar of earth* — in every place where I record my name, &c. seem rather to imply a fixed, than such an occasional altar. But the *Chaldee* paraphrast has given us a truer sense of these words, as all who understand the original will easily own;

which is this, In every place where I cause, or command my name to be recorded or celebrated, &c. The meaning of which is plainly this by comparing both places together: It shall not be lawful for you to offer your sacrifices wheresoever your fancy leads you, but only at the court of my tabernacle; Nevertheless, whenever I cause my name to be celebrated upon any particular occasion, in what place soever I command my servants to sacrifice unto me, there shall they rear me an altar of earth, &c. and there I will meet and bless them; but this shall not be done without an express command from me. This natural interpretation was not only verified by the sequel, as appears from all the instances we have of these extraordinary sacrifices, but doth likewise account for the reason of God's chusing a plain and artless altar upon all such occasions; about which, both *Jews* and *Christians* have racked their brains to little purpose. For, had they been more elaborate and lasting, the *Israelites*, too prone to superstition, would have been in all probability induced to fancy a more than ordinary sanctity in them, and so have gone a whoring after them, contrary to God's express prohibition; whereas their being reared up just to serve the present exigence, and then being immediately pulled, or falling down in course, could not administer any such temptation.

(1) Those who understand the original know, that it is far from improbable, that the *2 beth* may have slipped in here instead of the *2 caph*, by reason of their likeness; especially if they remember, that the former is never used that we can recollect, to express the metal or stuff of which a thing is made; so that this letter is here altogether irregular; whereas

(35) Exod. xx. 24. (36) Levit. xvii. 3, 4. Vide BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 14.

To these we might add a multitude of other furniture subservient to other uses, <sup>a</sup> such as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, shovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, dishes, and many more; all of which were either made of brass, or of wood covered with it; but it is sufficient to have named the most considerable of them. We shall only add, that the charge of all these was committed, the most sacred ones to the priests, and the rest to the *Levites*, whose business it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and skins, made for that purpose, whenever they removed. It is observable however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavement or flooring, so much as for the tabernacle, and yet it is hardly credible, as was observed before, that its rich and sacred utensils should stand on the bare ground. We may therefore <sup>b</sup> suppose, that *Moses* has barely mentioned all that was done before the setting up of the tabernacle. And if we consider their vast number and variety, the richness and curious workmanship of a great part of them, and the little time the whole was finished in, not much above five months<sup>c</sup>, we shall have cause to wonder at their dispatch, unless we suppose a vast number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from supposing, that *Moses* might add many others, as he saw needful in process of time, among which this flooring might be one.

THESE are the principal laws relating to the worship of God, or, as they are commonly called, of the first table; but, before we pass on to those of the second, it will be necessary to say something of those which related to the proselytes (K). <sup>c</sup> There was an express command of God, that, if any stranger was desirous to be admitted to eat of the passover, he was first to be circumcised, after which he was to be admitted, not only to that grand solemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the *Israelites*<sup>d</sup>. Of this number was a great part of the mixed multitude which came with them out of *Egypt*, and of the conquered inhabitants of *Canaan*. And indeed the condition of those who became circumcised was so preferable to that of those who continued in their old religion, that the number of them increased very much; and this is supposed to have put the selfish *Jews* upon the distinction between proselytes of the gate, and proselytes of righteousness, the former of which continuing uncircumcised, and being bound to observe only the precepts of *Noah*, were kept in a state not many degrees better than slavery. We find no less than an hundred and fifty three thousand, and upwards, of this kind in *Solomon's* time, who were all employed in the most servile and laborious works<sup>e</sup>. But because this would have proved a most effectual way to have made them embrace the *Jewish* religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the *Jews* tells us, that they admitted few, if any, into it, especially in the happy reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, lest they should be induced to it only from worldly ends<sup>f</sup> (L). *Moses*

<sup>a</sup> Ita Judæi. Vide Sedar. Olam. MUNK. CUN. USSER Ann. p. 16, & al. <sup>b</sup> Exod. xii. 48. Numb. ix. 14. <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. <sup>d</sup> MAIMON. Vide SELD. de Synedr. Buxr. Synagog. & alib.

whereas the גר, which signifies *as, like unto, according to*, gives a good sense to the phrase. However the rabbies, taking it in the other sense, have made it a great piece of merit in those devout women, who, according to them, were filled with such a zeal for the service of God, that they came in shoals to the tabernacle, to sacrifice the most precious ornament of their toilet to holy uses, resolved for the future to neglect all outward adorning, that they might take more care of the inward. Those interpreters who have fancied them to be real glasses framed in brass, and to have been fixed round the laver that the priests might see themselves in them, seem still more out of the way, since they came thither only to wash their hands and feet, which they could do without the help of a glass.

(K) The text distinguishes them only by the words גר, *Ger*, a traveller or sojourner, and נכר, *Neker*, a stranger or alien. However we may make a threefold distinction of them, namely, of such as continued still in their idolatry, and religion of their fathers; such as had renounced it to worship the only true God, but remained still uncircumcised, or bound themselves, as the *Jews* pretend, only to the observation of the *Noachid* law; and lastly, those who by circumcision were bound to

observe the law of *Moses*, and were thereby intitled to the same privileges with all the *Israelites*. It is true, they were not to suffer any of the first sort to live among them, but it is plain by the sequel, that they became extremely remiss and negligent in this respect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The second sort were called גרי השער, *Gari hababar*, strangers of the gate, from the expression often used in the pentateuch, *the stranger that is within thy gates*. But, when any of either sort became circumcised, they were then distinguished by the name of גרייהברית, *Gari-haberith*, strangers or proselytes of the covenant, and גרי צדק, *Gari-zedek*, proselytes of righteousness.

(L) The *Talmud* compares those proselytes to the rust in iron, or ulcers in the body, and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admission of them (37). For this reason they add, that they were refused three times, but, if they persisted in their desire of being admitted, they were then to be circumcised, before two or three sufficient witnesses, to be baptized, in order to wash away the filth of heathenism; and lastly, to offer up the usual sacrifices for sin, &c. after which they were received as servants of the God of *Israel* (38).

(37) Vide SELD. de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 2. art. 5. (38) Vide BASKAC. ex Cuneo tom. ii. lib. 1. c. 1.

- a commanded the *Israelites* to give the beasts which died of themselves to these strangers<sup>c</sup>, which is inconsistent with what the *Jews* say of their being bound to keep the precepts of *Noah*, one of which, and, indeed, the only one recorded by *Moses*, was against eating flesh with the blood thereof<sup>d</sup>, we therefore think it more probable that they were only obliged to renounce their idolatry, and to acknowledge the one true God.

- THE case was different with respect to the *profelytes of righteousness*, these becoming incorporated into the family of *Israel*, and bound to observe the *Mosaic* law, were to undergo a long and serious examination, wherein they set before them the difficulties of keeping *Moses's* laws, the danger of breaking them, the contempt and hatred, and sometimes grievous prosecutions they exposed themselves to, by becoming the servants of the God of *Israel*, and the like. If they continued steadfast in their purposes, notwithstanding these discouragements, they were then to be circumcised, and, as soon as the wound permitted it, they were to be baptized. And, because this last ceremony was looked upon as judiciary, it was to be performed before three judges at least, and recorded; so that it was never to be repeated afterwards, even in cases of apostacy; neither were their children, that were born after their father's baptism, to be baptized, but only circumcised, as those of the *Israelites*. If the profelytes had been of a nation which used circumcision, such as the *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, and others were, they contented themselves with opening the scar of circumcision with a lancet, and drawing out some drops of blood, after which they were admitted by baptism; and as for their women, they were only to be baptized, without any other ceremony. *Moses* made likewise some difference between nation and nation, with respect to their admission, into what he terms *the congregation of the Lord*<sup>e</sup>. The *Edomites* were received after the second generation, because they were brethren; and so were the *Egyptians*, because *Israel* had been a stranger in *Egypt*. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as some understand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, because, instead of receiving the *Israelites* with a brotherly hospitality, they hired *Balaam* to curse them (M). Bastards, and all illegitimate issue, were under the same exclusion with them (N). The *Amalekites*, as well as *Eunuchs* of all kinds (O), were totally ex-
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- d

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xiv. 21.<sup>d</sup> Gen. ix. 4.<sup>e</sup> Deut. xxiii. 1, & seq.

(M) The *Jews* observe, that *Moses* expresses himself only in the masculine, *Ammoni* and *Moabi*, a man *Ammonite* or *Moabite*, to intimate that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon some extraordinary account. For *Ruth*, tho' a *Moabite's*, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to *Boaz*, the great grandfather of *David* (39). But we shall see in the next note, that this is not the only instance of their admitting persons expressly excluded by that law-giver.

(N) The original word is ממוזר, *Mamzer*, by which the *Jews* generally understand, not only all kind of incestuous and adulterous issue, but likewise children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were *Canaanites*, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and the *Canonists* take it to signify only the son of a prostitute. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, because it is used only in this place and in *Zechariah* (41), but in neither is explained by the context. What has induced the *Jews* to understand it of incestuous and other unlawful issue is, that the *Mamzer* is mentioned just before, and put upon the same foot with the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who were born by incest (42); but if that were the case, how came the two sons of *Judah*, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, whom he had by his daughter-in-law *Tamar* (43), not to

be reputed spurious. If it be said he knew her not, yet it is plain she knew him, and the *Jews*, against whom we object this, pretend, that either in incest or adultery, though neither party be conscious; as when a woman, believing her husband long since dead, marries another, or vice versa, yet the issue of such a marriage is *Mamzer*, or spurious; so that, according to this canon of theirs, those two and their posterity ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain they have not always been rejected, since *Jephtha*, who was both judge and general in *Israel*, was the son of a concubine (44). We must therefore suppose, either that these were particular cases excepted, or, which is most probable, that *Mamzer* signified something different from either of these, perhaps the children begot by an *Hebrew* upon a *Canaanitish* or any idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from such unlawful mixtures, by the consideration that the issue of them must be excluded from all the privileges of the *Israelitish* commonwealth, both civil and religious; but whatever is meant at first, the *Jewish* canonists, according to their usual rigidity, have extended it not only to all illegitimate issue, but even to that whose legitimacy is anywise doubtful (45).

(O) The original implies a man who has any defect,

(39) Vide MUNST. in Deut. xxiii. 1, & seq. (40) Idem ibid. (41) G. ix. 6. (42) Gen. xix. 31, & seq. vide sup. p. 284. 2. (43) Gen. xxxviii. 13, & seq. (44) Judg. xi. 1. (45) Vide SELD. ubi sup. & de Jur. Nat. & Gent. lib. v. c. 16. & lib. de success. con. l. ii. & alib. pass. MUNST. ubi sup. & al. it. præc. nro. 117.

To these we might add a multitude of other furniture subservient to other uses, <sup>a</sup> such as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, shovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, dishes, and many more; all of which were either made of brass, or of wood covered with it; but it is sufficient to have named the most considerable of them. We shall only add, that the charge of all these was committed, the most sacred ones to the priests, and the rest to the *Levites*, whose business it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and skins, made for that purpose, whenever they removed. It is observable however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavement or flooring, so much as for the tabernacle, and yet it is hardly credible, as was observed before, that its rich and sacred utensils should stand on the bare ground. We may therefore <sup>b</sup> suppose, that *Moses* has barely mentioned all that was done before the setting up of the tabernacle. And if we consider their vast number and variety, the richness and curious workmanship of a great part of them, and the little time the whole was finished in, not much above five months<sup>c</sup>, we shall have cause to wonder at their dispatch, unless we suppose a vast number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from supposing, that *Moses* might add many others, as he saw needful in process of time, among which this flooring might be one.

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<sup>a</sup> 7 Ita Judæi. Vide Sedar. Olam. MUNT. CUN. USSER Ann. p. 16, & al. <sup>b</sup> Exod. xii. 48. Numb. ix. 14. <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. <sup>d</sup> MAIMON. Vide SELD. de Synedr. Buxt. Synagog. & alib.

whereas the *גֵּר*, which signifies *as, like unto, according to*, gives a good sense to the phrase. However the rabbies, taking it in the other sense, have made it a great piece of merit in those devout women, who, according to them, were filled with such a zeal for the service of God, that they came in shoals to the tabernacle, to sacrifice the most precious ornament of their toilet to holy uses, resolved for the future to neglect all outward adorning, that they might take more care of the inward. Those interpreters who have fancied them to be real glasses framed in brass, and to have been fixed round the laver that the priests might see themselves in them, seem still more out of the way, since they came thither only to wash their hands and feet, which they could do without the help of a glass.

(K) The text distinguishes them only by the words *גֵּר*, *Ger*, a traveller or sojourner, and *נֶכֶר*, *Neker*, a stranger or alien. However we may make a threefold distinction of them, namely, of such as continued still in their idolatry, and religion of their fathers; such as had renounced it to worship the only true God, but remained still uncircumcised, or bound themselves, as the *Jews* pretend, only to the observation of the *Noahid* law; and lastly, those who by circumcision were bound to

observe the law of *Moses*, and were thereby intitled to the same privileges with all the *Israelites*. It is true, they were not to suffer any of the first sort to live among them, but it is plain by the sequel, that they became extremely remiss and negligent in this respect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The second sort were called *גֵּרֵי הַשְּׁעָרִים*, *Gere bashabar*, strangers of the gate, from the expression often used in the pentateuch, the stranger that is within thy gates. But, when any of either sort became circumcised, they were then distinguished by the name of *גֵּרֵי הַבְּרִית*, *Gere-habrith*, strangers or proselytes of the covenant, and *גֵּרֵי צְדָקָה*, *Gere-zedek*, proselytes of righteousness.

(L) The *Talmud* compares those proselytes to the rust in iron, or ulcers in the body, and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admission of them (37). For this reason they add, that they were refused three times, but, if they persisted in their desire of being admitted, they were then to be circumcised, before two or three sufficient witnesses, to be baptized, in order to wash away the filth of heathenism; and lastly, to offer up the usual sacrifices for sin, &c. after which they were received as servants of the God of *Israel* (38).

(37) Vide SELD. de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 2. art. 5. (38) Vide BASNAG. ex Cunnæ tom. ii. lib. 1. c. 1.



a commanded the *Israelites* to give the beasts which died of themselves to these strangers<sup>c</sup>, which is inconsistent with what the *Jews* say of their being bound to keep the precepts of *Noah*, one of which, and, indeed, the only one recorded by *Moses*, was against eating flesh with the blood thereof<sup>d</sup>, we therefore think it more probable that they were only obliged to renounce their idolatry, and to acknowledge the one true God.

The case was different with respect to the *proselytes of righteousness*, these becoming incorporated into the family of *Israel*, and bound to observe the *Mosaic* law, were to undergo a long and serious examination, wherein they set before them the difficulties of keeping *Moses's* laws, the danger of breaking them, the contempt and hatred, and sometimes grievous prosecutions they exposed themselves to, by becoming the servants of the God of *Israel*, and the like. If they continued steadfast in their purposes, notwithstanding these discouragements, they were then to be circumcised, and, as soon as the wound permitted it, they were to be baptized. And, because this last ceremony was looked upon as judiciary, it was to be performed before three judges at least, and recorded; so that it was never to be repeated afterwards, even in cases of apostacy; neither were their children, that were born after their father's baptism, to be baptized, but only circumcised, as those of the *Israelites*. If the proselytes had been of a nation which used circumcision, such as the *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, and others were, they contented themselves with opening the scar of circumcision with a lancet, and drawing out some drops of blood, after which they were admitted by baptism; and as for their women, they were only to be baptized, without any other ceremony. *Moses* made likewise some difference between nation and nation, with respect to their admission, into what he terms *the congregation of the Lord*<sup>e</sup>. The *Edomites* were received after the second generation, because they were brethren; and so were the *Egyptians*, because *Israel* had been a stranger in *Egypt*. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as some understand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, because, instead of receiving the *Israelites* with a brotherly hospitality, they hired *Balaam* to curse them (M). Bastards, and all illegitimate issue, were under the same exclusion with them (N). The *Amalekites*, as well as *Eunuchs* of all kinds (O), were totally ex-

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xiv. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. ix. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Deut. xxiii. 1, & seq.

(M) The *Jews* observe, that *Moses* expresses himself only in the masculine, *Ammoni* and *Moabi*, a man *Ammonite* or *Moabite*, to intimate that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon some extraordinary account. For *Ruth*, tho' a *Moabite's*, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to *Boaz*, the great grandfather of *David* (39). But we shall see in the next note, that this is not the only instance of their admitting persons expressly excluded by that law-giver.

(N) The original word is מִזְרִי, *Mamzer*, by which the *Jews* generally understand, not only all kind of incestuous and adulterous issue, but likewise children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were *Canaanites*, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and the *Canonists* take it to signify only the son of a prostitute. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, because it is used only in this place and in *Zechariah* (41), but in neither is explained by the context. What has induced the *Jews* to understand it of incestuous and other unlawful issue is, that the *Mamzer* is mentioned just before, and put upon the same foot with the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who were born by incest (42); but if that were the case, how came the two sons of *Judah*, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, whom he had by his daughter-in-law *Tamar* (43), not to

be reputed spurious. If it be said he knew her not, yet it is plain she knew him, and the *Jews*, against whom we object this, pretend, that either in incest or adultery, though neither party be conscious; as when a woman, believing her husband long since dead, marries another, or *vice versa*, yet the issue of such a marriage is *Mamzer*, or spurious; so that, according to this canon of theirs, those two and their posterity ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain they have not always been rejected, since *Jephtha*, who was both judge and general in *Israel*, was the son of a concubine (44). We must therefore suppose, either that these were particular cases excepted, or, which is most probable, that *Mamzer* signified something different from either of these, perhaps the children begot by an *Hebrew* upon a *Canaanite's* or any idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from such unlawful mixtures, by the consideration that the issue of them must be excluded from all the privileges of the *Israelitish* commonwealth, both civil and religious; but whatever is meant at first, the *Jewish* canonists, according to their usual rigidity, have extended it not only to all illegitimate issue, but even to that whose legitimacy is anywise doubtful (45).

(O) The original implies a man who has any defect,

(39) Vide MUNS. in Deut. xxiii. 1, & seq. (40) Idem ibid. (41) C. ix. 6. (42) Gen. xix. 31, & seq. vide sup. p. 284. a. (43) Gen. xxxviii. 13, & seq. (44) Judg. xi. 1. (45) Vide SELD. ubi sup. & de Jur. Nat. & Gent. lib. vi. c. 16. & lib. de success. oon. l. ii. & alib. pass. MUNS. ubi sup. & al. it. præc. neg. 117.



cluded ; the former, because they were under the divine *Anathema*<sup>a</sup> ; and the latter, because their condition was accounted a legal defect<sup>a</sup>. What is meant, by *not entering into the congregation of the Lord*, is not agreed ; some understanding by it, their being denied admittance into the *Israelitish* commonwealth by circumcision ; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This last is the most probable, and most received among *Christian* interpreters. The *Jews*, however, understand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the *Israelitish* women, for it was a received maxim among them, *that the children did follow the quality of the mother*. Every proselyte of righteousness was obliged to circumcise all the males, and baptize all the females in his family, under the age of thirteen ; but those, that were above that age, might chuse whether they would submit to it, or remain in their old religion. On the other hand, those under thirteen could not be admitted to proselytism, without the consent, either of their parents, or, in case of their refusal, that of two or three judges. In this case their admission was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no longer esteemed as such ; insomuch, that they believed this kind of new converts to receive a new soul after baptism<sup>b</sup>. Well might therefore our Saviour wonder that *Nicodemus*, who was a master in Israel, should hesitate at his discourse concerning a new birth<sup>c</sup>. We find several other regulations concerning the prerogatives of these proselytes in the *Talmud*, and other *Jewish* writings, which we shall not dwell upon ; we shall only take notice of a flagrant one, namely, that their admission did so totally cancel all former ties, either of blood or alliance, that even parents and their children might intermarry, without committing incest : And might it not be on this account that Christ condemns the scribes and pharisees for compassing sea and land to make a proselyte, and leaving him ten times more a child of hell than themselves ? † for in what other sense they could be made worse than that proud hypocritical sect, is hardly possible to guess. Thus much for the laws of the first table.

*Laws of the second table : Or concerning the Jewish government, with the customs relating to it.*

*Laws of the second table.*

THESE we shall mention in the same order as they are in the decalogue, and begin with those which relate to parents, whether in a political or natural sense. The patriarchal government being become impracticable, by reason of its being branched out into so many families, whom God nevertheless designed to live as one, under one head, one religion, and one body of civil laws ; and the precepts of *Noah*, or rather the laws of nature, being perhaps partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during their *Egyptian* thralldom ; God was pleased to prevent all murmurings and opposition, which such a change might cause in so untractable a people, by declaring, that himself would be their king, and appoint proper viceregents from time to time, under whom the heads of families should govern and administer justice to those under them, in exact conformity to his laws. *Moses* was declared the first viceregent, and accordingly it is said, that he gave a law, or rather a body of laws, and an inheritance unto the congregation of Jacob, and was king in, or over *Jeshurun*, that is, over Israel (P), when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together<sup>a</sup> ; that is, as we understand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families became concentrated under one head. To him succeeded *Joshua* and the judges, but still by God's appointment ; and nothing evinces more the reasonableness, or rather necessity, of this change of

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xvii. 14, & seq. <sup>b</sup> Vide Levit. xxi. 20. <sup>c</sup> Vide SELB. ubi sup. & de J. N. & G. & JAC. ALTING. Di put. de Profelyt. R. MOS. KOTZ. R. MOS. Egypt Isur biath perek SERRAR. Trih. ref. lib. ii. c. 2. DRUS. de trib. sect. FAG. in Exod. xxii. 21, & al. in Deut. xxiii. 1. vide & præ. neg. 113, & seq. LEO DE MODEN. pt. v. ch. 3. CALM. sub voc. Profelyte, & al. <sup>d</sup> John iii. 1, & seq. † Vide Math. xxiii. 15. <sup>e</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 4 & 5.

sect, either in his testicles, or his penis, by fracture, compression, or by any other way. We shall observe here with the *Jews*, however, that there is no proper name in any of the sacred books, either for those parts in either sex, or for several other things which modesty forbids to utter. This they bring as an argument of the holiness and chasteness of the *Hebrew* tongue ; but whether it be not said with more zeal than truth, we shall have oc-

casión to speak of in another place.

(P) The word יִשְׂרָאֵל *Jeshurun* is derived from יִשְׂרָאֵל *Jasbar*, to be righteous ; which name is given them, not so much for their righteousness, as for that of their progenitors, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* ; or more likely, perhaps, on account of those righteous laws which God himself had dictated unto them.

- a government, than their constant back-slidings into all manner of idolatry and wickedness at every interregnum, when their inferior rulers became so remiss, that as often as we read that there was no judge among them, so often we find that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, or that *they did evil in the sight of God*<sup>1</sup>: but as every detection brought its punishment with it, they at length grew weary of their frequent captivities. But, instead of having recourse to God by repentance, they bethought themselves of that expedient of having a king, who should be always ready at hand to defend them, and God, having condescended to their desire, appointed *Saul* to be their monarch; and the *Jewish* commonwealth took then the name of a kingdom. This may be the reason why God, whom their ingratitude could not provoke to forsake them, though he resented this their imprudent desire of being governed by a king like other nations (Q), gave them so few laws to enforce their obedience to him, whilst he made some coercive ones to restrain him from oppressing them. The universal passiveness of those nations whom they wanted to imitate, as well as their own, whenever they were kept with a rigid hand, made the former unnecessary; and on the other hand, the excessive power, which was then lodged in the regal dignity, made it extremely dangerous, unless limited by wholesome restrictions. We need not a more lively instance of this early despotism of kings, and of the people's base submission to it, than the horrid slaughter which *Saul*, their first king, made of eighty-five guiltless priests, and of all the innocent inhabitants of *Nob*, even to their very sucking children, and all their cattle†: And if this had not been likewise the case of other nations, *Samuel* could not have given so pathetic a list of the hardships they were to expect under an absolute monarchy. But whether this, or any other, were the reason, sure it is, that we find nothing in the whole body of the *Mosaic* laws, to enforce an obedience to princes, except the command, *honour thy father and thy mother*<sup>2</sup>; which alluded most likely to the patriarchal government; and an express prohibition against cursing the rulers of the people<sup>3</sup>; whereas there are several very express ones, to restrain them from abusing their power, and oppressing their subjects. Of this nature are those which exclude all strangers from being raised to that dignity<sup>4</sup>, that forbid a king of *Israel* to multiply horses, wives (R), riches, to marry strange women, and the like<sup>5</sup>; that oblige him to write a copy of God's law, to read and meditate upon, and to govern himself by it, without deviating from it to the right or left<sup>6</sup>; that enjoin him to make choice of persons of wisdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and such like<sup>7</sup>.

HOWEVER, as they were accountable only to God for the breach of these laws, so none were restrained by them, but such as feared him; as for the rest, it is plain from their history, that they made no scruple of transgressing them in instances of the highest nature; and that their power was so great, that none did dare to controul them, or even reprove them, except such prophets as were commissioned by God for so doing. Their being anointed, at least in the beginning (S), by some celebrated prophets, and appointed sovereigns of a nation, which the scrip-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Judg. ii. & seq. † 1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19. <sup>2</sup> Exod. xx. 12, & alib. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxii. 28. <sup>4</sup> Deut. xvii. 14, 15. <sup>5</sup> Ibid. ver. 16, 17. <sup>6</sup> Ver. 18, & seq. vide & præc. negat. 221, & seq. <sup>7</sup> Deut. xvi. 18, & seq. vide & præc. affirm. 96, & seq.

(Q) *Maimon* tells us, out of the last part of the *Mishna*, that *Moses* gave the *Israelites* three express commands, namely, 1. To chuse them a king. 2. To destroy *Amalek*: And 3. To build a temple, after they were possessed of the land of *Canaan*. The same we find likewise enjoined in the 114, 115, and 116 affirmative precepts of their oral law, according to which that rabbi observes, that they chose *Saul* for their king before they declared war against the *Amalekites*. But, if this had been the case, there could have been no room for God's relenting, and *Samuel's* reproofing them so severely for it. *Maimon* doth indeed endeavour to waive this objection, by pretending that what displeased God was their coming in a tumultuous and disrespectful manner to *Samuel*, and asking a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but out of an itch to be like their neighbours; but this is

neither agreeable to the text (46), nor to *Josephus*, who imputes this desire of a kingly government to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts of justice, through the baseness and avarice of *Samuel's* two sons, whom he appointed to officiate for him in his old age (47).

(R) The *Jews* understand by multiplying wives, his having above eighteen at a time, that is, two more than *David* had, who, they say, is recorded to have had but sixteen; and, by multiplying horses, they understand having more than served him and his retinue (48); but we shall shew, that, if there was any such oral law, *Solomon* made very light of it in either case, even from the first year of his reign.

(S) The *Talmudists* tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himself proclaimed king without unction, especially in the family

(46) Vide 1 Sam. viii. pass. (47) Ant. lib. v. c. 6. (48) Vide præc. neg. 222, & seq.

scripture calls a royal priesthood<sup>a</sup>; gave them a full power, not only in matters purely civil and military, but in ecclesiastical also. This is indeed denied by very many divines, who think that they never exercised any authority in the latter as kings of *Israel*, but as prophets, and inspired persons, such as were *David* and *Solomon*. But the contrary doth plainly appear from the reformatations and regulations which *Hezekias*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Josiah*, and others made, who were neither prophets, nor inspired persons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to consult the oracle of *Urim*, and, indeed, they were commanded so to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council or sanhedrin, over which they presided, whenever they pleased to assist at it<sup>b</sup>. Thus we find that *David*, after he had been appointed king, even in *Saul's* time, did consult the divine oracle concerning the success of his undertaking<sup>c</sup>. They had likewise an absolute power of life and death; and though, according to the law of *Moses*, no man was to be capitally punished before he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at least two or three witnesses, yet we meet with frequent instances of persons being put to death by the sole will of the prince. The same may be presumed to have been, with respect to property, by the instances of *Mephibosheth* and his servant *Ziba*<sup>d</sup>, and others of the like nature. From that of *Naboth* † we may likewise conclude that, in some cases, the estates of persons condemned devolved to the king: But, from the laws lately mentioned against oppressing the subjects, it appears rather to have been a tyrannical usurpation, than a command, or even permission from God. What profound respect was paid to the regal dignity, appears both from the submissive language with which they were addressed<sup>e</sup>, and the humble manner of approaching them; insomuch, that even queens and prophets did prostrate themselves with their faces to the ground before them, as *Nathan* and *Bathsheba* did to *David*<sup>f</sup>, though there is no doubt, but his son *Solomon* raised the grandeur of the throne to a much greater height. The *Jews* affirm, that even the high-priest was obliged to stand before the king, whereas the latter only stood before the high-priest, when he was consulting God by *Urim*<sup>g</sup>. They add, that he alone was allowed to sit down in the court of the temple, even in the most sacred part of it, namely, that of the priests, provided he was of the lineage of *David*, whereas their senators were only allowed to sit in that which belonged to the people<sup>h</sup>. The magnificence of their dress did not a little contribute to raise an awe in their subjects. It is true, that there is nothing prescribed concerning it, either in the *Mosaic* law, or any other inspired writer, and that we have no clear description of it in the sacred books; but it is plain from *Jehoshaphat's* going to fight against the *Syrians* in his royal robes, whilst *Ahab* changed his own for a common dress<sup>i</sup>, that there was a manifest difference between them, if not in shape, at least in beauty and costliness, such as

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xix. 6, & alib. <sup>b</sup> Maim. Halak Melakim, c. 2. <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. xxx. 7, & 8. Vide BASNAG. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. xix. 29. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings xxi. pass. <sup>f</sup> Vide int. al. 1 Sam. xxv. 23, & seq. & ver. 40. 2 Sam. xiv. pass. xxiv. 3, & alib. <sup>g</sup> 1 King. i. 16, 23. <sup>h</sup> Maim. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> Id. Halak. Beth. Habbkir. <sup>j</sup> 1 King. xxii. 30.

family of *David*; and that the ceremony was only used when a younger son was preferred to the eldest, as in the case of *Solomon* (49). *Maimon* tells us, that the consecration of this oil, or royal ointment, was also prescribed by God, and gives us the receipt of it; he adds, that it was hid with that of the priests, with the ark, &c. just before the captivity, and that it could never be found after their return. Where he had all these particulars is hardly worth enquiring (50). The *Jews* observe further, that *Saul* and *Jehu* were anointed בִּשְׁמֵן בִּשְׁמֵן *Bepak haschemen*, with a viol of oil, to denote the shortness of their reign; but that *David* and his posterity were anointed בִּשְׁמֵן בִּשְׁמֵן *Bekeren*, with a horn of oil, to signify the uninterrupted succession of it (51); but there seems to be more subtilty

than truth in that remark. One thing is certain, that the custom of consecrating any thing to God, by this profusion of oil, is very ancient, as appears from the instance of *Jacob's* anointing the pillar of *Bethel* (52). How much earlier it began, and how introduced, is impossible to guess; but it is plain, that it became in use during the whole *Mosaic* dispensation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate service of God. Of the first kind were the kings, priests, and prophets; and of the second, all the sacred utensils of the tabernacle. But how far this ceremony was typical of *Christ*, who is emphatically called the *Messiah*, or anointed, or of the spiritual unction under the gospel, is out of our province.

(49) 1 Kings i. pass. (50) Maim. Halak Kele Hammikdash, c. 1, & alib. (51) KIMCH. Comm. in 1 Sam. ii. 1. Vide HOTTING. in GOODWIN'S Mos. & Ar. lib. i. c. 4. § 2, & 3. BASNAG. in CUN. lib. i. c. 14. (52) Gen. xxviii. 18, & seq.

a jewels about their crown (T), the purple mantle, and the like. *Josephus* tells us <sup>c</sup>, that *Solomon* did usually go clad in white, but this was a colour common both to the priests and nobles (V); so that the difference must be in the richness, whether of the linnen or silk of which they were made. However, as they were not tied by the law to any dress, we need not to doubt but they followed the fashions of other countries, and were more sumptuously clad upon some particular occasions than ordinary <sup>d</sup>. The psalmist has likewise given us a beautiful description of the dress of queens <sup>e</sup>, which was still richer than that of kings; but we shall dwell no longer upon it.

b *Laws and customs relating to judges and courts of judicature.*

WE need not speak here of those judges, emphatically so called, who governed *Israel* from *Josbua* to *Saul*; these being appointed from time to time by God himself, we find, were entirely governed by his laws, and in doubtful cases by his spirit, with which they were endowed; they had the supreme authority during their life, and differed in nothing from kings, but in title, pomp, and grandeur, and their dignity not being hereditary; in all other cases their power was the same. They could make peace and war, summon the tribes to arms, consult God by *Urim*, and the like. They are said to have judged *Israel*, and that the people repaired to them for judgment, and that they took yearly circuits through the land to administer justice <sup>f</sup>; but whether this was done by way of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier resort, or by way of consulting them in doubtful cases, is not easy to determine (W).

BUT besides these, *Moses*, and after him, those who were at the head of the *Israelitish* common-wealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges

<sup>c</sup> Ant. lib. viii. c. 2. <sup>d</sup> Vide 1 Sam. xxviii. 8. 1 Kings xxii. 10, 30. *JOSEPH.* Ant. lib. vi. c. 10. & alib. Rasc. & al. <sup>e</sup> Ps. xlv. <sup>f</sup> Vide Jud. iv. 5. 1 Sam. iii. 20. iv. 1. vii. 15, & seq. & alib.

(T) It is plain; that this ornament was so far from being peculiar to crowned heads, that the priests and persons of high rank were allowed to wear them. Nay, it seems from *Ezekiel's* being forbid by God to take his own off his head, in token of mourning (53), that every private man did wear something of the same nature. This ornament, which the *Hebrews* calls פֶּהַר, *Pheer*, is supposed to have been a kind of ribbon or fillet, which went round the head, and was wore, not only by the *Jews*, but by other eastern nations; from which those of princes, though called by other names, are thought to have differed only in the richness of the materials, and of the precious stones that adorned them (54). Hence *David* calls his own כִּסֵּי־עֹרֹת, *Hattereth-phax*, a crown of the purest gold (55). We read, indeed, of one which that monarch took from the king of the *Ammonites*, which is said to have weighed a talent of gold (56). But we shall shew in its proper place, that it means not that it weighed, but that it was worth so much, by reason of the precious stones that were about it.

(V) Hence came persons of high birth and rank to be called חֹרִי־בֵּרִי, *Chorim, albat, præclari*, in opposition to those of obscure birth, who were called חֹשֶׁבֶר־בֵּרִי, *Chasbukim, tenebresi, obscuri*. To this distinction the apostle *St. James* seems to allude (57), when he says, *if a man come into your assemblies—in goodly apparel, or, as the original has it, εν σποδῇ λαμπρᾷ, in a white or splendid robe—and a poor man εν σποδῇ στυγρᾷ, in a dark or dirty one.* We read, indeed, in the book of *Esther*, of the royal scepter, crown,

and princely apparel (58). But besides that these are of a later date, we do not know how far these ornaments were imitated by the *Jewish* kings. However, it is plain, that, even in *Ahasuerus's* court, neither the golden crown, nor the purple, or any other colour, were peculiar to the kings; since we find *Mordecai* adorned with them, as a reward of his merit (59); and we have elsewhere shewn, that the crown was the distinguishing ornament of persons of the highest rank, in the courts of all the eastern princes <sup>g</sup>.

(W) The latter, however, seems most probable, from the command of *Moses*, that in all doubtful cases, whether criminal or civil, wherein the inferior judges could not easily determine, they should apply themselves to the priests, and to the judge or head of the people then in being, to whose judgment they should submit under pain of death (60). The *Jews*, indeed, pretend, that this application was to be made to the great council, or sanhedrin <sup>h</sup>, which they pretend to have subsisted ever since the time of *Moses*. But we have elsewhere shewn, that the council, which *Moses* appointed, lasted only during the lives of those elders, and that this sanhedrin was a new institution of a much later date <sup>i</sup>. So that, in all doubtful and disputed cases, no persons could be more proper to be applied to, than these judges, who were endued both with the spirit of God, and with the supreme authority, since even this latter was thought sufficient afterwards in the time of their kings, as appears from very many instances, especially those quoted in the margin (61).

(53) Conf. Ezek. xiv. 17, & 24. (54) Vide CALM. Comm. in Exod. xxiv. 17. & aut. ab eo citat. (55) Psal. xxi. 3. (56) 2 Sam. xii. 30. 1 Chron. xx. 2. (57) Jacob. ii. 2. (58) Esth. iv. 11. vi. 8. (59) Ibid. c. viii. 15. \* Vide sup. p. 465. (R) (60) Deut. xviii. 8. & seq. <sup>g</sup> Præc. affirm. 3. † Vide sup. p. 525. (H) (61) 2 Sam. xiv. pass. 1 Kings iii. 16, & seq. 2 Kings viii. 3, & alib. pass.

and magistrates in all cities to administer justice to the people in every tribe. These were to be men of wisdom and probity, well versed in the law of *Moses*, free from covetousness and partiality; such as would protect the innocent, the fatherless and widow, the helpless and stranger, and punish the guilty and wrong-doer (X). We find, likewise, several denunciations against those who should suffer themselves to be bribed, to act contrary to the strict laws of justice; but as they were appointed by the kings, so their virtue did rise and fall, according to the goodness or wickedness of these. We may say more: *Samuel* was himself a most upright judge, and yet his two sons, who acted under him, proved, most unrighteous. *David* was likewise a pious monarch, and yet, had there not crept a great deal of corruption in the courts of judicature, his son *Abshalom* could have had no pretence for wishing that he had been a judge, that he might do justice to every one that applied to him for it <sup>a</sup>.

THESE courts were held at the gates of the cities, as we have elsewhere shewn †, and became in time very considerable; but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each; whether their power was equal, or some subordinate to others, the scripture gives us no light into. We read indeed, that *Moses*, during their abode in the wilderness, appointed rulers over thousands, over hundreds, fifties, and tens <sup>b</sup>, and these were in all likelihood subordinate to one another; but how far this model was followed, when they came into the land of *Canaan*, doth not appear. However, we may suppose, that these courts consisted at first but of very few persons, and that every thing was transacted in them with the utmost plainness and simplicity; neither were there many kinds of offices or dignities, since we read but of four sorts of officers, even in *Joshua's* time; namely, the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers <sup>c</sup>. It is impossible to determine what their officers were, only the last are supposed to have been a kind of beaules or executioners. In the flourishing reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, they encreased very much <sup>d</sup>, and in process of time became so corrupted, that the prophets were obliged, from time to time, to exclaim against them. One of them having been sent to *Jehoshaphat*, to denounce God's heavy judgment against *Israel* for those abuses, wrought so upon that good king, that he immediately set about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, some of whom were of the tribe of *Levi*, and charging them, in the most pressing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predecessors. He likewise appointed two tribunals for the city of *Jerusalem*, the one consisting chiefly of priests and *Levites*, for matters of religion; and the other, which was mostly made up of the heads of families, for matters of state. In this condition they are supposed to have continued till the captivity, bating that as the princes became more and more wicked, so did the judges under them, till God was provoked to drive them out of the land. This is all we can say upon that article, with any tolerable certainty. As for what *Josephus* and the *Talmudists* do add concerning magistrates and their courts, as their accounts differ from one another; and as we are not sure, but even the former doth rather describe them as they were after, than before the captivity, we shall

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxiii. 8, & seq. Deut. xvi. 18, & seq. xvii. 2, & seq. xix. pass. xxiv. 16, & seq. xxv. 1. & seq. & alib. pass. Ezek. xlv. 24. præc. affirm. 97. 10. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 2. & seq. † Vide sup. p. 432. note (F). <sup>c</sup> Exod. xviii. 24, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Josh. xxiv. 1. <sup>e</sup> Vide 1 Chron. xxiii. & seq. pass.

(X) To these excellent requisites in the *Israelitish* judges, the *Talmud* has added 'a great number of others, some of which are impracticable, and others quite ridiculous. Such are those which oblige them to be masters of seventy-two languages, that they may have no occasion for an interpreter, in cases wherein strangers are concerned; that they be well versed in the magick art, not in order to practise it themselves, but to be able to judge rightly in all cases of that nature. In this they seem even more cautious than *Josephus*, who, tho' otherwise far from imitating them in their rabbinical fooleries, seems nevertheless to have a particular fondness for that pretended science, making *Solomon* to have been

the greatest master of it, and to have left behind several noble secrets, by which some of his own countrymen made themselves famous even in his days (62). The *Talmudists* moreover exclude from the courts of judicature all childless and superannuated persons, strangers and eunuchs. The former indeed is agreeable to reason, and the two latter are expressly excluded by *Moses* (63); but we dare not warrant the reason which they give against the last of them, viz. that their being eunuchs inclines them to cruelty. In other cases, their directions for the choice of these magistrates, as well as for their behaviour in that office, are very reasonable and judicious (64).

(62) *Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.*

(63) *Deut. xvii. 15, & xxiii. 1.*

(64) *Vide præc. neg. 194, & seq. & affirm. 95, & seq.*



- 1 chuse to subjoin it in the margin (Y). Thus much we know concerning those tribunals; that they took cognisance of all civil and criminal cases, even where the offence was of a religious nature; such as idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, sacrilege, and the like, for which reason the priests and *Levites* were appointed

(Y) Besides the grand council of seventy, mentioned above, to which they pretend all other tribunals throughout the land were subordinate; the *Talmudists* tell us, there were two other courts, the one consisting of three, and the other of three and twenty judges; and these, they say, were to be in every city and town that had 120 inhabitants, according to some; or families, according to others. The first of these courts were only chosen, *pro re nata*, one by each party, and the third by the other two. Their cognisance extended no farther than to small matters, such as servants wages, petty larcenies, restitution, and the like. Neither could they inflict a heavier punishment than whipping. That of twenty-three was allowed to judge of all capital causes, and to condemn criminals to death. And if there arose any difference in their judgment, it was carried by the majority, for which reason they say their number was to be odd. But in cases of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-priest was to be consulted. If a man was condemned to death, he was to be immediately led to execution. A cryer was to go before him, and proclaim the crime he was to die for; to the end, that, if any person knew any thing that could clear him of it, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a second, and, if occasion offered, a third hearing. The same indulgence was to be allowed him, if he complained of being unjustly condemned, whilst he went to the place of execution, in which case he was to chuse two wise men to plead for him, and, if possible, to obtain a reversion of the sentence; but if in neither case he could prove himself innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witnesses; for it is here to be observed, that, if the crime was such as deserved hanging, the criminal was first to be stoned to death, and then hanged. But before execution, he was to be exhorted to confess his crime, and to pray that his death might atone both for it, and for all his other sins; which if he did, they gave him then a dose of wine mixed with myrrh or frankincense to stupify him, after which he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in cases of idolatry, blasphemy, and such like, they stayed till about an hour before sun-set, and then tied his hands behind him, and hoisted him up till just before sun-set, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter and the gallows or tree were buried with him (65). They except, however, out of the cognisance of these courts of twenty-three all cases, whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-priest, to a whole tribe, and to false prophets, which they pretend were only to be tried by the grand council (66). To this a learned author thinks that expostulation of *Christ* to allude to (67), *O Jerusalem!—thou that killest the prophets* (68). We own, indeed, this to have been the case of the sanhedrin, in our Saviour's time, and even some time before, but not before the captivity; but how, or by what court or judges these extraordinary cases were to be tried, is impossible to say, unless we suppose, that it was done by a general assembly of the whole nation, or at least of the heads of them, as we find it in several instances (69).

There are several other things mentioned in

the *Talmud*, concerning all these courts, and the choice of their judges, which we shall not dwell upon, seeing neither the scripture nor *Josephus* speak of them; the reader may see them quoted in the margin (70). As for *Josephus*, his account is different from them, and all that he says on this matter is, that *Moses* ordered seven judges to be chosen in every city, men of known probity and learning, to which they should add two priests or *Levites*, so that he reckons but nine judges in every court, *viz.* seven lay-men, and two *Levites* (71); and his testimony is most generally followed, because he lived when the *Jewish* common-wealth was still flourishing, whereas the *Talmudists* did not live till after the destruction of it.

We shall, however, conclude this note with an account of the form of the court of the twenty-three judges, according to the *Jewish* doctors, because it had a near resemblance, not only to that of the sanhedrin, but also to those of other polite nations. They sat in the form of a half-moon. In the center of it was the president, whom they call נשיא, *Nassi*, or prince, having the אב בית דין, *Abbet bet din*, or father of the senate, at his right-hand; the rest sat on each side, according to their seniority or merit. At each end was a clerk or secretary, who took the depositions in writing. Some add a third, whose office was to gather the votes of the court. At the feet of the judges sat their disciples, in three rows or forms, whose business was to observe every thing that was said or done; and these were chosen to succeed those on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age, or any other impediment. The accused person was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be easily seen by all, and the witnesses stood fronting him. These were to be diligently examined, and their character inquired into, and if any flaw was found in it, they were set aside; but if any was found to have given false evidence, the *Talion* law was his portion (72); that is, he was condemned to the same punishment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The סוֹטְרִים, *Soterim*, that is, the officers or executioners, were also to attend the court constantly, with rods and leathern scourges in their hands, to execute the sentence of the judges. The accused person was likewise allowed a counsellor to plead for him, who was called בעל ריב, *Bahal-rib*, the master of the process; and he stood on his right hand and pleaded for him. Many expressions there are in the *Psalms*, in the prophets, and other places of the old testament, that seem so plainly to allude to one or other of these judicial forms, as make it more than probable, that they were in use long before the captivity. After a full hearing, the votes were gathered and examined, and according to them, the person was either absolved or condemned in words to this purpose. *Thou Simeon art innocent: thou Judah art guilty*; and if the latter and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioner's hands, and led to execution: But if the crime was such as only deserved whipping, it was forthwith performed before the whole court (73).

(65) *Vide præc. aff.* 97, 98, & *seq. ad.* 111. (66) *Vide Mishnah, Traß. סנהדרין, c. 1.* (67) *Cun. Rep. Habr. lib. i. c. 12.* (68) *Luke xiii. 34.* (69) *Vide Josh. xxii. 11. & seq. Judg. xx. 1, & seq. xxi. pass.* (70) *Vide Mishn. ubi sup. MAIM. in loc. & alib. Mos. KOTZ, SELDEN, de Synedr. GOODWIN, Mos. & Aar. lib. v. cap. 3, & seq. LAMY, CALM. Dissert. sur la police des Hebreux, & al.* (71) *Ant. lib. iv. c. ult.* (72) *Deut. xix. 18, 19.* (73) *Vide de his Mishn. Traß. Sanhedr. c. 5. MAIM. M. KOTZ, & al. sup. citat. vide & præc. affirm. sup. citat.*



to assist, if not to preside in them. The next in authority to the magistrates were a natural parents, and these were to be honoured and obeyed in a most particular manner<sup>a</sup> (Z). St. Paul observes, that this is the first command with a promise<sup>b</sup>; and the punishment of disobedient and wicked children was no less severe. It was death for any to curse or strike their parents<sup>c</sup>; or even to continue in a stubborn disobedience to their commands. In this last case, they had power to inflict any punishment but death upon them: And if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuse them before the judges, who, upon full proof, were obliged to condemn them to death<sup>d</sup>, without mercy or delay. And now we are upon the subject of punishments, it will not be improper to conclude this article, with an account of those which were either appointed by the *Mosaic* law, or made use of at b the prince's will, against obnoxious persons, before the captivity.

## Punishments.

Of the first kind were the smaller sort of punishments, which were either 1. Fines by way of compensation for wrongs, theft, and the like: And in this respect the Jews were so strict, that if a man had built a house, in which there was but one single piece of timber, or a stone that was stolen, they made no difficulty of pulling down the house, if they could not get it out without it, to restore it to the owner. 2. Selling for slaves those who were not able to pay their debts, or make satisfaction for a wrong. 3. The *Talion* law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe*, and so on. Lastly, whipping, and this last was not to exceed forty lashes<sup>e</sup> (A). The capital punishments were of four kinds; namely, stoning, burning, beheading, c and strangling<sup>f</sup>. 1. Stoning was the most usual, and when the law condemned a person to death, without naming the kind, this was always understood to be meant by it<sup>g</sup>. Some modern Jews rather think that it was strangling, because it was an easier death, and that in cases where the particular kind is not expressed, the most favourable is to be chosen<sup>h</sup>; but it is more probable from the case of adultery, that stoning was the punishment understood; for it is said in *Ezekiel*<sup>i</sup>, *I will judge thee with the judgment of wedlock-breakers*, &c. and two verses after, *they shall stone thee with stones*—and it is plain, that the Jews understood it in that sense in our Saviour's time, by what they said to him, when they brought the adulterers before him<sup>j</sup>. The crimes, which deserved this death, were all kind of incest, so- d domy, bestiality, ravishing a betrothed virgin, or her consenting to be defiled by another man; blaspheming, sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, enticing others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering one's seed to *Moloch*, and some others of the like nature. For some of these last, the criminal was likewise to be hanged, after he had been stoned to death, as we have seen in a former note, where we have also hinted something concerning the manner of this execution, and to which we have nothing to add, but that it was always done out of the city,

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xx. 12. Deut. v. 16, & alib. <sup>b</sup> Eph. vi. 2. <sup>c</sup> Exod. xxi. 15, 17. Levit. xx. 9. <sup>d</sup> Deut. xxi. 18, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xxv. 3. <sup>f</sup> Ex. Levit. xxiv. 14. & Num. xv. 35. 1 Kings xxi. 13. Vide sup. p. 557. note (F). <sup>g</sup> Vide Deut. xvii. 7. <sup>h</sup> Vide R. SALOM. in Exod. xxi. 16. <sup>i</sup> Ch. xxvi. 38, 40. <sup>j</sup> John viii. 5.

(Z) The *Talmudists* observe, that the law lays a greater stress upon honouring our parents, than upon honouring God, because we are only enjoined to honour the latter with our substance (74); whereas we are bound to honour the former, whether we have any substance or not, and to work, in order to be able to maintain them (75). This is a duty to which the *Egyptians* seem to have been strangers, if what *Herodotus* says of them be true, that the sons were not bound to maintain their parents, unless they were willing, but that the daughters were obliged to it, whether willing or not (76). It likewise excelled that of the *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other polite people, in that it included both parents, whereas these only, or at most, principally the father. This appears by the *Persian* law mentioned by *Aristotle*, by the *Roman* digests, and institutions mentioned by *Epictetus*, *Simplicius*, *Philosophe de legatione*, and others (77). We shall observe farther, that the words of the promise annexed to

this command run thus in the original: *That they may prolong thy days*, and so on; from which the generality of *Jewish* interpreters conclude the word *they* to relate to the father and mother so honoured, namely, that they might prolong by their prayers and blessings the life of their dutiful children. The words are indeed capable of either sense; but, if the Jews had taken them in this last in our Saviour's time, they would not have met with so severe a reproof from him for eluding that precept.

(A) In this last case, the *Talmudists* say, the criminal was to be strapp'd down as low as his breast, or heart, tho' they were forced to tear his clothes for it. The executioner was to have a lash made of calves leather, of a convenient breadth, and long enough to go round his middle; and in cases where the utmost severity was to be used towards the criminal, he was to give him 39 strokes with all the strength he had (78).

(74) Prov. iii. 9. (75) Rabb. SIMEON. Vide præc. affirm. 112, & 113. (76) HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 25. Vide CARLET, Harmon. of N. and P. laws, c. 6. (77) Idem ibid. (78) Vide præc. 8. affirm. 105.

as it was out of the camp during their abode in the wilderness. Here, after he had confessed his fault, the witnesses came and laid their hands upon his head, and said aloud, *Thy blood be upon thee*, and threw the first stones, and the rest of the spectators helped to dispatch him \* (B). This, however, must be understood of regular cases, for there were others of an irregular nature, wherein it was allowed to stone the criminal, such as a blasphemer, idolater, adulterer, upon the spot, without further trial. But these ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged under the specious title of *judgment of zeal*, founded upon the action of *Phineas*, mentioned in another part of this history †.

2. BURNING. This punishment was used before *Moses*; as appears by *Judab's* condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames ‡. Some interpreters, indeed, think, that he meant no more than to have her burnt in the forehead, or stigmatised her for her incontinency; but without any probability. We shall not here repeat what we said on that subject \*. The *Mosaic* law condemned the daughters of priests to be burnt for incontinency †; and *Achan* was condemned to be stoned and burnt for sacrilege ‡. These are the only two places where that punishment is mentioned. The *Jews* tell us also of some other crimes which were punished with it, particularly some kinds of incest †. They add, that it was two-fold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat (C).

3. BEHEADING. This, the *Jewish* doctors say, was a punishment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry. But we find, indeed, nothing like it to have been practised before the captivity, in a judicial way. It is true, indeed, that *Abimelech*, one of *Gideon's* sons, caused seventy of his brothers to be beheaded upon one stone at *Ophra* †; that the men of *Samaria* sent the heads of the same number of *Abab's* sons to the new king of *Israel* ‡; and that forty-two of *Abaziah's* brethren were put to death, probably in the same way, by the same *Jehu's* orders †; but it is plain, that none of these were done in a judicial way. We find, likewise, instances of persons being put to death by the sword. Thus *Samuel* killed the king of *Amalek* †; in the same manner *David* ordered the messenger of *Saul's* death to be slain †: And *Adonijah*, *Joab*, and *Shimei* were killed by *Solomon's* order, d one of them at the very foot of the altar †.

4. STRANGLING. The text makes no explicit mention of this kind of death; but the *Talmudists* reckon six sorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, 1. Those that struck their parents. 2. Men-stealers. 3. The priests that refused to conform to the determination of the court. 4. False prophets, or those who prophesied in the name of false Gods. 5. He that defiled another man's bed. And 6. He that had criminal conversation with a priest's daughter. These were executed as follows: They were immersed in dung up to the knees; two executioners tied a napkin about their neck, and twisted it till he was quite suffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by them-

\* Deut. xvii. 7. † Pag. 536. a. ‡ Gen. xxxviii. 24. \* Sup. p. 451. (R) † Levit. xxi. 9. ‡ Josh. vii. 28. See before p. 557. (F). † Vide Mos. KOTZ in Tract. Sanhedr. c. 1. GOODWIN'S Mos. and Aar. lib. v. c. 7. § 13. † Jud. ix. 5. ‡ 2 Kings x. 7. † Ibid. ver. 13, & seq. † 1 Sam. xv. 33. † 2 Sam. i. 15. † 1 Kings ii. 25, 30, & 40.

(B) The *Talmudists* mention another kind of stoning, by precipitating a man from some considerable eminence, at least of the height of two men. One of the witnesses tied his hands behind him, and the other threw him down; and if he did not die by the fall, they threw stones upon him till he was dead. The *Mosaic* law doth not indeed mention this kind of punishment, but we find it practised in our Saviour's time (78). They add, that when the criminal was within ten cubits of the place of execution, in either way of stoning, they exhorted him to confess his crime; when within four cubits, they stripped him. R. *Jebuda* says, that a man's middle was to be covered before, and a woman's behind; others, that the men only were to be stripped, and the women to die in their cloaths (79).

(C) The first they call burning of the body, and

the other, burning of the soul. This last was the most frequent among them, and some of the rabbies acknowledge no other way but this to have been used, though the places, mentioned above, imply rather the former. The *Talmudists* do, indeed, condemn it, and think it unlawful to burn the bodies of their brethren to ashes. They infer it from what is said of the sons of *Aaron*, who, though killed by a supernatural fire, yet remained unconsumed, since the text says (80), that they were carried dead out of the camp, in their coats; but rabbi *Eleazar* is said, in the *Talmud*, to have disallowed the conclusion, affirming, that he had seen a priest's daughter burnt to ashes; to which he is only answered, that her judges were ignorant *Cutheans*; that is, a mungrel kind of *Samaritans*, who knew nothing of the law (81).

(78) Luke iv. 29. (79) *Mishn. ubi sup.* c. 6. § 1, & seq. COCCIO Interpret. (80) Levit. x. 5. (81) *Mishn. Tract. Sanhedr. ubi sup.*

Excommuni-  
cation.

selves, and on the same day, together with the instruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out as much as possible the remembrance of it<sup>a</sup> (D).

BUT the most dreadful of all their punishments, though not a capital one, was excommunication; especially that which they called *Shematta* (E), answering to the *Syrian Maran-atta* used by St. Paul<sup>b</sup>, which signifies in both tongues, *the Lord comes, or is at hand*. Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is supposed the author of it, because St. Jude quotes that saying of his, *behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his Saints to execute judgment*; and so on<sup>c</sup>, which must have been, at least, owing to some tradition among the Jews. However, these fetch the original of it, both from those frequent expressions in the *Mosaic* writings, *that soul shall be cut off from Israel*, and *thou shalt put away evil from the midst of thee*; and more particularly from the words in *Deborah's* song, *Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants of it*<sup>d</sup>. But without enquiring into the validity of these subtil etymologies, we find a more express form of it in *Ezra* and *Nebemiah*<sup>e</sup>, who excommunicated all those that refused to repudiate their strange wives; and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The same account of it we find in *Josephus*, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated person were to be confiscated to the holy treasury<sup>f</sup>. It is true, this was done after the captivity; but we need not doubt but they had precedents and laws for it before that time; for it is said, that it was performed in a legal way, and pursuant to the laws of God. As for the form and method of pronouncing

<sup>a</sup> Tract. Sanhedr. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xvi. 22. <sup>c</sup> Ver. 14. <sup>d</sup> Judg. v. 23. <sup>e</sup> Ezr. x. 7, & seq. Nehem. xiii. 25. <sup>f</sup> Ant. lib. xi. c. 5.

(D) To these we may add some foreign punishments, which were afterwards adopted by their kings; such were those which *David* caused to be inflicted on the *Ammonites* (82), and that which *Manasseh* put the prophet *Isaiah* to, whom he is supposed, by several ancient fathers (83), to have caused to be sawn in two from the head downward, with a wooden saw, from the words of the apostle (84), some were sawn asunder. The difficulty here is about the wooden saw, how it could be fit for such a purpose. But allowing the thing to be really fact, and a tradition of it to have been preserved, we need but suppose the expression to be an *Hebraism*, that is, a wooden saw, for a saw with which wood used to be sawn, which is a common idiom in that tongue. This expression of cutting in two, and cutting asunder, is indeed frequent in the old testament, and in the apocryphal book of *Susanna*. We omit some other punishments of the like nature, which would only fill our readers with horror. As for that of crucifixion, such as *Christ* suffered, tho' some have fancied it to be implied in the words of *Deuteronomy* (85), *if a man be hanged on a tree, his body shall not remain all night on it*, &c. yet it is generally allowed to have been, not a *Jewish*, but a *Roman* punishment, and so foreign to our purpose.

(E) The Jews reckon three kinds, or rather degrees of excommunication. The first they call *Niddui*, from *נדה*, *Nadah*, to separate, or put from one. So that this word was indifferently used, to express those that were separated for any uncleanness, or for any crime that came within this degree of excommunication (86). The time of its lasting was limited to 30 days, and yet the delinquent could either shorten it by doing penance, or lengthen it by stubbornness, even to the end of his life, if he persisted in it. In this last case, they refused to circumcise his children, and if he died penitent, the judge ordered a stone to be

thrown into his coffin or bier, to shew that he deserved to have been stoned.

The second degree they called *Cherem*, anathema, and this they pretend was more severe than the *Niddui*, because it excluded the person from the synagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But we have shewn elsewhere, that this word signified quite another thing, and was applicable to men and things vowed to death or destruction (87); and our learned *Selden* has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the lesser and the greater, and that the terms, *Niddui*, *Cherem*, and *Shematta*, were used indifferently (88).

The last, however, according to them, was this, *Shematta*, which they pretend was proclaimed by the sound of 400 trumpets, as, they say, it was done at the cursing of *Meroz* by *Deborah*. A person, so excommunicated, was never to be received again into the congregation, and some pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reason they derive the word from *שם*, *Sham*, there, and *מתה*, *Mattah*, death. To which the expression of St. *John* is supposed to allude; *there is a sin unto death*; that is, according to them, a sin that deserves to be devoted to death (89). But all this is forced, and that which derives it from *שם*, *Shem*, the name, (which word they commonly use instead of any of the names of God, as we have seen elsewhere) and *אתה*, *comes*, or is at hand; seems to us the most rational, and answers to the *Syrian Maran-atta*, which bears the same sense. As for the crimes to which these excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of absolving these that had incurred them, we can affirm nothing certain; and so shall go no further with this point. The reader may consult *Selden* and *Buxtorf* in the places above quoted, or the learned *J. Jam. Horstinger* (90), and others.

(82) 2 Sam. xii. ult. (83) JUSTIN MART. *Dialog. cont. Tryph. ORIG. ex lib. apocr. HIERON. in Isai. & al.* (84) *Hæbr. xi. 37.* (85) *Deut. xxi. 22.* (86) *Vide int. al. Ezek. xxiii. 6.* (87) *Vide Levit. xxvii. 29. Job. vii. 11, & seq. Vide sup. p. 630. b. (O).* (88) *De Synedr. vet. Hæbr. lib. i. c. 7, & 8.* (89) 1 *John v. 16. Vide BERTRAM, de Polit. Jud. cap. 2.* (90) *Diff. Hist. Theol. de penitent. p. 49, & seq.*

it,

- a it, and in what cases it was to be done, we cannot be certain. *Buxtorf* hath indeed given us a full account of it from the *Talmudists* <sup>a</sup>, but besides that, we dare not vouch for its antiquity, the form of it is so full of the most dreadful imprecations, that they cannot be read without horror. Some of them seem to have been taken from the 109th psalm, and improved with all the dire curses both of this world and the next. As excommunication passed from the *Jews* to the *Christians*, *St. Paul* makes use of some other of their expressions, besides that of *Maran-atta* ; particularly that of delivering up to satan <sup>b</sup> ; but it is plain, by what he subjoins immediately after ; *for the mortifying the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord*, that it was not used by the primitive church in that damning sense in which the *Jews* and some modern churches understand it.

### *Laws against murder.*

- M**OSESES tells us, that, from the time of the flood, murder could not be expiated, but by the death of the murderer <sup>a</sup>, whatever might be the punishment of it before that time. Under the law, God seems to express a much greater abhorrence against it ; he not only forbade it in the decalogue <sup>b</sup>, but appointed avengers to punish the guilty person wherever they found him <sup>c</sup>, and permitted him to be torn from the most sacred places of sanctuariship to condign punishment <sup>d</sup>, as was lately hinted ; and expressly forbade both the avenger and judges to make any composition, or to accept of any other recompense for the crime <sup>e</sup>. These laws extended equally to *Israelites* and to the strangers that dwelt amongst them <sup>f</sup>. The only cases therefore, in which one man might lawfully kill another, were, 1. When the avenger of blood found a man-slayer out of his place of refuge. 2. In a man's own defence. 3. In defence of a brother *Israelite*. And lastly, an infant might likewise be destroyed to preserve the life of the mother, but not *vice versa* (F). To these the *Jews* add that, which they call the *right of zeal*, hinted under the last head, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a person who was caught in any abominable fact, such as blaspheming, offering his seed to *Moloch*, and the like, and to kill him upon the spot. Thus the *Levites* went out and killed three thousand of the worshippers of the golden calf ; and *Phineas* punished an abominable whoredom with death. We may also add another institution, extremely proper to inspire the people with an uncommon horror against wilful murder ; namely, that for the expiation of an uncertain murder. It was as follows. As soon as the *Uncertain murder* judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of it, they were to examine what town was nearest to it, and to summon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring a heifer that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley, and there strike her head off. These and the priests were then to wash their hands over her, and to profess that their hands had not shed this blood, neither their eyes seen it done ; after which they were to pray to God not to lay it to their charge <sup>g</sup>. One may see by all this solemn ceremony, and by all the above-mentioned laws, what care was taken to deter them from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. It was for this very reason also, that God gave them several laws, whose only tendency was to divert them from cruelty ; such were those that forbade them to seeth a lamb or kid in its mother's milk ; to kill the dam and her young, both in one day ; to catch the old birds and their brood together ; to muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn ; to refuse to assist a neighbour's, or even an enemy's beast, that sunk under its burden ; and many

<sup>a</sup> *Buxtorf*. *Lex. Talmud.* p. 828.    <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. v. 5.    <sup>c</sup> Gen. ix. 6. See before p. 114. c.    <sup>d</sup> Exod. xx. 13. xxi. 12. Deut. v. 17. Levit. xxiv. 17, & alib.    <sup>e</sup> Num. xxxv. 19.    <sup>f</sup> Exod. xxi. 14.    <sup>g</sup> Num. xxxv. 31, 32.    <sup>h</sup> Levit. xxiv. 12.    <sup>i</sup> Deut. xxi. 1, & seq.

(F) The *Jews* add, that he that seeth his brother in danger of his life, as for instance, of drowning, of being killed by another, or by a wild beast, or of being unjustly put to death, when he could save his life, is guilty of wilful murder. This they infer from that prohibition of *Moses*, *thou*

*shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour* (91). The man likewise that swears falsely against another, in order to have him adjudged to death, was also to be deemed and punished as a murderer (92).

(91) *Levit. xix. 16. Vide Munster. in loc. & prac. neg. 164, & 165.*    (92) *Vide Deut. xix. 19.*

more of the like nature, all highly proper to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and good nature, which the slaughter they were going to make of so many nations, justly doomed to it for their wickedness, might otherwise have been apt to extinguish in them.

*Laws against adultery, and all other unlawful commerce of sexes. The tryal of adultery, or waters of jealousy; concerning marriage and levirate.*

*Against adultery.*

1. **I**T will scarcely be thought needful to enquire how far the words, *thou shalt not commit adultery*\*, excluded all other carnal gratifications which were not confined within the bounds of lawful wedlock (G). It is sufficient to say that incest, rape, sodomy, and bestiality are forbid by other express laws, and made capital, as well as adultery†. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in some cases, yet was it forbid by several laws‡. The difference was, that any woman who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwise, was to be stoned§; whereas if a man deflowered a virgin, he was to pay her fifty shekels of silver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away, during her life¶. Adultery was punishable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman; but we cannot affirm the punishment of a married man to have been the same, who committed adultery with an unmarried woman; for besides that, the crime was not alike, with respect to society, it is plain that *Moses* was forced to indulge them in some other particulars, as unjustifiable as this, such as polygamy, divorce, and the like, which are justly condemned in the gospel.

HOWEVER, with respect to the wives, as there was a necessity that they should be kept under stricter ties, to prevent strange mixtures in families; so in order to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as perhaps to prevent those that were innocent, from being unjustly suspected, and ill treated by their jealous husbands; *Moses* was commanded to appoint the waters of jealousy, with the promise of a constant miracle, by which the guilty should be punished in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent would be cleared with applause. The ceremony was to be performed in the following manner¶.

*Waters of jealousy.*

2. WHENEVER a man had conceived a mistrust of his wife's incontinency, he was to bring an offering for her, peculiar to this case, namely, a cake made of barley meal, without oil or incense, and to put it into the hands of the priest. At the same time he brought his wife also, and declared what grounds he had for suspecting her. The priest then took the accused woman before the Lord, either to the tabernacle or temple, uncovered her head (H), and put the offering into her hand, whilst himself took some holy water, made bitter with some such

\* Exod. xx. 14. Deut. v. 18. † Vide Levit. xviii. pass. ibid. xx. 10, & seq. Deut. xxii. 25. ‡ Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Levit. xxi. 7. § Deut. xxii. 20, 21. ¶ Ibid. ver. 28, 29. † Num. v. 24, & seq.

(G) This is, indeed, the received opinion of many *Jews* and *Christians*, who by the word *DNJ*, *Naph*, understand all kind of illicit coition and unnatural lusts (93). Yet we beg leave to take notice, that some of the ancients on both sides understood it of the breach of conjugal faith. Accordingly, we find by *Philo* and *Tertullian*, that some of the *Greek* copies placed this law against adultery, before that against murder in the decalogue; and these two great orators have taken the pains to prove the former to be the more grievous crime of the two, and to describe the great hurt it doth to human society; the latter concluding it to be the greater crime, because forbidden before murder (94). However, it is certain, that *Moses* has no where given such a weighty reason against that, as he doth against this, when he says, *for in the image of God created he man* (95).

(H) The *Jews* understand by it shaving her hair,

or at least cutting the curls off. They add, that they tore her cloaths down to her breast, and tied them with a pack-thread; others say, that her cloaths were exchanged for a black suit, in token of mourning, and in this manner she was exposed to publick view. These circumstances, they tell us, had something so dreadful to the *Jewish* women, especially the chaste ones, that they studied nothing more than to keep themselves free from any suspicion, which might expose them to that, which they esteemed worse than death. For this reason they did not suffer a woman to be brought to this tryal upon every slight suspicion. The husband was to bring some proofs that he had forewarned her more than once or twice against being seen in such a man's company, as he was jealous of, notwithstanding which, they had been found together in private, or in some remote place, at least, as long a time as a man might boil an egg and eat it †.

(93) Vide ABENEZR. in Exod. xx. Et Comment. ser. om. in loc. (94) TERTUL. de Pudicit. Vide CARLTON. Concord. c. 7. (95) Gen. ix. 6. † Vide MUNST. in Num. v.



- a herb as wormwood, into which he put some of the dust of the floor or pavement ; together with the words of the curse written at full length, to this effect : That, if she had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, those waters should swell and burst her belly, and rot her thigh ; but, if she was innocent, they should have no power to hurt her. These words he first read to her aloud, and, if she persisted to go on with the tryal (I), she answered, *Amen*. He was then to blot out the words of the curse in the bitter water, they being, according to the *Jews*, written with an ink made without vitriol, which would be easily washed away ; after which he gave her the water to drink, whilst he took the offering or cake of jealousy off her hand, and waved it to the Lord, and burned part of it upon the altar. The consequence was,
- b that, if she was guilty, the water did burst her belly, and rot her thigh, and she died soon after her drinking of it ; but, if she was innocent, she not only came off unhurt, but, as a token and reward of her continence, she became more healthy and fruitful, and the husband was to take her home, and cherish her the more, for having given him such an eminent proof of her chastity. This is all that we find in the *Mosaic law*. The *Talmudists* have added several other circumstances relating to this ceremony, which we should be loath to warrant, both because, by their own confession, it had been disused several centuries, before their time, since which adultery became more frequent ; and because neither the canonical, nor apocryphal books, or, indeed, any of their writings that we know of, afford us one single instance of
- c its ever having been used before that time, whereby one might guess where they had them ; for which reason we chuse to give them in the margin (K). For aught appears therefore, this ceremony might be instituted only *in terrorem*, and yet prove very effectual, both to keep the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the husbands from too lightly suspecting them of a breach of it ; especially, if another circumstance which the *Jews* tell us be true, or was believed to be so, that these waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty soever, if the husband had likewise been guilty of transgressing the laws of wedlock<sup>d</sup>. Whether the *Israelites* had seen any the like custom in *Egypt*, or in any other nation, which made it expedient to have something among them in imitation of it, we will not affirm ;
- d but it is plain, that almost every country, since, had a kind of tryal or ordeal, not only for cases of incontinency, but almost for every crime.

3. MARRIAGE. We find but few laws concerning this institution, besides *Marriage*. those which we have mentioned under the last article against adultery (L). *Moses*

<sup>d</sup> SELD. de Synedr. & Uxor. Hæbr. BUXTORF. MUNIT. in Num. v. BASNAG. Rep. Hæbr. lib. i. c. 12. CALM. sub voc. Adult. & al. mult. post rabbin.

(I) Here they tell us likewise, that a great deal of pains was taken to persuade her to confess her fault, if she was guilty, rather than to expose herself to the dreadful effects of the miraculous water ; and that they would even force her to walk so long and so fast, till she was quite tired, in order to extort a confession from her, either through weariness, or shame of being thus exposed to publick view. If she confessed the fact, she was not obliged to drink the water, but was immediately divorced from her husband, lost her dowry, and went and lived single ; but, if she still insisted upon her being innocent, the priest was then to conduct her to the east porch of the temple, where he told her aloud, that, if she was really so, she had nothing to fear ; but, if guilty, she must expect the punishment threatened by *Moses* to fall immediately upon her.

(K) Accordingly, they affirm, that, if she was guilty, she had no sooner drank the water, than she began to look pale and ghastly, her eyes swelled out of her head, and she lost the use of them : Her belly likewise swelled so visibly, that they made all the haste imaginable to convey her away, lest she should defile the place by her death. They add, what is still more remarkable, that the man, who had had criminal commerce with her, died at that very instant, and much in the same manner, how distant soever from her, and ignorant of what was done. The time of this miraculous ceremony, being set

aside, is not agreed ; some affirming, that it was disused after the captivity, and others, that it continued till about an hundred years before the destruction of the second temple. All own, however, that the reason of its being set aside was, that adulteries became not only more frequent, which consequently would have kept the priests and judges continually employed, but were likewise more publick, so that the tryal of clandestine or doubtful ones became useless, when men committed them so publickly, that all the world was apprised of them (96).

(L) Tho' the *Mosaic law* doth no where oblige men to marry, yet the *Jews* have always looked upon it as an indispensable duty implied in the words, *increase and multiply* (97) ; so that a man, who did not marry before he was twenty years of age, was counted accessory to any irregularity which the young women might be tempted to, for want of being timely married. They had a proverb in the *Talmud*, *Who is he that prostitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man?* For this reason they used to marry them as soon as they came of age, which with them was at twelve ; but, if their fathers married them before, they might, when they came to it, be parted from their husband, if they did not like him.

(96) Vide SELD. BUXT. MUNIT. LAMY, CUN. BASNAG. & al. sup. citat. (97) Gen. i. 28. ix. 1. VOL. I. NUMB. IX. 8 I con-



contented himself with restraining the *Israelites* from marrying within certain degrees of consanguinity, which had till then been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations, with whom they lived. This was the reason which *Abraham* gave for chusing a wife for *Isaac*, from his own kindred<sup>a</sup>, and his descendants, for following his example<sup>b</sup>; but which was now entirely ceased, by their being so exceedingly multiplied. These are therefore the degrees which that law-giver forbade as incestuous, under pain of death. 1. To marry one's own father or mother. 2. Father or mother-in-law. 3. The brother or sister of one's father or mother. 4. A grand-son or grand-daughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A son or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or sisters, by which the *Jews* understood those only by the mother's side, because they looked upon this consanguinity to be greater than the paternal ones, perhaps from a belief, that the mother contributed most to the generation of the child<sup>c</sup>. 8. A brother or sister-in-law. 9. The husband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and son, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other<sup>d</sup>. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they seem rather to be taken from the practice of the patriarchs. Thus he forbids the first-born to be disinherited out of favour or affection to another wife, as when a man has two wives, and loves one more than the other. In such a case, it was not lawful for him to transfer the inheritance to the children of the favourite wife, if that of the other was the first-born<sup>e</sup>. This is in imitation of *Abraham*, who gave portions to all his other children, and the inheritance to *Isaac*<sup>f</sup>. The only difference here is, that *Moses* orders but a double portion to the eldest<sup>g</sup>. Herein is also a second law, tacitly implied at least, for a man to have two wives: To which he adds a third, namely, that, upon the marriage of a second wife, a man shall still be bound to continue to the former her food, her raiment, and the duty of marriage<sup>h</sup>. This last is also conformable to what *Laban* exacted of *Jacob*, when he married the second sister after the first<sup>i</sup>. These laws are in imitation of the practice of several of the old patriarchs (M).

*Levirate.*

THE same thing may be said of that law which is called the *Levirate*, which obliged a man, whose brother died without issue, to marry his widow, and to raise up seed to his brother<sup>j</sup>; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in *Judab's* time<sup>k</sup>. However, *Moses* doth here leave it in some measure to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law or not; and, in case of a refusal, the widow could only summon him before the judges of the place, where, if he persisted, she untied his shoe, and spit in his face, and said, *Thus shall it be done unto the man that refuses to build up his brother's house, or family*; after which he was branded with the appellative of the man whose shoe was unloosed (N). In this number we may also

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxiv. 3, & seq. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. xxvi. 34, 35. xxviii. 1, & alib. <sup>c</sup> Vide PHILLO de Spec. Leg. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. ii. <sup>d</sup> Levit. xviii. 6, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Deut. xxi. 15, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Gen. xxv. 5, 6. <sup>g</sup> Deut. xxi. 17. <sup>h</sup> Exod. xxi. 10. <sup>i</sup> Gen. xxxi. 50. <sup>j</sup> Deut. xxv. 5, & seq. <sup>k</sup> Vide Gen. xxxviii. 6, & seq.

(M) The *Jews* did not content themselves with this small allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of *David* and *Solomon*, and many others. But it must be observed, that they made a distinction between the wives of the first rank, and those of the second. The first they called נָשִׁים, *Nashim*, and the others פִּלְגָּשִׁים, *Pilgashim*, which last, tho' most versions render by the word *Concubines*, *Harlots*, and *Prostitutes*, yet in none of those places of scripture where that word occurs, which are about 36, is any such sinister sense implied. However, there is a twofold difference between these and wives of the first rank<sup>†</sup>; first, with respect to the manner of taking them, namely, the latter with the usual ceremonies, and the former without; and secondly, with respect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. One thing *Maimon* (98) tells us from the *Talmud*, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred, and that

it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and strength sufficient for them all; the rule, with respect to this last, was, that he should pay them the conjugal debt at least once a week, and not run in arrears above a month with any one. But as to the concubines, they could claim no more than what the man was pleased to allow them.

(N) From the words here used by *Moses*, *if brethren dwell together* (99), one would be apt to conclude, that this law was only intended for such as dwelt still in their father's house, which seems to have been the case of *Judab's* three sons, mentioned above. Accordingly, the rabbies have understood this law in a very restrained sense, both in this and some other particulars; such as that the eldest only of the survivors was obliged to marry the widow, and not even he, if he was already married, in which case, they pretend that it was left to his option. But if we look into the ancient practices, in the times of the judges, we shall find that *Boaz*, who was neither

<sup>†</sup> Conf. 1 Kings xi. 3. & 2 Chron. xi. 21. (98) *Halak. Issotb.* c. 14. (99) *Deut.* xxx. 5.

- a also add another law, which obliged the husband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the *Jews* termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity<sup>1</sup>. Thus *Abraham* sent his steward with a considerable quantity of riches to present his future daughter-in-law and her relations<sup>2</sup>: *Jacob* purchased his two wives at the price of fourteen years servitude<sup>3</sup>; and when *Hamor* came to ask his daughter for his son *Shechem*, he bid him raise the price of her dowry as high as he pleased<sup>4</sup>. *David* likewise modestly confessing his inability to pay a dowry answerable to *Saul's* daughter, the king acquitted him for a hundred prepuces of the *Philistines*; and the prophet *Hosea* bought a wife for fifteen pieces of silver, and a small quantity of barley<sup>5</sup>; so that a man might be truly said to have purchased as well as to marry a wife. However, if we may believe the rabbies, they tell us, that the father generally accompanied the husband's presents with some of his own; such as cloaths, and some money, not exceeding the sum of fifty *suzims*, or about five and twenty shillings.

- FROM these and such like instances, we may likewise conclude, what was their way of courtship, or rather of contracting and celebrating their marriages; the former was transacted by the parents or relations, on both sides, and when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride: Presents were exchanged on all sides, the contract signed before witnesses, and, after consummation, the bride tarried still some time with her relations, how long or how short, we cannot exactly say (O), after which she was sent away to her husband's habitation, with singing and dances at the sound of several instruments. This last was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it<sup>6</sup>. It was likewise customary with them to contract these marriages, whilst their children were very young, and this was called espousing; after which, both parties continued with their parents, till they were of age to consummate it. As for the daughters, whether they were espoused or not, they were kept very strict and out of sight by the *Israelites*, tho' this custom seems rather to have been taken up after the misfortune of *Jacob's* daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no scruple to send theirs to feed, and water their flocks; as we find it was done by *Laban's* sister and daughters, as well as by those of *Jetbro* among the *Midianites*<sup>7</sup>. From this privacy with which the unmarried damsels were kept, they came to be called *Almah's*, which signifies hidden or concealed (P). We have elsewhere taken notice of a law which forbade heiresses to marry out of their own tribe<sup>8</sup>, from which the rest were exempted:

<sup>1</sup> Vide *MARR.* in *Isaiah*. c. 3. § 1. <sup>2</sup> *Gen.* xxiv. pass. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxix. 18, & seq. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxxiv. 12, & seq. <sup>5</sup> *1 Sam.* xviii. Hof. iii. 2. <sup>6</sup> *Matt.* xxv. 1, & seq. <sup>7</sup> Vide *Gen.* xxiv. 13, & seq. xxix. 9. *Exod.* ii. 16. <sup>8</sup> *Num.* xxxvi. pass. Vide sup. p. 537. b.

neither brother, nor nearest of kin to the deceased, did yet think himself obliged to marry *Ruth*, upon the nearest kinsman's refusing to do it (100); from which one would be apt to conclude, that the law rather extended farther, and that, where no brothers were left to marry the widow, that duty became incumbent on the nearest relation in course. However, it is plain from the case which the *Sadducees* put to our Saviour, about the seven brethren that had had the same woman successively (1), that this law was not understood in that limited sense which the *Talmudists* have since done.

(O) This interval is, however, supposed to have been a week, from the words of *Laban* to *Jacob*, fulfil her (*Leah's*) week, and thou shalt have *Rachel* also (2); but this is at best but a conjecture. The same may be said of what some *Jews* tell us of the space allowed between the betrothing and consummation, which they will have to be about a year. This they gather from what *Rebecca's* relations said to *Abraham's* servant, let her tarry at least ten days, by which they understand so many months (3), but neither the original, nor *Septuagint*, admit of that exposition; and it is more likely, that it was left to the discretion of the parents.

(P) From the word *אָלַם*, *Alam*, or rather *Gblam*, to hide. To this seems to allude that saying of *Agur* (4), if rightly translated—the way of the man, *בְּעֵלְמָה*, *Behalmah*: that is, (not *with*, as our version hath it, but) *in the maid or virgin*. And here we beg leave to observe, that an anonymous *English* author took upon him, under the name of the famous *Monf. Le Clerc*, to quarrel with this text, as trifling and obscene (5); whereas, our version being the only one we know of that renders it *with a maid*, the objection could flow but from an *English* pen; and we may venture to add one that had but a superficial knowledge of the original, which is not only capable of, but doth manifestly carry a much sublimer sense; we hope therefore the reader will not think amiss, if we take this opportunity of doing justice to the text, and its divine author, by setting it in its full light.

Whoever examines the preface, in the four or five first verses of this chapter, will easily own, that such lofty expressions could only be designed to usher in some sublime mystery; but who can find any such in these words, whether we read them *in* or *with the maid*? that is, whether we understand them of *cotition* or *generation*? Besides, where is there either the

(100) *Ruth* iv. pass. (1) *Matt.* xxii. 24, & seq. (2) *Gen.* xxix. 27. (3) Vide *ORIEL*. & *R. SALOM.* Vide *MUNST.* in *Gen.* xxiv. 55. *GOODWIN'S Mos. & Aar. lib. vi. c. 4. § 8.* — (4) *Prov.* xxxi. 19. (5) *Letters concerning Inspiration.*

empted: But a man was left to his liberty to marry, not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with such nations as used circumcision<sup>a</sup>, such as were the *Midianites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Egyptians* (Q). This law seems also founded upon what the subtle sons of *Jacob* said to the *Sabeans*, *it is not lawful for us to contract affinity with one that is uncircumcised*<sup>b</sup>. However, this must be understood of such only as were admitted into the *Jewish* religion; as for those that were not so, they were not so much as permitted to have any carnal commerce with them, except in the case of an *Hebrew* soldier's having taken a *Gentile* captive, to whom *Moses* indulged the liberty of lying once with her, before the marriage was confirmed: This at least seems to be the sense of the words<sup>c</sup>; because, if he did not like her, he might put her away, only he was to give her liberty<sup>d</sup> as a recompence for her virginity. A maid servant, tho' converted to *Judaism*, was not capable of matrimonial right, whilst her servitude continued; but if her redemption was paid, or she was manumitted, she might become a wife<sup>e</sup>. If a woman was not wholly free, her marriage seems to have been neither in force, nor absolutely void, because, in cases of unchastity, she was not to be put to death, as the free women were, but came off with a whipping<sup>f</sup>.

THESE are the main laws relating to marriage. As for the manner of its celebration, *Moses* has left no direction about it. Some few ceremonials may be gathered from scripture, and the rest from the rabbies. We do not find that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony, such as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering of sacrifices, or even that it was performed by or before a priest; only from the examples of *Isaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Boaz* with *Ruth*, and of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, we may conclude, that the parents and the rest of the company did pray for the prosperity of the new married couple. These nuptials were accompanied with feasting and mirth, which lasted a whole week: Thus *Sampson's* wedding is said to have lasted seven days<sup>g</sup>; and *Tobias* was desired by his father-in-law, that his might last twice that space<sup>h</sup>, probably, because they were not likely to see one another alter that time. What splendor did usually accompany these feasts, where their circumstances would admit of it, we may conclude from that beautiful comparison of the psalmist, of the glory of a rising sun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber<sup>i</sup>. He likewise describes, in another psalm, the richness of the bride's attire, the pomp of her attendance, and the grandeur of the solemnity in most elegant terms<sup>j</sup>. The paranymph, or friend of the bridegroom (R), and the bridesmaids are likewise mentioned here, and in the *Canticles*. Besides these, the bride-

<sup>a</sup> Compar. Deut. vii. 3, & xxiii. 7, 8. <sup>b</sup> Gen. xxxiv. 14. <sup>c</sup> Deut. xxi. 10, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Seld, Jus Nat. & Gent. lib. v. c. 17. Vide Jos. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. CARLTON'S Concord. pt. i. c. 7. <sup>e</sup> Levit. 20. <sup>f</sup> Judg. xiv. 17. <sup>g</sup> Tobit viii. 19, 20. <sup>h</sup> Pf. xix. 5. <sup>i</sup> Pf. xlv. pass. vide & Isai. lxi. 10.

the analogy or climax implied in the beginning of the verse, *there are three things too hard for me, yea four*, or rather, a fourth, which I cannot comprehend; what analogy doth the way of a man, whether in or with a maid, bear to that of an eagle in the air, or a ship in the midst of the sea, &c. or wherein is the former harder to be understood than the latter? But if we understand it of the conception of a man in a virgin, as the words seem plainly to imply, then both the analogy and climax will be very natural; and the conception of the man, or as the word גִּבּוֹר, *Gebber*, imports, the mighty man in a virgin, continuing still such, will appear most fully compared to the flight of an eagle in the air, &c. which leave no trace behind, and at the same time be most justly esteemed the hardest of all the rest to be accounted for. This text may therefore justly be looked upon as parallel to that of *Jeremiah* xxxi. 22.—*The Lord has, or will, create a new thing, a woman shall encompass Gebber, a man, or the mighty man.*

(Q) Accordingly we find, that *Moses* married a *Midianite*, *Boaz* a *Moabite* (6), *Maacab*, *Asa's* mother, was the daughter of *Talmi*, king of *Jebus* (7); *Amasa* was the son of *Jeheber*, an *Ismaelite*, by *disgail*, *David's* sister (8); and

*Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, married *Pharaoh's* daughter (9). Whenever therefore we find him and other kings blamed for marrying strange women, we must understand it of those nations that were idolatrous and uncircumcised.

(R) His office was to invite, and compliment the guests, in the name of the new married, to preside over the solemnity, to see that nothing was wanting in the feast, to prevent confusion, and such like; for which reason he was called the בעל משתה, *Babal mishtab*, ruler or master of the feast; and is perhaps the same with the ἀρχιτεχνιτης, in the gospel, *John* ii. 9. But the Jews have added another part to his office, which was to watch over the wedding linnen, that there might be no fraud or injustice in the tokens of virginity, spoken of by *Moses* (10); that is, to prevent the husband's suppressing them, in order to calumniate his wife, and the bride's substituting false, instead of true ones (11); but *Moses* seems rather in this place to assign that office to the parents, especially those of the *daniel*, whom it concerned most, that she should not be falsely accused, since it not only brought a scandal on her family, but, as we observed before, she herself was to be put to death, if those tokens could not be produced.

(6) *Ruth* iiv. (7) 2 *Sam.* xxxiii. (8) 1 *Chron.* ii. 15, & seq. (9) 1 *Kings* iii. 1. (10) *Deut.* xxii. 13, & seq. (11) Vide GEMAR. Hierosol. Tract. Ketuboth. c. 2.

- a Besides these, the bridegroom and bride had a number of companions, that assisted during the whole feast. *Sampson* is said to have had thirty at his wedding<sup>a</sup>; however, we must not suppose both sexes to have assisted promiscuously, the custom of eastern countries did not allow of it; and it is much more likely, that they had separate tables, apartments, and diversions. These last were singing, dancing, playing upon musical instruments among the women; and some kind of manly exercises among the men. To these we may add the custom of propounding riddles, and assigning some sort of reward to those that expounded them, as we find it was done at *Sampson's* nuptials<sup>b</sup>; and which the *Talmudists* tell us was usually practised upon such and the like festivals<sup>c</sup>. They add, that both the bride and bridegroom
- b used to wear a crown during the whole solemnity, until the destruction of the last temple; but that, from that time, that ornament was set aside in memory of that catastrophe<sup>d</sup>. We read, indeed, of a nuptial crown made for *Solomon*, and presented to him by his mother<sup>e</sup>; but nothing of any such ornament for the bride. As for the other particular ceremonies relating to marriages, as we have no other authority for them, but that of the *Talmudists*, we shall chuse to give them in the margin (S).

<sup>a</sup> Judg. xiv. 11. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. pass. <sup>c</sup> Pirke. Aboth. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. Vide Seld. Ux. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 15. Buxton. Synag. & al. <sup>e</sup> Cant. iii. ver. ult.

(S) They had three ways of betrothing a woman. 1. By a written contract. 2. By a verbal one, accompanied with a piece of money. And 3. by carnal commerce. The written contract was conceived in words to this effect: Such a day, month, and year, *A*, the son of *B*, has said to *D*, the daughter of *E*, be thou my spouse, according to the law of *Moses*, and of the *Israelites*, and I will give thee, as a dowry for thy virginity, the sum of 200 zuzims, as it is ordered by our law. And the said *D*, hath promised to become his spouse upon the conditions aforesaid, which the said *A*, doth promise to perform on the day of marriage. And to this the said *A*, doth hereby bind himself, and all that he hath, to the very cloak upon his shoulders, engages himself to love, honour, feed, cloath, and protect her, and to perform all that is generally implied in contracts of marriage, in favour of *Israelitish* wives. Witnesses—(12).

The verbal contract was made in the presence of sufficient witnesses, the man saying to the woman, take this money as a pledge that I will take thee to be my wife.

The last, by carnal commerce, which the *Talmudists* pretend to have been allowed by the *Mosaic* law, from *Deut.* xxiv. 1. they say, was afterwards forbid, as liable to many abuses; so that the other two were the only ones which gave the parties the liberty of seeing one another, which was not permitted to them before. When the time agreed upon for the celebrating of the wedding was come, (the day of the week being generally *Friday* for a maid, and *Thursday* for a widow, the contract of marriage was read and signed before at least ten witnesses, which must be free, and of age; and the bride, who had taken care to bathe herself the night before, appeared in all her splendor (but veiled in imitation of *Rebecca*, who threw a veil over her face as soon as she came in sight of *Isaac*. She, being attended with her bride-maids, was given away by her parents, in words to this effect, take her according to the law of *Moses*, and received by her spouse with much the same words. Some blessings were then pronounced to the new couple, both by the parents and company, and the virgins sung a kind of epithalamium to them. After the most sumptuous repast that their circumstances could afford, the company began a dance, the men round the

bridegroom, and the women round the bride. This dance is pretended to have been of divine institution, and an essential part of the nuptial ceremony.

But the main ceremony, which, according to the rabbies, did consummate the marriage, and made the bride a perfect woman, was her being introduced into the nuptial chamber. Without this, all the others left it still imperfect, but this completed it; tho' some *Levitical* impediment (13) should chance to hinder the consummation of it according to our sense of the word. But, before she was introduced thither, there were certain prayers and blessings to be said or sung by some proper persons in favour of the married couple. They were generally couched in very pious terms, such as these: *Blessed art thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, who hast created man in thine own likeness, and hast appointed the woman to be his partner and companion: Blessed art thou—who fillest Zion with joy, for the multitude of her children: Blessed art thou—who makest the barren womb to bear—who sendest gladness to the bridegroom and his bride—who hast ordained for them love, joy, tenderness, peace, and mutual affection—be pleased to bless, not only this couple, but Judah and Jerusalem with songs of joy and praise, for the joy that thou givest them by the multitude of their sons and daughters, &c.* They add, that the nuptial feast for a widow was to last but three days, and seven for a virgin; and that this last was so obligatory, that if a man married several wives in one day, or in the same week, he was to allow a feast of seven days to every one of them (14). We purposely omit many other ceremonies and injunctions of their wise men, which are superstitious and ridiculous; such as the situation of the nuptial bed; the choice of the proper hour for consummation, for coition at all other times, in order to beget a son or a daughter, and many others of the like nature (15), which they either learned from other nations, or forged out of their own astrological brains. As to that law of *Moses*, which interdicts the matrimonial commerce at certain periods, under such severe penalties (16), and which has been so scrupulously observed by them to this day, it is certain, that decency and cleanness were not the only reasons for it, seeing the heat of those climates would have made the breach of it very dangerous in several other respects, which are obvious to almost every reader.

(12) Vide Seld. Ux. Hebr. BERT. ex Talm. Babil. Buxton. Grammat. Chald. p. 383. GOODW. & al.

(13) Vide Levit. xx. 18.

(14) De his vide auct. sup. citat.

(15) Vide MUNT. in Gen. ii.

(16) Levit. ubi. sup.

THEIR plurality of wives was far from being either a charge or incumbrance a on them, considering their simple way of living. The domestick affairs were their province, whilst that of the husband was the business of the fields and vineyards. Dressing of victuals, the care of the children, spinning, carding, weaving, and the like, are often mentioned in the sacred books, as the womens occupation<sup>a</sup>; whilst their husbands chose the more laborious works. However, at the worst, *Moses* had indulged them with a remedy, namely, that of,

Divorce.

4. DIVORCE. This was permitted to the *Jews* for the hardness of their heart, as our Saviour justly observes<sup>a</sup>; neither do we find that it had ever been practised by any of the patriarchs (T), whatever it might have been by other nations. The words of the law, or rather permission runs thus<sup>b</sup>: "When a man hath b  
" taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass, that she find no favour in  
" his eyes, because he has found in her some uncleanness (V); then let him write  
" her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hand, and send her out of his  
" house. And when she is departed—she may go and be another man's wife;  
" and if her second husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorce—or if he  
" chance to die—her former husband shall not take her again to be his wife,  
" after she is defiled; for that is an abomination to the Lord.—" The question  
is here, what is meant by the words, *if he find any uncleanness, turpitude, or  
nakedness in her*? We have seen in the last note, how the *Jews* are divided in their  
opinion about it; the *Christians* are no less so; some confining it to adultery, and c  
others to all enormous crimes, such as idolatry, apostacy, and the like, which the  
scriptures often call fornication, and is the word made use of by our Saviour  
for adultery. For our part, we cannot believe any of these cases to be meant by  
the words of *Moses*, because, as these were all capital crimes, it would have been  
ridiculous to have ordained a divorce against those that were to be put to death.  
We rather think therefore that it meant some involuntary uncleanness, whether  
natural or contracted, which rendered her loathsome in his eyes, or unfit for the  
nuptial consorts; which *Christ* therefore discommends in the gospel, not only because  
it was become too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occasion<sup>c</sup>; but also  
to assure the people, that the marriage knot was not to be dissolved, upon any pre- d  
tence, except that of infidelity (W).

<sup>a</sup> Vide int. al. 1 Sam. ii. 19. 2 Sam. viii. 13. Prov. xxxi. 13, & seq. & alib. pass. <sup>b</sup> Matt. xix. 8.  
<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxiv. 1, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Vide Jos. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8, & lib. de vit. sua ad fin. & Paul. de  
special. leg. b. præc. 6, & 7.

(T) The *Jews* pretend, that *Abraham* divorced *Hagar*, and *Moses*, either *Ziphorah*, or *Tarbis*, the princess of *Ethiopia*, and that this was the reason of the quarrel which he had with *Aaron* and *Miriam* (17), and from thence conclude, that divorce was not only of earlier date; but that it was lawful upon many other accounts, besides that of adultery. But as to *Hagar*, whom they pretend to have been divorced for her intolerance; it is plain, first, that she was no wife, but a bond-woman, substitute to *Sarah*; and secondly, that her expulsion was not properly a divorce, because she was received again after the first fault, and that, at the second, it was her son's behaviour, and not her own, that sent her away (18). And as to the case of *Ziphorah*, and *Tarbis*, they are meer fictions, as we have shewn before<sup>†</sup>; so that we do not find one precedent of divorce before the law of *Moses*; but afterwards they became so frequent, that the prophets often upbraided the *Jews* with it (19); and *Solomon* doth as much condemn the divorce of a virtuous woman, as he doth the keeping of an adulterous one (20).

(V) As plain as the import of the text is, yet the famous *Hillel* has found out a way to evade it, in order to make divorce lawful, even upon the slightest fault, such as spoiling his meat in cooking; or, according to *Akkiba*, another of the same loose principles, if he finds another that pleases him

better, or is more handsome in his eyes. To make this out, they divide the text thus: 1. If she do not find favour in his sight. And 2. If he find in her *ערוה דבר*, *Harvath-dabar*, or as the *Septuagint* render it, *ἀνεκδοκία*, he may then divorce her. But the more virtuous school of his co-rival *Shammai*, justly condemns such a perverse reading, tho' he confines this case of turpitude, which *Moses* assigns as the ground of the husband's dislike, to the case of unchastity; whereas that of *Hillel* extends it to all that he may dislike in her (21). This last has been most followed by the *Jews*, and sufficiently condemned by *Christ* (22).

(W) We may add, that the words (being *ערוה דבר*, *Harvath-dabar*, and not *ערוה דבר*, *Debar-harvath*, which last doth only signify the case of turpitude) may be more properly rendered, for any turpitude or immodesty of words, discourse, or even behaviour. So that this indulgence might have been designed to deter the wanton sort of wives from such immodest speeches or behaviour, as might be apt to disgust a sober husband; and to inspire them with such chaste deportment, as could alone preserve a true conjugal affection. According to this sense also, our Saviour's reflection will be very just; that it was their indocile temper that extorted such an indulgence from *Moses*, which was manifestly contrary to the original design and institution of marriage.

(17) *Targ.* ONKEL. & Hieros. & Rabbin. mult. in Num. xii. 1, & seq. (18) *Corf. Gen.* xxi. 1, & seq. & xxi. 9, & seq. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 480. (O). & p. 489. (Y). (19) *Mic.* ii. 9. *Malach.* ii. 14, & seq. (20) Vide *Mishn.* c. 9. § 10. *SELD.* *Ux. Hebr. lib.* iii. c. 18, & 20. (21) Vide *Gloss.* BARGENOR, הלכה בית הילל (22) *Matt.* v. 32, & alib.



- a** ONE thing which shews, that the nuptial breach was not thought the ground of a divorcement in *David's* time, is, that that monarch did not repudiate those concubines, or wives of the second rank, whom his son *Abshalom* had publicly debauched; but contented himself with shutting them up for life<sup>a</sup>; and that the *Levite* did not divorce his concubine-wife, as the text calls her, after she had played the harlot, and was run away from him; but went to seek and bring her home again<sup>b</sup>. The same may be said of *Sampson*, who went and demanded his wife, after she had been given to another man<sup>c</sup>. To this we may add, that we do not find any instances through the whole Old Testament, of men divorcing their wives, either upon this or any other account, except those who put away the strange women they had brought with them from the captivity<sup>d</sup>. However that be, 'tis plain the *Jews* have understood it in another and more lax sense. The form of the bill of divorce was to this effect: *Such a day, month, and year, I such a one, of such a place, upon or near such a river, do of my own free consent and choice repudiate thee, such a one, my late wife, banish thee from me, and restore thee to thy own liberty, and thou mayest henceforth go whither, and marry whom thou wilt; and this is thy bill of divorcement, and writing of expulsion, according to the law of Moses and Israel. Signed by two witnesses; and delivered in the presence of as many at least<sup>e</sup>. From this time the wife was as much at her liberty as if she had been a widow; only in both cases she was obliged to stay at least ninety days before she was married to another, lest she should prove pregnant by the last (X).*

### Laws against theft.

**U**NDER this head we shall include, not only those which are against taking *Theft*. away another man's property, whether privately, or by open force; but also against every act of fraud and injustice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind. 1. As to theft, we have already observed, that the *Jews* understood the words in the decalogue, *Thou shalt not steal*<sup>a</sup>, of men-stealing, and thought that the other sort of theft was implied in the last precept, *Thou shalt not covet*<sup>b</sup>. But we shall include them under the same head.

- d** THE stealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of *Moses* (Y); and whether the stolen persons had been sold, or were still in the possession of the thief, he was to be put to death<sup>c</sup>. All other theft was punished by restitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature of the theft; only the man, that broke into a house in the night to rob, might be impunely killed, though not in the day time<sup>d</sup>. He that stole an ox was to restore five oxen; if a sheep or a goat, four sheep or four goats<sup>e</sup>; but if he had neither killed nor sold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one<sup>f</sup>.

In

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xx. 3. <sup>b</sup> Judg. xix. 1, & seq. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xv. 1, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ezr. x. pass. Nehem. xiii. 23, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Vide Mos. KOTZ, fol. 133. & Mos. Egypt. pt. ii. fol. 59. SELB. BuxT. & Goodw. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> Exod. xx. 15. <sup>g</sup> Vide sup. p. 516. sub fin. (X). <sup>h</sup> Exod. xxi. 16. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. xxii. 2. <sup>j</sup> Ibid. ver. 1. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. ver. 4.

(X) Touching the controversy, whether women might likewise divorce their husbands, upon the same grounds that they might be divorced by them, we can only say, that we do not find any such indulgence granted to them by *Moses*, unless in the case of a virgin betrothed by her parents before she was twelve years of age, who might then refuse to ratify the contract which her parents had made, without giving any other reason, than that she did not like the person designed for her; but this cannot be called a divorcement, because there is no marriage in the case. *Josephus* therefore thinks, that a divorce was so far from being permitted to women, that, if the husband forsook his wife, it was not lawful for her to marry another, till she had first obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that

*Salome*, sister to *Herod the great*, was the first who took upon her to repudiate her husband, whose example was soon followed by others, mentioned by the same author (23).

We omit several very prudent regulations made by the *Talmudists*, relating to the drawing up of these bills of divorcement, to prevent, as much as possible, all abuses, forgeries, and counterfeits, such as the kind of parchment, letter, and ink, which were to be used, how many letters, to each line, and the like, besides a great many other formalities, examinations, and enquiries, designed on purpose to draw the matter to such a length, that the parties might have time to cool, and, if possible, to be reconciled.

(Y) The *Jews*, however, confine it to the stealing of

(23) *Ant. lib. xv. c. 11. xviii. 7. xx. 15, & in vit. sua.*



In case the thief had not wherewith to make satisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the prosecutor, if he was an *Israelite*, to sell him, but not if he was a proselyte of any kind, neither could the former sell him to any but to an *Israelite*. If he had a wife and children, they might likewise be sold with him, till satisfaction was made to the offended; at least it seems to have been so understood and practised by the *Jews* in cases of debt, though *Moses* mentions none here but the thief. This may be gathered from the words of the prophet *Elisba* <sup>b</sup> to the widow; and from the parable in the gospel, where the creditor commands the wife and children, as well as the insolvent debtor, to be sold, and payment to be made <sup>c</sup>. As soon as a sufficient equivalent had been made by servitude, they were to be restored to their freedom again, though by another law <sup>d</sup> (Z): but if the thief was unmarried, and his master gave him a wife during the time of his servitude, the children that he had by her were his master's property; he could not demand them from him. From this law they hammered another more inhuman, in order to shorten a married man's servitude, by allowing him to beget a number of slaves, for the benefit of his creditor, upon some woman whom his master gave him; with this pretended proviso, however, that he should not deprive his own wife of the nuptial due, or that she should consent to forego it, and that only one maid-servant should be conjoined to one such man, not two or more. In cases of petty larcenies the laws seem still more indulgent, and the crime was not looked upon as infamous, according to that of *Solomon*, *A thief is not despised that stealeth to satisfy his hunger; but if he be found, he shall restore sevenfold, he shall give all the substance of his house* <sup>e</sup>; where the word *sevenfold* means only more or less, according to the theft, as far as his whole substance would reach. It is plain however that the law of *Moses* was far enough from countenancing such kind of theft; since it allowed a man, in cases of extreme want, to sell himself to some master for any term of years, even to that of the *Jubilee* <sup>f</sup>. He was even permitted to sell an unmarried daughter, upon condition, either that the buyer should marry her, or if he did not, that she should be redeemed by the highest bidder that would <sup>g</sup>.

WHEN a man was suspected of theft, and the prosecutor had not sufficient proof against him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him and those, whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they swore <sup>d</sup> themselves off, and could be afterwards proved forsworn, they were to be put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The same law reached also to the receiver, or concealer of stolen goods, knowing them to be such <sup>h</sup>: that is, if he was found out, he was fined as the thief, two, four, or fivefold; and being

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings iv. 1.    <sup>c</sup> Matt. xviii. 25.    <sup>d</sup> Levit. xxi. 3.    <sup>e</sup> Prov. xxix. 34.    <sup>f</sup> Levit. xiv. 30.    <sup>g</sup> Exod. xxi. 7, & seq.    <sup>h</sup> Levit. v. 1.

of an *Israelite*, and not without some ground, because *Moses* in another place (24) expresses it, *if a man be found stealing any of his brethren, of the children of Israel*, which exception the *Targum of Onkelos* (25) and *Septuagint* have added also to the text in *Exodus*. *Aben Ezra* doth even understand it of children that cannot speak. As for the stealing of strangers, the offender was not to be put to death according to them, but only to make restitution.

(Z) The *Talmudists* have made several exceptions to this law: They say, for instance, that the thief, that was sold as insolvent, was not bound to serve till he had repayed the four or fivefold, but only the equivalent of his theft. The overplus was remitted till he was in circumstances to pay it. Neither could he be sold, according to them, unless the theft was of greater value than the thief. Thus, if the latter was judged worth fifty shekels, and the theft not above forty, it was not in the plaintiff's power to sell him. A woman likewise that was guilty of theft, they pretend, could not be sold, but yet

they do not tell us what punishment was inflicted on her in case of insolvency (26).

There are, however, some texts of scripture, which seem to imply a further punishment than these we have mentioned. *Jacob* tells *Laban*, that upon whomsoever his stolen gods were found, he should be put to death (27); and *Solomon* says, that he, who is a partner with a thief, hates his own soul or life (28). This made *Eftius* of opinion, that they were whipped at the second, and put to death after the third offence. But as to the first text, it being before the law of *Moses*, it is supposed by the rabbies, that theft was capital by the laws of *Noah*, and the punishment exchanged for a milder by *Moses*. As to the other, the most that can be made of the words is, that he is in danger of being killed if he steals with them in the night, or else of being tempted to forswear himself, if he should be examined upon oath, in which case, if he be found out, he will be put to death. So that, from the tenor of *Moses's* law, it is plain, no theft but that of men was punished with death.

(24) *Deut.* xxiiv. 7.    (25) *In Exod.* xxi. 16.    (26) *Ita Rabbin. fir omni.*    (27) *Gen.* xxxi. 31.    (28) *Prov.* xxix. 24.

examined

- a examined upon suspicion, he denied his having the goods upon oath, he was put to death likewise: For so they understood the words, *he shall bear his iniquity*. All these kind of matters were to be tried before the judges of the place where the fact was done, and it was left to them in many cases to appoint the fines and punishments of the offender, according to the nature and circumstances of the fact: Only the *Jews* add, that if the thief came and accused himself, and restored the stolen goods, he was not to have any further punishment, because, say they, he was condemned not by the judges, but by himself<sup>1</sup>. *Moses* gave them also many other wholesome laws relating to things committed to another's care, or pledged for a time, such as cattle, household-goods, garments, and the like, in case they came to be lost or damaged while they remained in that party's custody; how far in such cases he was or was not obliged to make satisfaction<sup>2</sup>, which we shall not dwell upon. Only thus much we may add, that, in all cases where any satisfaction was made, the person wronged, or his next heir, was the only person intitled to it; but if he died without heirs, then the priests might claim it as their due. He likewise forbid not only the use of false weights and measures<sup>3</sup>, but also all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandising and all other dealings between man and man<sup>4</sup> (A). Even in bargains, the rule was, that, if the price was above one sixth part more or less than the true value of the thing sold, the party wronged might make the other refund the overplus.
- c All kind of usury, whether of money, grain, or of victual and apparel, was likewise forbid by the law of *Moses* in more places than one, from one *Israelite* to another; in which cases the usurer might be compelled by the judges to refund the ill-gotten wealth. They were commanded on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxed poor, to support and assist him with such things as he needed, without proposing to themselves any other advantage by so doing, than the blessing of God attending it<sup>5</sup>. But of strangers, that is, of the *Gentiles*, they were permitted to take some usury<sup>6</sup>; yet, so as not to oppress them by too great extortion, or, indeed, in any other way: For, in such cases, the stranger is put upon the same foot with the fatherless and the widow, whose protector God every where declares himself, with very severe threatenings against those who were wanting in kindness and hospitality towards them<sup>7</sup>. Oppressing of servants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining their wages, though but one night<sup>8</sup>, denying them necessary food and respite<sup>9</sup>; private mischiefs; such as misleading the blind, or even another's cattle<sup>10</sup>, removing of land-marks<sup>11</sup>; digging of pits, and leaving them uncovered<sup>12</sup>; and many more of the like nature, were likewise reckoned enormous crimes; which, if found out, were cognisable by the judges, who were empowered to cause suitable satisfaction to be made; if not, there were terrible curses denounced against the transgressors by God, from whose all-seeing eye they could not be concealed, and from whose justice they could not escape unpunished. Taking of such things in pledge from the needy, of which they stood in constant need, such as their garments, their bed-cloaths, the nether or upper millstone, and the like, was no less forbidden. The person so oppressed might appeal to the judge, and he cause them to be restored; but we do not find that any other punishment was ordained against the delinquent<sup>13</sup>. We omit several others of the same nature, which the reader may see among their negative precepts<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Maim. Tract Genubah. lib. i. ex. Exod. xxii. 9. <sup>2</sup> Exod. xxii. 5, & seq. <sup>3</sup> Deut. xxv. 13, & seq. <sup>4</sup> Levit. xix. 11. xxv. 14, & alib. <sup>5</sup> Exod. xxii. 25, & seq. Lev. xxv. 36, & seq. Deut. xxiii. 19. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. ver. 20. <sup>7</sup> Exod. xxii. 21. xxxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, & seq. & alib. <sup>8</sup> Levit. xix. 15. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. <sup>9</sup> Ibid. v. 14. xxv. 4. <sup>10</sup> Levit. xix. 14. <sup>11</sup> Deut. xix. 14. <sup>12</sup> Exod. xxi. 33. <sup>13</sup> Deut. xxiv. 10. vi. 10, & seq. <sup>14</sup> Vide præc. 150, ad 196, & alib. pass.

(A) Here the *Jews*, from a particular fondness for their own nation, make a great difference between the strict justice which was due to an *Israelite*, and to a *Gentile*, as well as the punishment inflicted on either side for the breach of it (29). But the more honest part of them, founding the interdicti-

on of fraud and injustice on the law of nature, affirmed, that a *Gentile* ought not in any case to be defrauded or over-reached in negotiations, &c. because, with respect to civil society, he was to be accounted a neighbour, though not with respect to the privileges peculiar to the *Israelites* (30).

(29) Vide Gemar. Babyl. Tract. Sanbedr. מאמ. גזילה ואבירה and גזובה  
sup. lib. vi. c. 5. & al.

(30) Vide Salm. ubi

*Laws against false witness.*

*False witness.* **T**HE foundation of them is in that of the decalogue, *thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour*<sup>a</sup>; wherein we shall only observe, that the word, which our versions render *peak*, signifies, according to the original, to answer to an interrogation, such as the judges exacted from persons summoned to give evidence in any cases that came before them, either by oath, or bare examination. The judges were bound to abide by the testimony of two or three witnesses, especially in capital cases, a single one not being sufficient to condemn any man<sup>b</sup>. To deter men therefore, as much as possible, from giving false evidence, the law condemned a false witness to the same punishment which he would have inflicted on the innocent<sup>c</sup>; and if examined upon oath, and proved forsworn, he was to be put to death, as was hinted before, let the case in question be what it would. It required besides of the judges, that they should be very strict in examining the witnesses<sup>b</sup> (B), their character, and the nature of the evidence, in order to prevent, as far as possible, the guilty being acquitted, or the innocent being condemned. The *Talmudists* have collected several laws relating to the duty of judges, which lie dispersed in the writings of *Moses*, and added several very judicious expositions, for which we shall refer the reader to the authors themselves<sup>c</sup>.

*Laws against coveting another's property.*

**T**HE tenth precept of the decalogue, *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, wife, and so on*<sup>d</sup>, is justly esteemed by the *Jewish* doctors the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the second table, and he, that observes this, is in no danger of breaking the rest. Whether the ancient *Jews* understood it in that strict and refined sense which the gospel doth, or only of such overt acts as tended to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not easy to determine. The *Talmudists*, however, do condemn by it the very desire formed and indulged in the heart, tho' it doth not proceed to action<sup>e</sup>.

*An abridgment of some other mixt laws relating to food, raiment, planting, sowing, decency and cleanness, and of such diseases as excluded men from common society.*

*A man eating of blood.* **O**F all the food that is forbidden by the *Mosaic* law, blood may be reckoned in the first place, because its prohibition was as old as the deluge<sup>f</sup>; when God having, immediately after it, given *Noah* the liberty of eating the flesh of animals, as is most generally supposed<sup>†</sup>, forbade the eating not only the blood itself, but the flesh also mixed with it, that is, of any animal, either strangled or killed by any other way than by drawing the blood thoroughly from it (C), under very severe threatenings. Accordingly we find it no less expressly forbidden by *Moses* in several

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2. Deut. v. 20. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. xvii. 1. <sup>c</sup> Deut. xix. 15, 16, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 18. <sup>e</sup> Tract. Sanhedr. Maim. in eund. prac. neg. 104, ad 218. <sup>f</sup> Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21. <sup>g</sup> Vide prac. neg. 158. <sup>h</sup> Gen. ix. 4, & seq. <sup>i</sup> Vide sup. p. 108. c.

(B) The *Jews* excepted several persons from being witnesses, from a text in *Exodus* (31), namely, persons under age; those who had committed any misdemeanour which deserved whipping, thieves, extortioners, and such like (32).

(C) The reason given in the text is, that blood is the life of the animal; by which is meant, that no animal can live without it. But it is not improbable, that the end and design of this prohibition was, that it might be a kind of acknowledgement, that our privilege for killing, and eating the flesh of those living creatures, is not derived to us

from the law of nature, which seems rather to be against it, but from an express permission from the author of nature. And this seems to be the reason why it was not only enforced by the *Mosaic* law, but also retained by the gospel, and enjoined to its proselytes from *Gentilism* (33). This law, we are told by a modern traveller (34), is still strictly observed by some eastern churches, nor, as our author says, by virtue of the law of *Moses*, but of the apostolic canon, which has been kept ever since by the eastern, and for several ages by the western church, and confirmed by several councils from time to time.

(31) Ch. xxiii. 1. (32) Prac. neg. 214. *Atbiop. lib. iii. c. 1. num. 51.*

(33) *Vide Acts xv. 29.* (34) *LUDOLPH. Hist.*

- a places, not only to the *Israelites*, but to the strangers that lived among them<sup>a</sup>; even under pain of death. God seems even to put it on the level with sacrificing one's seed to *Moloch*, when he threatens to *set his face against him that transgresses* in either case, which expression is not used in any other prohibition. Only, under this typical dispensation, God is pleased to give a new reason for this interdiction, namely, that it is the blood (which is also the life) of the victim, that makes atonement for sin<sup>b</sup> (D); pursuant to which, the tabernacle, with all its utensils, were at first purified with it, the covenant between God and the people was ratified with it, and without blood there could be no remission for sin<sup>c</sup>; all which the apostle fitly applies to that of *Christ* under the gospel<sup>d</sup>.
- b NEXT to the blood, was forbidden likewise the flesh of a considerable number *Unclean meats*. of beasts, fowls, fishes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This distinction, however, of clean and unclean, can hardly be supposed to have its origin from the *Mosaic* law, and to have been used proleptically, when the divine historian mentions it even before the flood<sup>e</sup>: But we shall not repeat what has been said on that subject in another place<sup>f</sup>; neither shall we enter into a nice scrutiny about those animals thus forbidden, but refer the curious reader to the learned *Buchari*'s elaborate treatise on that subject<sup>g</sup>, and mention only the general rule which *Moses* has given to distinguish the clean from the unclean<sup>h</sup>.
- c OF beasts, whatever did both chew the cud and divide the hoof was to be reckoned clean, and whatever did not both these, as the swine, which divideth the hoof, but doth not chew the cud; or the camel, hare, rabbit, which chew the cud and do not part the hoof, was forbidden as unclean. Of fowl, all carnivorous birds, such as the eagle, vulture, and the like; all that had four feet and yet flew, as the bat. Of fishes, all that had fins and scales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of insects, all that had wings to raise itself from the earth might be eaten, but whatever did only crawl on the earth was unclean. Lastly, the fat of the clean beasts was forbidden, not because it was unclean, much less because it is hard of digestion, which is the reason which some authors give for this and blood, and swine's, and other flesh, being also forbid, seeing their laborious life
- d and healthy constitution made them more capable to digest them, than many among ours and other nations, who lead an indolent life, and yet can eat them all without any inconvenience. But the reason is given in the text, namely, because, in all sacrifices, the fat was to be burnt upon the altar, as appertaining unto God<sup>i</sup> (E). The flesh

<sup>a</sup> Levit. xvii. 10, & seq. Deut. xii. 23, & seq. <sup>b</sup> Levit. ubi sup. ver. 11. <sup>c</sup> Heb. ix. 22, & alib. pass. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 13, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Gen. vii. 2. <sup>f</sup> Sup. p. 108. <sup>g</sup> Hierosolic. pass. <sup>h</sup> Levit. xi. 1, & seq. <sup>i</sup> Vide Levit. iii. 14, & seq.

(D) The learned *Maimon*, not thinking these reasons sufficient, has fetched the origin of this prohibition from his old fountain of opposition to the *Sabians*, *Amorites*, and the other idolatrous nations, who, fancying blood to be the favourite food of *Demons*, contented themselves with the flesh of beasts, and poured their blood into a vessel, or a hole made in the ground, then, setting and feasting round it, imagined that those *Demons* would come and take their share of the feast. From this familiar conversation with their gods, they hoped to procure still a nearer intercourse with them in their dreams, by which they should gain an insight into futurity: So that, according to him, and those that have followed him (35), the main end of this prohibition was to prevent the worship of those demons. We need not to take notice how much more effectual the contrary method, that is, the allowing them to eat blood, would have been to have kept them from it; all that we shall observe here is, that, supposing this superstitious custom and notion to have been as old as *Moses*, it doth not appear to have been as old as the flood, or that any that came out of the ark were addicted to it, and yet it is to them, that

this prohibition was first made, if *Moses* may be believed; and who knows how far it might in time contribute to this wild notion of the *Sabians* and *Amorites*, by making them fancy, that there was something so sacred in the blood of animals, that it was fit only for the gods?

(E) *Josephus*, however, and the generality of the *Jews* understand this, not of the fat of all clean beasts, but only of oxen, sheep, and goats, and this is not only conformable to what is laid in another place (36); but as these three creatures were the only ones that were sacrificed to God, the design of the prohibition, mentioned above, seems naturally to confine it to them only. What seems to confirm, that the fat of other clean beasts was permitted, is what *Moses* says elsewhere, that *the fat of a beast that dieth of itself, or is torn to death, may be put to any other use, but must not be eaten in any case* (37); which seems to imply, that that of those, which were duly killed, might be lawfully eaten. Neither is it reasonable to suppose, that this prohibition extended to all the fat, for in such a case, a scrupulous *Jew* would scarce have found one bit in the whole beast that could be safely eaten; but only to that

(35) *More Nusch*, p. 3. c. 46. SPENC. de Leg. Ritual. GREGOR. in Oper. Post. vide CARLET. Concord. pt. 2. c. 11. (36) Levit. vii. 23. (37) Ibid. ver. 24.

flesh of beasts torn in pieces, or that died of themselves, was likewise forbidden <sup>a</sup>. All that needs to be further added, with respect to unclean animals, is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcases was; inasmuch, that even the vessels and liquors, into which it fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away, the vessels, whatever they were, must be purified, and the person who touched them was to wash himself, and be unclean until evening. A well, however a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, were not defiled by it, but only the person who took the unclean creature out of them <sup>s</sup>.

*Raiment.*

RAIMENT. *Moses* has left no positive laws relating to dress, except that which belonged to the priests, of which we have spoken elsewhere, and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments, for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of God <sup>r</sup>. As to those of the negative kind, the two most considerable are, those which forbid the promiscuous habit of both sexes <sup>s</sup>, and the weaving of two different stuffs, such as linnen and woollen, in the same garment <sup>t</sup>; the first is supposed to have been designed to prevent the shameful abuses which might attend such unnatural disguises (F), and the second to prevent confusion. To the same purpose are those which relate to sowing divers seeds, or planting divers kind of trees in the same field; or forbid to plow with a mixture of cattle, such as an ox and an ass <sup>u</sup>. Cleanness and decency, tho' so necessary in hot climes, that there needs hardly any law to enforce them, are yet enjoined by *Moses* under severe penalties, as well as the neglect of those proper ceremonies, which he had enjoined to those who had laboured under any defilement, in order to their purification. We have already spoken of this latter under another head, and shall only mention the chief of the former; they were such as forbid all matrimonial commerce for a certain time after child-birth, during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakness of that kind; in men, nocturnal pollutions, running sores, ulcers, gonorrhœas, and such like; whatever was touched by any person so defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utensil, was also to be deemed unclean, and to defile those that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law. In both sexes likewise, the touching of a dead body, carcass, or any unclean thing, had the same effect. But, of all diseases, the leprosy (G) was reckoned the most defiling, for which reason, those, who were infected with it, were forced to live separate from

*Cleannefs.*

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxii. 31. Levit. xvii. 15. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. xi. 32, & seq. <sup>s</sup> Num. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xxii. 12. <sup>t</sup> Ibid. ver. 5. <sup>u</sup> Ibid. ver. 11. <sup>v</sup> Ibid. ix. 10.

that which is separated from the flesh, such as that which covers the kidneys, and the bowels, the caul, &c. After all, we much doubt whether even the interdiction of this last extended farther than to that of victims offered to God. This seems at least probable, from what follows after the forbidding to eat the fat of either ox, sheep, or goat, where *Moses* adds, *whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer a burnt-offering unto the Lord—shall be cut off—* (38).

(†) Interpreters fall into various other conjectures about the reason of this prohibition. Some think that *Moses* had an eye to some *Heathenish* ceremonies, used at particular festivals, in which the people dressed themselves in the habits of the contrary sex; such were, for instance, the *Bacchanalia*, and the feasts of *Mars* and *Venus*. Such were also those of the moon, and of the *Cyprian* goddess, which the men celebrated in women's habits, and the women in those of men (39). Some have thought that he meant to conceal, under that prohibition, an unnatural crime which he was afraid to acquaint the people with, by calling it by its name, because he adds, that *such disguises are an abomination to God* (40); but yet it is plain, that he forbade sodo-

my and bestiality in as plain terms, as those crimes could be couched in, and what other more abominable than these could be implied by it, we cannot guess. Lastly, a far more considerable number after *Josephus* understand it, not of an exchange of dress, but of occupations; that is, that the women should not play the *Amazon*, or handle the sword and spear, which do properly belong to men; and that these, on the contrary, should not busy themselves with such occupations as were fitter for women (41). The terms of the original, upon which they build this notion, run literally thus: *The Kele, by which they understand, weapons of a man, shall not be upon a woman, and the man shall not put on the habit of a woman*. But though *Kele* doth sometimes signify weapons, and, in its primitive sense, any kind of vessels and instruments used in any business whatsoever, yet since it doth sometimes signify dress, and the ornaments of it, who doth not see that the latter is an explication of the former, and consequently, that it is levelled against the promiscuous dress of sexes?

(G) *Moses* distinguishes three sorts of leprosy, namely, that of the body, garments, and of houses. The first of these is a cuticular disease, not unlike an invete-

(38) Levit. vii. 25. *Vide præc. neg.* 138. (39) LUCIAN. MAIMON. JUL. FIRMIC. SERVIUS, & al. (40) ALBERIC. GENT. apud CALM. sub voc. *Habit.* (41) JOSEPH. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. Chald. Paraph. AUGUST. Quæst. 32. N. DE LYRA VATAB. FAG. MUNST. TREMEL. & al.

- a from the rest, till they had been cured of it; monarchs themselves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the instance of king *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, as he is called in the *Chronicles*, who being smitten with that distemper, for intruding into the priestly office<sup>\*</sup>, was smitten with an incurable leprosy, deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And indeed one kind of it was of so infectious a nature, that too much caution could not be used to prevent its spreading; inasmuch, that even those that died of it were buried separately from the rest<sup>†</sup> (H); as for the other, namely, the dry one, it was rather an eye-sore than an infectious disease. The priests were the proper judges both of the disease and of the cure; concerning which *Moses* gave them several plain directions, tho' we find not that he prescribed any remedy against it; because, as the *Jews* think, it was an immediate judgment from God<sup>‡</sup>. The same they affirm also of the leprosy of houses and garments; which they pretend was peculiar to the *Israelites*, and to the land of *Judea*<sup>§</sup>, because God had promised to them, that, whilst they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houses, and garments should be preserved from that disease; but, when they proved stubborn and rebellious, he would send it as a punishment upon them<sup>||</sup>.

WHEN the priest had pronounced a man infected with leprosy, he was not only secluded from the society of clean persons, but he was obliged to go bare-headed, with his cloaths rent, and his upper lip covered with a kind of muffer, to prevent, in all likelihood, his infecting others by his death. But one may reasonably suppose, that they had places in which they lived together, and made a kind of community among themselves. Accordingly we read of four of

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xv. 5, & 2 Chron. xxvi. 8, & seq. <sup>†</sup> Ibid. ver. ult. <sup>‡</sup> It. Rabbin. fer omn. & THEODOR. Quæst. 18. in Levit. <sup>§</sup> MOS. GERUND. RACANAT. ABR. SEPHARAD. & al. <sup>||</sup> Vide MUNST. in Levit. xiii. note (i).

inveterate itch or scurvy, which causes a violent itching, and whether caused by some prolific animalcula communicated by the touch, or by corrosive vitrioline salts (tho' the former seems the most probable) will in time corrode the flesh, even to the bone. We shall not disgust our readers with repeating the marks which he gives of that distemper (42); nor with what other physicians have writ concerning it; but only observe, that it was of a much more corrosive and dangerous nature in hot climates, than in cold ones. They observe three kinds, or rather degrees of it. The first of these, namely, whilst it is, as it were, in its infancy, may be easily cured: The second, when it has communicated itself to the blood, cannot be mastered without great difficulty, and a long regimen of diet and physic: The last, which is when it is grown inveterate, and has fixed itself, and corroded the solid parts, is reckoned incurable. However, Monsieur *Tournefort*, who had seen it in the *Levant*, thinks it rather a kind of venereal disease, and that, if taken in time, it might be cured by the same method. And, indeed, the symptoms of this, of the leprosy, and of an inveterate scurvy, are so alike, that unless a physician be very expert and cautious, he may easily condemn the innocent, and absolve the guilty. But be that as it will, it is certain, that this leprosy must have been sufficiently known by the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, since *Moses* speaks both of the disease and its marks, as of things which were plain and obvious.

The leprosy of the garments is supposed to have been owing to some defect in the management of the wool, skins, and stuffs, of which they were made; those manufactures being then very imperfect, to what they have been since. The heat of the climate, and perhaps many other things might contribute still more towards it. *Moses* has likewise described the marks of this kind of leprosy: They were spots either of a reddish or greenish hue, which

appeared upon the garments, whether of linnen, woollen, or of skins. In these cases they were to be brought to the priests, and, according as they appeared to them, they were either to be burnt, or to be washed and cleaned, or the spots to be cut out, and the rest declared clean and wholesome. This garment leprosy is likewise supposed to be a kind of worm which breeds in those stuffs, occasioned by the oils, grease, and other ingredients used in the dressing of them.

The same may be said of the leprosy of houses; in the mortar and stones of which, another sort of vermin was bred, which had four jaws continually working, and eating holes in them. This was one of the tokens of its being infected; there were some others besides, which were a kind of rust or scurf, that spread itself along the walls. In all these cases, the priests were directed to shut the house up for a week, and it is probable, they made some kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it, else we cannot see how the bare shutting it up could contribute to the cure. If, upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean; if not, they caused them to be scraped off every where, and the house to be shut up another seven days; and if that did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demolished, and such materials of it only to be preserved, as were free from the infection, in order to build it up in some other place (43).

(H) At least, this seems to have been the meaning of the text, though the words in the original are not so clear and express. It would otherwise have been needless to have added that reason, *because he was a leper*: So that one may reasonably suppose, with the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, that they buried him in some corner of the ground where his ancestors were deposited, though apart from the rest.

(42) Vide Levit. xiii. per tot. (43) Ibid. ver. 47. & seq. & xiv. per tot. Vide *Journal des Savants*, ann. 1668. CALMET, *Dissert. præf. x.* at the head of his Comment on Levit.



them that went together out of some quarter of *Samaria* into the *Assyrian* camp, ■ when the famine raged in the city<sup>b</sup>; and of ten in the gospel, who applied themselves in a body to *Christ*, to be healed by him<sup>c</sup>. Persons, garments, and houses, being cured of this distemper, were to be further purified by the priest. We have already spoken of the sacrifices which were to be offered upon this occasion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies which were enjoined by *Moses*, we shall refer our reader to the two afore-quoted chapters of *Leviticus*, where, if he pleases, he may see a full account of them.

BUT here we shall beg leave to mention a story which *Manetho*, and several other *Heathen* writers after him<sup>d</sup>, have advanced, with great appearance of seriousness, against the *Jews*; and which, though every one of them tells in his own way, doth in the main amount to this: That the land of *Egypt* being grievously infected with the leprosy, and the king, *Bochorus*, having consulted the oracle, was advised to send all the lepers out of his dominions into a desert place, where they might perish with want. This was accordingly done, and they being come to the desolate place, *Moses* observed, by tracing the footsteps of a wild ass, a spot, where they might dig for water to refresh their thirst, and they, being revived with it, chose him for their guide, and were by him conducted and settled in *Canaan* in the space of seven days; in memory of which, he ordered the seventh day to be a day of rest, and forbade the eating of swine's flesh, because that creature is very subject to the leprosy. They add, that, in memory of their kind benefactor, the ass who saved their lives, he commanded an ass's head to be set up and worshipped in their temple. This story, which is false in every particular, is likewise ridiculous, and as such sufficiently confuted by *Josephus*; and the care which *Moses* took, with respect to this distemper, sufficiently shews, that, at least, the far greater part of the *Israelites* were free from it at their coming out of *Egypt*, else it would have been impossible to have segregated them from the rest, and to have forced these laws upon them, which excluded them from the commerce of those who were free from it. c

THIS body of laws, out of which we have omitted a considerable number d of less moment, besides several others, which we have avoided repeating here, because they have been occasionally mentioned in other places, is not only secured by a clause which expressly forbids the adding, or diminishing any thing from it<sup>e</sup>; but their obedience to them is likewise enforced by the most cogent promises and threatenings, interspersed through the whole, besides a strict charge to the *Levites* to instruct the people, and parents their children in it; though all too little to keep them to their duty.

## II. Of the customs, learning, arts, and trade of the Jews.

Ceremonies at  
circumcision.

THEIR customs, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon e their laws, and the greatest part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we shall have the less to say here, especially considering the barrenness of the subject, for want of books and authors of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be gathered concerning their customs at weddings and festivals; we shall say now something of those that were used at births, and feasts; to which we shall add a short account of some of their abominable practices at their high-places, groves, and others places of idolatrous worship; of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies used at burials. It may be remembered, that circum- f cision was not enjoined by the *Mosaic* law, but by virtue of the express command given to *Abraham*. But neither that nor this hath ordained any thing, either with respect to the person by whom, nor with what instrument, nor in what manner the ceremony was to be performed, but only that the foreskin should be cut off on the eighth day. So that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himself, or to have some other person, whether a priest, surgeon, or any expert friend to do it for him. And in this last case, it was always looked upon as a high compliment to be chosen to that office. The instrument was generally a knife or razor made of some kind of stone, as being

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings vii. 3, 8.    <sup>c</sup> Luke xvii. 12.    <sup>d</sup> MANETH. ap. JOSEPH. cont. APION. TACIT. JUST. ex TROG. PLUTARCH. & al.    <sup>e</sup> Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32.

- a less dangerous than those of steel †; the use of which they might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who opened those bodies with them, which were to be embalmed. They were not obliged to carry the child to the synagogue, much less to the temple, but had him circumcised at home. Here the father, or some friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilst the operator took the prepuce either with one hand, or with pincers made for the nonce, and with the other cut off the fore-skin, whilst another held a porringer filled with sand, for him to fling it in, and to receive the blood that dropped. He then applied his mouth to the place, and having sucked the blood, which generally flowed plentifully, twice or thrice, and spit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw some stiptic powder upon the wound, and
- b dressed it till it was well. As for the form of words that were used upon such occasions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we have had occasion to mention it under a former article \*, to which they added, no doubt, some prayers and blessings. At present, the operator, having dressed the wound, puts the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing these words of the prophet, *live in thy blood* †, repeats the 128th psalm, and wishes his parents joy, and that they may thus assist at his wedding \*. But, how old these customs are, we cannot warrant; all that can be added is, that this ceremony was usually accompanied with great rejoicing and feasting, and it was at that time that the child used to be named by the parents, in the presence of the company † (1). These names, how harsh soever they may sound in
- c our ears, were generally significant of something relating to the parents, or the child, or to some other circumstances of time. We have already given some instances of it in those of the patriarchs. The devouter part used to tack the names of God *Jab* and *El* to that of the child; thus, *Abijab* signifies God my father, and *Zechariah* the memorial of the Lord: *Uzziel* and *Daniel*, the strength or judgment of God. Some had a quite different meaning, as *Ishbosheth*, the man of shame; *Mephibosheth*, shame of the mouth. Others were taken from living creatures; *Tzipor*, a bird; *Rachel*, a sheep; *Chamor*, an ass; *Nachash*, a serpent; *Tamar*, a palm-tree, and the like; and *Eli*'s daughter-in-law called her son *Iscabod*, *where is the glory*, when she heard that the ark was taken by the *Philistines* †††. As for daughters, as they were not
- d circumcised, so there was no other ceremony used, that we can find, than giving them a name, unless it were, that, when the mother was purified, the priests did bestow a blessing upon the child, as well as upon the parents, as it is used to this day †.

THEIR feasting (if we except those that were commanded or permitted by *At their feast.* the law, or used at births, marriages, and such like occasions (K), were neither

† Vide sup. p. 554. d. HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 86. \* Vide sup. p. 490. (A). † Ezek. xvi. 6. \* De his vide FAG. in Deut. x. Mos. KOTZ, in Tract. de Circumcis. fol. 115. MATM. Tract. Circumcis. c. 1, & 2. BUXTORF. Syn. Jud. c. 4, & alib. QUANDT. de Cultris Circumcis. Hæbr. † Luke i. 49. ††† 1 Sam. iv. 21. † LEO DE MODEN. Cerem. Jud. pt. iv. c. 8. GOODWIN'S Mos. & Aar. lib. vi. c. 1.

(1) The Jews did afterwards add several other superstitious customs, such as placing three stools, one for the circumciser, the second for the person that held the child, and the third for *Elijah*, who they say, assisted invisibly at the ceremony (44); writing the words *Adam* and *Eur*; *Lillith*, *be gone hence*, upon pieces of parchment, and sticking them to the four walls of the room, as also the names of three friendly angels, to preserve the child from the power of *Lillith*, who, according to them, was *Adam*'s first wife, and, being parted from him, used to vent her spleen against women in child-birth, and new-born children, especially males (45). They had likewise taken it into their heads to circumcise children after their death, if they had not been so before, in order to avoid the curse pronounced against those that neglected it, and which had like to have fallen upon *Moses* at the inn (46); but they content themselves now with cutting off the prepuce, and flinging it into the coffin or grave with the body. But these the wiser sort among them have long since disused, as ridiculous and superstitious. The custom of godfathers, or, as they call them ברית בעל, *Babal-berith*, master of the convent, has been of ancient use (47); his office was to hold the child,

during the operation. They think that *Uriah* the high-priest, and *Zechariah*, the son of *Jeherechiah*, stood godfathers to *Isaiah*'s son *Maber-shallal-bash-bash* (48). As for the operation, *Maimon* (49) tells us, that all had a right to it, even an uncircumcised servant, or a woman, &c. in the absence of a man, unless she be a *Gentile*; though, even if such a one should perform the operation, it needs not to be repeated. And *Moses Kotz* adds out of the *Talmud*, that, in case the parents neglected to circumcise their children, the judges, as soon as they were informed of it, were bound to see it done; which if they did not, when the person came to age, he was to get it performed out of hand, because, every day he lived uncircumcised from that time, he was a transgressor of the law (50).

(K) Their religious feasting were called חג, *Chag*, from חגג, to celebrate; the others, if sumptuous and splendid, were called מושבת, *Mishbat*, from שבת, *Sabat*, to drink or carouse, and answered to the *symposium* and *symposium* of the *Greeks*, because it was a main part of the banquet (51); but, if it was only a moderate one, they called it ארוחה, *Arucha*, that is, a viaticum, or way bit, from ארר, *A a. b.* to journey (52).

(44) Vide CHRIST. CAST. in Malach. iv. (45) Vide LEO DE MOD. pt. iv. c. 8. (46) Exod. iv. 24. Vide sup. p. 490. (A). (47) Vide ELIA. THISBIT. in ברית בעל. (48) Vide JUM. & TRASMEL. in Isai. viii. (49) Tract. ברית בעל, p. 114. (50) Ibid. fol. 104. (51) Vide Gen. xliii. 35. (52) Vide Jerem. xl. 5. Prov. xv. 17.

many not sumptuous, because these came so often about, and lasted so long, that <sup>a</sup> they could hardly have time for more. As for the customs and ceremonies used at them, we shall only pick out such as bear an analogy with any passages in the gospel. These were the saluting of the guests, washing their feet, anointing with oil, the grace or blessing of the cup, and breaking of the bread, giving of thanks, and dismissing the company. The first salutation was performed to superiors, by bowing down to the ground, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did to their heavenly guests <sup>b</sup>; or by a kiss or embrace to a familiar (L). In the two former instances, we have likewise a form of invitation, and the ceremony of washing the feet, which *Joseph* ordered also to be performed to his brethren, when they came to dine with him in *Egypt* <sup>c</sup>; and thus *Abigail*, in her great modesty, answered *David's* servants, who came to propose marriage from him, "Let the handmaid of my lord the king be <sup>d</sup> a servant to wash the feet of the king's servants" <sup>e</sup> and to this custom, no doubt, the psalmist alludes, when he calls *Moab* his wash-pot <sup>f</sup>. As for the ceremony of anointing the head, tho' it was common in all the east, yet we find no instance of it before the gospel <sup>g</sup>, except in that allusion of the psalmist <sup>h</sup>, *thou hast prepared a table for me——thou hast anointed my head with oil*.

Washing the feet.

Blessing.

THESE first ceremonies being over, the master of the house began to crave a blessing, if there was no stranger, nor any person of a superior rank <sup>i</sup>, for in this case he complimented him with that office (M). He then took a cup full of wine, and, having blessed the creator of the vine, he sipped a little of it, and gave it to the next person, till it had gone round. This was called the *ברכת היין*, *Birkath hajin*, the blessing of the wine. Our Saviour is observed by *St. Luke*, to have begun with it, and distributed it among the twelve, at his last supper <sup>j</sup>. From thence he passed to the blessing, and breaking of the bread, and distributing it to the guests. This is what *Christ* likewise did to the apostles, and it was called the blessing of the bread <sup>k</sup>. As soon as they had done eating, the same person, who had craved the blessing, was obliged to give thanks, to which all the rest joined with him. It was concluded with another cup full of wine, and this was called the blessing of plenty. Our Saviour is supposed to have instituted the sacrament in this last cup <sup>l</sup> (N). However, it is likely, that some of these last ceremonies were only used at some of their grand festivals, especially that of the passover; though the first was seldom, if ever, omitted. Whether their custom was to sit at meat, or lie down, is a controversy of more nicety than moment. However, to us the former seems most probable, at least, before the captivity. We read that *Joseph* made his brethren sit down to eat with him <sup>m</sup>, and *David* said to *Jonathab*, *To-morrow——I should sit*, or as the original has it, *sitting, I should sit down at meat with the king* <sup>n</sup>; though we own, that, in our Saviour's time, the custom was altered into that of lying down (O). That

Sitting down.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xviii. 2. xix. 1. <sup>b</sup> Gen. xliii. 24. <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 41. <sup>d</sup> Ps. cviii. <sup>e</sup> Matt. xxvi. 7. Luke vii. 44. <sup>f</sup> Ps. xxiii. 5. <sup>g</sup> Vide 1 Sam. ix. 13. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xxii. 17. <sup>i</sup> Vide DRUS. in Nov. Test. pt. ult. & GOODW. ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 2. § 15. <sup>j</sup> Vide FAG. in præc. Hæbr. <sup>k</sup> Gen. xliii. 23. <sup>l</sup> 1 Sam. xx. 5.

(L) These two ceremonies were also used upon all other occasions; thus *Nathan* and *Araunab* bowed to *David*, and *Obadiab* to *Elisha* (53); and thus *Esaü* embraced and kissed his brother *Jacob*, and *Moses* his father-in-law (54). Our Saviour also in the gospel alludes to this and the other two ceremonies of reception, of washing and anointing; when he reproves the pharisee for having omitted them towards him (55); and himself we find washed his disciples feet at his last supper (56).

(M) This was not to be refused upon any pretence, for they believed, that he, who refused to crave a blessing, shortened his own days. But the master of the house was allowed, by way of civility, to let even an inferior to perform that office (57).

(N) In this cup of thanksgiving they blessed God. 1. For the present refreshment. 2. For their deliverance out of *Egypt*. 3. For the covenant of circumcision: And 4. For the law given by *Moses*. After this they prayed, that God would be merciful, 1. To his people *Israel*. 2. To his *Jerusalem*. 3. To his *Sion*, the residence of his majesty. 4. To the kingdom of *David*. 5. That he would send the prophet *Elijah*. And 6. That he would make them worthy of the kingdom of the *Messiah*. The ceremony ended with a psalm proper to the occasion. They have added, since, several other niceties, not worth mentioning (58). It is plain, however, that some of these ceremonies were added since the captivity, and we dare not take upon us to say, how many of the others were in use before that time; but we hope the affinity, they bear to some of the gospel institutions, will be apology sufficient for our taking notice of them here.

(O) The verb is *ישב*, *Yashab*, which is always used for sitting, whether at meat, on a throne, or the like, and is, as we think, incapable of the other meaning, which is always expressed by that of *שב*, *Saba*. As to their tables, they seem to have been of a round or oval figure, because it is often joined to the verb *סבב*, *Savaf*, to surround, to sit or stand round

(53) 2 Sam. xxiv. 21. 1 Kings i. 22. xviii. 7. (54) Gen. xxxiii. 4. Exod. xviii. 8. (55) Luke vii. 44. & seq. (56) John xiii. 4. & seq. (57) Jos. KARD. *Shulchan baruk*, n. 201. (58) Vide SES. MUNST. in Matt. xxvi.

- a That of pulling off of their shoes or sandals seems implied in the command of eating the passover, with them on. We shall only add, that, upon these and all such occasions, hospitality and liberality had been so strongly recommended to them by their Law-giver, and enforced by the examples of *Abraham*, *Lot*, and other patriarchs, and the many blessings attending it, that they became very conspicuous for it, seldom or never failing, at such times especially, to make the *Levites*, the fatherless, widows, and strangers, partakers of their joy, by inviting them to the feast, or sending them some portions of their good cheer.

- THEIR high-places were of two sorts, either those where they only worshipped the true God, by burning incense, and offering sacrifices to him; or such in which they served strange gods, and committed the most horrid wickedness in their worship. Both these became so common and universal, that we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull them down; whilst many others, though otherwise commended for their piety and zeal, are yet recorded for having left this evil unreformed. The first of these, though less criminal, and seemingly countenanced by the examples of *Samuel*, *David*, *Elisba*, and other inspired persons, were nevertheless expressly forbidden by God, unless it were done by his own command, as we have seen elsewhere †: But as to the last, it is certain, nothing could be more expressly forbid, or more severely threatened, we may say punished; notwithstanding which, *Joshua* had been scarcely dead above twenty years, ere they began to relapse into it. This defection began about the times of *Othniel* and *Ehud*, and increased so fast, and spread so wide, that it would be endless to enumerate their false deities, and the places dedicated to their worship, as well as the abominable ceremonies which were practised in them. But our design is not to dwell upon this subject, having already spoken of it in the histories of those nations, from whom they adopted them. It will be sufficient to observe upon the whole, that they adopted the false gods of all those nations, in the midst of whom they lived, and set up altars and idols to them upon every hill and high-places, from which they came to be called by that name; that the sun, moon, and stars were of the number of their deities, and that, as the rites of those false deities became more and more shameful, and unfit for common view, they betook themselves to set up tents and booths, and to plant groves, to conceal the abominable things that were done in them; the very women, who were become useless in that hellish commerce, finding out a way of prostituting themselves, as it were, at second hand, by furnishing the infamous votaries with all kind of conveniencies\*. *Solomon* is justly branded in scripture for having brought this evil to its height, by the multitude of his strange women, and which was never thoroughly rooted out till *Josiah's* reign, that is, about 360 years after\*.

- BESIDES these abominable idolatries, or rather, in consequence of them, they gave themselves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practised among the *Heathen*, though as expressly and distinctly forbid by the law of *Moses* as the former. These were of various kinds. *Moses* expresses them in the terms following<sup>b</sup>, *There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the fire, or that useth divinations, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer* (P). To these the prophets have added some few others, such as consulting by *Teraphims*, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beasts<sup>c</sup>, by stocks and staves<sup>d</sup>, and such like; several of which were even forbid under

† See before, p. 662. (H). † Vide Judg. iii. 5, & seq. \* 1 Kings iii. 2, & seq. xii. 13, 28, & seq. xiv. 23, 24, & alib. pass. \* Comp. 1 Kings xi. & 2 Kings xxiii. \* Deut. xviii. 10, 11. <sup>c</sup> Ezek. xxi. 21. <sup>d</sup> Hof. iv. 12.

round. Thus it is said by *Samuel* (59), *וְלֹא יֵשְׁבֹה*, we will not sit down, or rather, round, till he come; and the psalmist says, *thy children shall be like olive branches round about thy table* (60). We do not pretend, indeed, that this argument is altogether conclusive, seeing the word *יֵשְׁבֹה*, *Savif*, round about, is made use of by *Moses*, where he speaks of a square table, as when he commands the priests to sprinkle

the blood of the victim round about the altar, tho' it was of a square form (61).

(P) We need not doubt but there might be many more of the like nature. But the most inhuman of all was that of passing their children thro' the fire. This rite seems to have been peculiar to *Moloch*, who is therefore also called *עֶזְרַחֵלֶךְ*, *Anamelech*, from *עֲנֵה*, *Anah*, to answer, because he

(59) 1 Sam. xvi. 11.

(60) Ps. cxxviii. 3.

(61) Conf. Levit. i. & Exod. xxvii. pass.

pain of death. But such was their invincible itch of prying into futurity, that they a left none of them untried : At least the prophets do generally upbraid them with resorting to those who practised them.

Games.

GAMES may, for aught appears, be said to have been the only custom, in which they did not imitate their neighbours, at least, which they did not introduce into their commonwealth. They had not so much as a name for them, but what doth properly signify to laugh<sup>c</sup>, play<sup>f</sup>, toy<sup>g</sup>, and such like innocent amusements. Even Solomon himself, who had imitated, or rather out-done the grandeur of other kingdoms, and had indulged himself in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the sons of men<sup>h</sup>, some of which were near of kin to these, as his singers and musicians of both sexes; doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either b of hazard, or of the theatre; neither do the scriptures any where speak of them (Q). It seems rather that their solemn festivals served them instead of all such kind of spectacles and diversions; and indeed, if we consider the frequency and magnificence of them, especially after the building of the temple, we shall not need wonder at their preferring them to any others. Add to this, that all that we meet with in the writings of the ancient fathers, such as Tertullian<sup>i</sup> and St. Cyprian, both in his second epistle to Donatus, and in his book *De Spectaculis*, if that piece be really his, which is somewhat doubtful, by reason of the difference of stile; all agree in this, that the *Israelites* never admitted any such games among them. It even appears from Mr. Selden, that games of hazard, such as c dice-tables, and the like, were looked upon as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful, that resulted from a contract, which depended upon chance. The

<sup>a</sup> Vide Gen. xviii. 12, & alib. pass. <sup>f</sup> Exod. xxxii. 6. Judg. xvi. 25, & alib. <sup>g</sup> Gen. xxvi. 8. <sup>h</sup> Ecclesiast. ii. 8. <sup>i</sup> Lib. de Spectac. & apolog. c. 38.

he gave answers to those who consulted him by this rite, either by his priests, or by dreams (62). We shall not attempt to describe those various kinds of divination, either from the text, or from commentators, but only observe in general, that the chief of them were performed first, by consulting the stars, clouds, signs, tokens, and the like. This seems the meaning of the word מְנַחֵשׁ, *Menachesh* here, which is nevertheless sometimes used in a good sense. Thus Laban says to Jacob, נִחְשֵׁתִי, *Nachashti*, I have observed or experienced, that God has blessed me for thy sake (63); Joseph makes use of the same verb, speaking of his divining cup (64); but we much doubt, whether this is capable of so favourable a sense. However, as the word נִחְשֵׁתִי signifies properly a serpent: Bockart has also given us an account of several divinations that were performed by means of those creatures †. 2. Another way was by familiar spirits, which the Hebrew calls אוֹבֹת, *Oboth*, such as the witch of Endor is said to have had. 3. דְּרוֹשׁ אֶל הַמֵּתִים, *interrogating the dead*, which the *Septuagint* render ἐρωτάμενος τῶν νεκρῶν. This is what the same witch did for Saul, from which one would be apt to conclude these two to be much the same. 4. The מְכַשֵּׁשׁ, *Mekasheph*, may be properly enough rendered, by *Leger-de-main*, one who deceives the sight, and imposes upon the beholders; such are reasonably supposed, those whom Pharaoh set against Moses (65), who are there called מְכַשְׁפִּים, *Mekashephim*, and are said to have imitated some of his wonders בְּלִהְטִיהֶם, *Belabatehem*, which word seems derived from להט, which signifies a flame, or the glittering of a spear or lance, because it dazzles the sight. The *Septuagint*, however, have translated it φαρμακῆς, *Apothecaries*, from whence the Latin, *Emphica*, *Poisoner*. 5. The חֹבֵר, *Chover*, may also be properly rendered a *Mutterer*, from חָבַר, *Chavar*, to gather, couple, or associate, be-

cause he speaks with his lips joined (66), and is therefore rendered רִשְׁטִין by Onkelos. Bodinus doth indeed think it rather, because such a one associates himself with evil spirits by compact (67), and he tells us accordingly in another place, that an infant, by pronouncing a certain verse out of the *Psalms*, shall prevent a woman's churning her butter, and, by repeating the same verse backward, shall cause it to come immediately (68). The learned Maimon (69) tells us of a great many other wonderful pranks that are done by these חֹבְרִים, *Mutterers*, of whom, however, the psalmist says, that they cannot charm the deaf adder, though never so skilled in their art (70). The other kinds of prestigators, being still more obscure and inconsiderable, we purposely omit.

(Q) If we may believe the *Talmudists*, and other Jewish commentators, all kinds of games, spectacles, &c. were not only forbid, but abhorred by all good *Israelites*, by reason of the mischiefs which had befallen those who had ventured to be present at those of their neighbouring nations. The *Talmud* utterly condemns being present at any theatrical representations (71); they give several reasons which we shall omit, because they are not over modest; and R. Simon Ben-paki is there affirmed to have rendered the first words of the first psalm, *Blessed is the man who hath not set his foot in a theatre*, &c. The comment on the book of Ruth introduces old Naboni, dissuading her daughter-in-law from returning into the land of *Israel*, because it was not the custom of the daughters of it to go to the theatres and other spectacles of the *Gentiles* (72); and the large comment on the *Lamentations* introduces the Jewish church expostulating with God, that it had never entered into any such profane places (73).

(62) Vide Maim. & Abarban. in Leg. 170. (63) Gen. xxx. 27. (64) Ibid. xliii. 5, 15. † Hierosol. lib. i. c. 3. pt. 1. (65) Exod. vii. 11, & alib. pass. (66) BEKER. Monde enchanté. (67) Demon. Magic. lib. i. c. 6. (68) Lib. ii. c. 1. (69) עֲבוּרָה זָרָה, c. xi. § 10, 11. (70) Ps. lvi. 5. (71) Trad. עֲבוּרָה זָרָה, fol. 18. (72) מוֹסַדָא, in Ruth c. 1. (73) אִינֵיה רַב, fol. 5. col. 4.



- a same they likewise affirmed of such who made a gain of exposing beasts or fowls to fight one with another <sup>a</sup>.

As to their diversions, they seem to have consisted chiefly in eating, drinking, *Diversions*, dancing, and music. At least they are those which good old *Barfillai* seems to bewail his incapacity for <sup>b</sup>, and for the excess of which, they were often blamed by the prophets <sup>c</sup>. The scriptures do often express the simplicity of their happy lives, by sitting, and eating, and drinking, every one under his vine, and under his fig-tree.

- But even these diversions could not be very frequent, unless it were upon such solemn occasions as we have mentioned before, or at their sheep-shearing, harvest, and vintage; because they would else have had but little time to have minded their country-affairs. Whether they used hunting, fowling, fishing, and such like, by way of diversion, or rather to furnish their tables now and then with an uncommon dish, and to preserve their fields, orchards, and vine-yards, from being spoiled by those creatures, we will not pretend to say, but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, and such like.

- THEIR diet, except on festivals, seems to have been very plain. *Boaz*, a mighty *Diet* man, complimented *Ruth* with drinking of the same water, eating of the same bread, and dipping her morsel in the vinegar with him <sup>a</sup>. Even the present of victuals which were brought to *David* and his men, whilst he was in a kind of exile, were chiefly several kinds of pulse, some parched corn, bread and flour, some dried raisins and figs, honey, butter, cheese, oil, and a few fatted beasts <sup>b</sup>. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, some in ovens, some upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan, some with, and some without oil; they often used parched corn instead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciousness <sup>c</sup>, and the fleece of the flocks, and the milk of the goats, were thought by the wise man sufficient for food and raiment, both for the master and his family <sup>d</sup>.

- HIGH titles were unknown among them, unless those which implied some *Titles* office, such as general, treasurer, recorder, and the like. They valued themselves more upon their genealogies, which is the reason why one man's name had five or six of his ancestors, and sometimes more tacked to it. Some regard was likewise had to the distinction of tribes or families; as for instance, to those of the priests and *Levites*, upon a religious account, to that of *Judah*, by reason of the scepter being promised to it, and to that of *Ephraim*, out of respect to *Joseph's* memory. The same respect was likewise paid in every tribe to those who were the heads or fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general. Next to these, old men, of what tribe or branch soever, were had in great veneration. The name of old man, or elder, as our version renders it, seems all along to imply something of dignity in the *Mosaic* writings, and their experience and gravity seems to have entitled them to be the proper persons to take cognizance, and to judge of all important matters, in the places where they dwelt, as well as to the respect of the younger sort upon that account. But this respect did not consist in giving them, or indeed to any man, how great soever, the king excepted, any pompous title; but in a submissive approach and behaviour, and in a respectful phrase peculiar to the *Hebrews*; in which, though the second person was always used even to a prince, yet the speaker always expressed himself in the third, with the addition of servant or hand-maid: *Let thy servant speak a word*, instead of, *let me speak* — *behold thy servant* or *hand-maid*, for, *here am I*. The women, whether because they were more bashful and timorous, or perhaps greater flatterers, were still more remarkable for the modest turn of their expressions, and the humbleness of their behaviour <sup>e</sup>.

- f THEIR laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulness of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vast number of those diseases which have been since ushered into the world by luxury and sloth. It is for this reason that we read of so few, if any diseases among them, much less of physicians, except such as are now known by the name of surgeons, whom the ancient *Greeks*, as well as the *Hebrews*, called physicians or healers. Thus the *Mosaic* law condemned the

<sup>a</sup> Jus Nat. & Gent. lib. vi. c. 11. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. xix. 35. <sup>c</sup> Isai. v. 11, 12. Amos vi. 3, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ruth ii. 9, 14. <sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 28, 29, & alib. <sup>f</sup> Vide Ps. xix. 10, & alib. pass. <sup>g</sup> Prov. xxvii. 26, 27. <sup>h</sup> Vide Ruth ii. 13. 1 Sam. i. 15, 16. xxv. 23, & seq. & alib.



man who wounded another to pay, amongst other things, the salary of the physician. Such were those whom king *Asab* is blamed for his too great confidence in, when he laboured with a distemper in his feet, which the generality of interpreters take to have been a kind of gout; and whose skill extended no further than outward applications; for we read nothing in the sacred books of purges, sweats, vomits, diet drinks, and other such evacuating medicines, though often of plaisters, ointments, bandages, and such like. This seems indeed the reason of their living so long, as well as of their being so healthy and fruitful, even to the end of their lives.

*Mourning.*

THEIR mourning was either for the death of their near relations, or for any misfortunes, either publick or private; and was expressed in both cases much after the same manner; not with such formalities as are used among us, which hardly reach beyond the outside; but by such as expressed all the tokens of an inward grief, or at least would be apt to cause a real one in those, who were obliged to go through such a series of mournful ceremonies. The first fallies of it were followed by rending their cloaths, uncovering their heads, smiting their breasts, tearing their hair and beards, putting ashes and dirt upon their heads, instead of perfumes (which were quite laid aside all the time of mourning) going barefoot, putting on sackcloth next the skin, lying upon the bare ground, and the like. The neighbouring nations had still more violent ways of expressing their grief, by pricking, cutting, and scarifying themselves; but these were expressly forbid by the law of *Moses*. As soon as these first fits of grief were ended, they changed their cloths for others that were streighter, coarser, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper-garment, to hide their tears; they fasted till sun-set, and then contented themselves with the plainest diet; they kept a profound silence, which they never broke, but to utter some groans or complaints, or at most some doleful lamentation. Some did even chuse to lie in the ashes, or on a dunghill, and to avoid the sight of any light. This mourning lasted longer or shorter, according to the occasion; and when it happened for the death of a considerable person, even a whole month, as was done for *Moses* and *Aaron*; but when it was for an ordinary person, or near relation, it lasted but about a week (R). In publick mourning, the people were wont to get up to the top of their houses, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at least it seems probable, that there was some such custom by what the prophet says, speaking to *Jerusalem*, *what aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the house-tops*, and so on; and speaking elsewhere of the *Moabites*, he says, *on the tops of their houses, and in their streets, every one shall howl and weep abundantly*.

*Funerals.*

THEIR funeral ceremonies were no less mournful. As soon as a person was dead, all the near relations came to the house in their mourning habit, and sat down upon the ground, with a mournful silence, whilst another part of the house echoed with the voices of mourners, and the sounds of instruments suitable to the occasion, and hired for the purpose (S). These lasted till the funeral was over, when the nearest relations resumed their melancholy posture, and continued in it all the time

\* 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. xii. 16. xiii. 31, & seq. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17. \* Levit. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1. Vide F.A.C. in loc. \* 2 Sam. i. 17, & seq. \* Num. xx. ult. Deut. xxxiv. 8. \* Isai. xxii. 1. \* Ibid. xv. 3. \* Jerem. ix. 17.

(R) The *Talmudists*, however, have abated much of these severities, as being too often attended with great inconveniencies (74); for which reason they allow the mourners at first their full swing of crying, and all other expressions of the deepest sorrow; but expect that it should abate every day after, especially if it is to last a whole month, which *Josephus* thinks is as long as a wise man would desire to mourn for the loss of the nearest relation, or of the dearest friend (75).

And here we cannot but take notice of an observation of a celebrated author of a neighbouring

church (76), that the *Israelites*, and other ancient nations, were more plain and undisguised than we. Their joy, says he, was accompanied with songs and dances, and their grief with loud complaints: Their fear expressed itself with cries, and their anger with ill language. The remark is no less just, than judicious; and is a severe reproof to his church and ours, for coming so short of that excellent pattern, which it was our duty to strive to outdo.

(S) As to the musical instruments, we have no instance of their being used upon these occasions in the old testament; only we find it practised in our Saviour's

(74) *Tract. בבא בתרא*, *Maim. Tract. אבל*, c. 4. *Mœurs des Israélites*, c. 18.

(75) *Ant. lib. iv. c. 8.*

(76) *Fleury*

- a time of the mourning, eating, sitting, and lying upon the ground, and never speaking to any, unless spoken to. Their very food was unclean and defiled by those that eat of it\*. They neither made their beds, washed themselves, or pared their nails. In a word, they abstained from every thing that could yield them any delight. They made, indeed, a kind of banquet for the rest of the mourners, called by the prophets, the *bread of men*, and *wine*, or *cup of consolation*†; but even then their tables were covered with wooden, or common earthen platters and trenchers; and for the same reason they were not allowed to drink above ten glasses of wine at it, namely, three before, three at meat, and four after it, lest any should get drunk, and betray any token of mirth‡.
- b IN the mean time, there were proper persons appointed to make ready the corps for the burial. It was looked upon as a duty incumbent on the nearest relation present, to close the eyes of the deceased. This custom is taken from God's promise to *Jacob*, that his son *Joseph* should perform that office to him§. If the person was of a considerable rank, they embalmed him; if otherwise, they contented themselves with washing him (T). Sometimes they added a mixture of sweet drugs and spices; in which they either wrapped the body, or which they burnt about it. This last is what we find was done at the funeral of *Asab*, king of *Judab*, whose corps, the text says, was laid upon a stately bed, which he had caused to be filled with costly perfumes made with great art, and with which they made a very great burning for him¶ (V). Neither was this ceremony peculiar to that prince, but common to the kings of *Judab*, and as such promised by the prophet to *Zedekiah*\*, and refused unto *Jehoram*†. How they dressed the corps, or how they conveyed him to the grave, we dare not affirm, the law having ordained nothing concerning these, or any other circumstances relating to funerals; it is probable that custom, and the circumstances of persons, made them more or less sumptuous (W). The accompanying the corps to the burying-place was rather an office of civility, than ob-
- c

\* Vide Hosea ix. 4. † Ezek. xxiv. 17. Jerem. xvi. 7. ‡ In Tract. Abel. c. 4. § Gen. xli. 4. ¶ 2 Chron. xvi. ult. \* Jerem. xxxiv. 5. † 2 Chron. xxi. 19.

Saviour's time (77); and the *Talmudists* assure us, that it was not only an ancient custom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the poorest husband could have no less than two of them for his wife (78). These instruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, *flutes serve either for a bride or for the dead* (79). As for the hired singers, their office was to sing some mournful ditty, proper to fill the company with the deepest sorrow. One of them is elegantly comprised in few words by one of their rabbies, *Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead, for he is at rest, and we in tears* (80).

(T) This ceremony of washing, was at least practised in our Saviour's time (81), but how long before is not easy to guess. The  *Jews* indeed think it both ancient and necessary; and add, that it was no sooner performed, but they immediately stopped the main excretories of the body, that no defilement might issue forth (82). As to what is added above, about wrapping the body in spices, it is inferred from what is said of *Jacob*, that—*ויקחם ויטבחו*, *Vajicanthubu* (83), the verb *טבחו*, signifying, according to the *Talmudists*, to anoint with a mixture made up of spices and other sweet drugs. This we find was done to our Saviour (84), and *Maimon* mentions it as a constant practice used among the  *Jews* (85).

(V) From these places, and another still more obscure in *Amos*, some have taken up a notion, that burning of the dead had been adopted by the  *Jews*

(86). But neither the texts above quoted, nor any instance we can meet with in their history, doth countenance such an opinion, which all the  *Jewish* doctors do disown; affirming, that nothing was burned at those funeral obsequies, but those sweet perfumes above-mentioned. We may add, that *Josiah's* burning the bones of the priests of *Baalim* upon their idolatrous altars (87) implies, at least, a kind of abhorrence against such a practice, unless when it was done by way of punishment. Only *R. Solomon* adds, that they burned over those royal bodies *שחן וכלי תשמישן*, their beds, and other *supellestilia veneris*, *sive quicquid veneri inserviebat* (88).

(W) The gospel doth, indeed, give us some account of the manner of burying at that time, both by what we read concerning that of *Lazarus*, of the widow's son at *Naim*, and also by the ceremonies which were performed at that of our Saviour; but we cannot thence infer, that they are the same that were used before the captivity. *Maimon* tells us, that the richest persons, even princes, were allowed but one *Zux*, or winding-sheet, lest it should cast a shame on the poorer sort, who could afford no more. Neither was it allowed to be made of rich, or embroidered stuffs, because such pride did more become infidels, than the people of God. He adds, that they also covered the face of the dead, that it might not be discovered, when any died through poverty and want (89).

(77) Matt. ix. 23. (78) *Mishn. Tr. כתובות*, c. 4. *Gemar. Babil. in eund. titul.* (79) *Tract. בבא מציעא*, c. 6. (80) *Bar. Abbis. ap. HOTT. in GOODW. lib. vi. c. 5. note 12.* (81) *Abi. ix. 37.* (82) *MAIM. in Tract. בבא מציעא*, c. 4. (83) *Gen. l. ver. ult.* (84) *John xix. 40.* (85) *Ubi sup.* (86) *Ch. vi. 10.* (87) *2 Chron. xxxiv. 5.* (88) *Vide Maimon. in Jerem. xxxiv. sub nota.* (89) *Ubi sup.*

ligation, and yet not only relations, neighbours, and acquaintance assisted at it, but a even those, who met the procession, thought it incumbent upon them to join with the company; only the priests were not to be present at it, unless it were a very near relation, as we have seen elsewhere. The funeral of *Abner*, one of *David's* generals<sup>a</sup>, doth give us an idea of the remainder of the ceremony. The king's servants, with *Joab* at their head, were commanded to march before the corps in deep mourning, with their cloaths rent, and girded with sackcloth, whilst himself followed the bier to *Heshbon*, *Abner's* burying-place. As soon as they were come to it, the king himself made a funeral oration in his praise, which was accompanied with the mournful voices of all the company, whilst they were depositing the body into the grave. It appears moreover, that the day could not be far spent when they buried b that great general, because, when, upon their return home, *David* was entreated by his servants to take some refreshment, he answered with an oath, that he would neither eat nor drink, till the sun was down<sup>c</sup> (X).

*Sepulchres.*

THEY had such an extreme abhorrence against having their own, or their friends bodies exposed after death, that they denied sepulture to none but such as were guilty of self-murder, and not even to these, but till after sun-set. They had burying places for strangers, and for such who were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make sure of a sepulchre for their posterity, and several express threatenings in the sacred writings, made them esteem it as a severe curse from God, to be deprived of burial<sup>d</sup>, and a blessing to be interred among their ancestors. For this reason, those, who had inherited a burying-place, were extremely careful of preserving it to their posterity; and those, who had not, were no less solicitous to provide one for themselves and their families: And as the law had ordained nothing concerning them, so they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, so they could but secure the possession of it. We do not read, indeed, of any epitaphs or monumental inscriptions being used among them, yet we may reasonably suppose, that every family, at least, set some particular mark upon their burying-place: they were even under an obligation to distinguish them from other places, by some peculiar mark, that people might not be defiled by going over them. But there was d something still more particular to distinguish the graves of eminent persons, as we may infer from the instance of the man of God, who had foretold the destruction of the altar of *Bethel*, and whose grave was known by some inscription or mark above 300 years after, when *Josiah* was fulfilling his prediction<sup>e</sup>. The sepulchres of the kings of *Judah* were in that part of *Jerusalem* where the temple stood<sup>f</sup>. *Ezekiel* seems to hint, that they were cut in the rock under it, when he says, that the Lord's holy hill should be no more defiled by the carcases of their kings<sup>g</sup>. All his descendants are said to have been buried in the same place, except *Manasseh*, who was buried in the garden of *Uzzah*, adjoining to his own house<sup>h</sup>. Whether the sepulchre of *David* was built, or only begun by him, and finished by *Solo-* e *mon*, or any of his successors, is not certain, but it is still to be seen at this day, without the walls of the present *Jerusalem*, though some think it more likely, that it stood at first within the walls of the old. It is a most stately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that ancient city. We have given a description of that surprising fabric in another section<sup>i</sup>, to which we have nothing to add on that head.

A LATE modern *Jewish* traveller<sup>j</sup> has added several other particulars relating to this royal tomb, but which we dare not insert, nor give credit to. However it was in this place, that *Josephus* tells us<sup>k</sup>, *Solomon* did lay up an immense treasure, which

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 31, & seq. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 35. <sup>c</sup> Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 19. Ecclef. vi. 3, & alib. <sup>d</sup> Comp. 1 Kings xiii. 1, & seq. & 2 Kings xxiii. 17. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings ii. 10. xi. 43, & alib. pass. <sup>f</sup> Ch. xliii. 7, 9. <sup>g</sup> 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26. <sup>h</sup> See before, p. 589. b. <sup>i</sup> BENJ. TUDER, & al. <sup>j</sup> Ant. lib. vii. c. 12.

(X) It appears from the examples of *Tobit*, and of the *Maccabees*, that they used moreover to lay some kind of visitals over the sepulchres of the dead, that the poor might receive the benefit of them, and pray for the soul of the deceased, for whom they used also to offer sacrifices, that they

might be absolved from their sins, and be at peace (90). But these, especially the last, seem rather to have been works of supererogation, being nowhere commanded or countenanced by any thing we meet with in the canonical books, and in all likelihood never practised till after the captivity.

(90) Vide *Tobit* iv. 17. vide & *Ecclef.* xxx. 18. 2 *Maccab.* xii. 42, & seq.

- a was not discovered, or at least broke in upon, till thirteen hundred years after, when, the city being streightly besieged by *Antiochus*, *Hircan* the high-priest had recourse to the tomb, and drew three thousand talents out, and bought off his enemy with a good part of it. He adds, that *Herod* did likewise find a way into another hidden cell, out of which he got a prodigious treasure, but that neither he nor any one else could ever discover the bones of *David*, his tomb being so artfully contrived, and so deep in the ground, as to elude the most curious search. Something like this *Mr. Jay* has given us in his polyglot, out of an ancient *Arabic* manuscript, but whether either of these had the account from any authentic records, or from a bare tradition, they do not tell us. The burying-places of the kings of *Israel*, after *Jeroboam's* revolt, were in *Samaria*; but we cannot suppose them to have equalled those of *Judab*, both because they were inferior to them in riches, and because the crown never stayed in one family above three or four generations. Those of private families were in all likelihood more or less sumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were, however, curious to have them, if possible, cut into the rock; which was no difficult matter in such a rocky and mountainous country. They were to be, according to the rules laid down in the *Talmud*<sup>a</sup>, which probably took them from the form of the ancient sepulchres that were built before the captivity, six cubits long, four in breadth, and seven in height. Round these there were likewise to be little niches or cells for the repositing of the dead bodies, to the number of eight, according to some, or thirteen according to others. The mouth of it was covered with a large stone, which they called *Gallal*, from the rolling it upon the cave. This stone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be often whited, that passengers might see it at a distance, and the same was done at least to those monuments which were erected for considerable persons. How they beautified them in our Saviour's time, his comparing the hypocritical *Pharisees* to them<sup>b</sup> sufficiently shews; and if those that are still extant, under the names of the tombs of *Abraham*, *Rachel*, *Abshalom*, *Elisba*, and others, be really theirs, which is much to be questioned, it must have required no small pains and cost to keep them so long in repair (Y).
- c FROM these houses of the dead, we now pass to those of the living; and here we observe in the first place, that they were plain, low, and flat, suitable to the climate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the same stile, chimnies, fashies, and casements, were needless, where they were forced to study coolness and freshness; for the same reason tapestry was of no use but upon the floor, to sit, eat, or sleep upon; and if they used any bed-curtains, they were made of some fine gauze, to keep off knats and other insects, whence comes the name of canopy. Their beds seem to have been at some considerable height from the ground, from their common phrase of climbing up to them †††. The prophet *Amos*, c. vi. 4. doth upbraid the effeminate with lying up-

<sup>a</sup> Tract. Bava Batra, c. vi. 2. Vide Gloss. BARTEN. ad Tract. Mohed. Katon. c. i. <sup>b</sup> Matt. xxiii. 27. ††† Pl. cxxxii. 3. 2. 2 Kings i. 16.

(Y) The *Jews* called these burying-places *the houses of the living*. The *Talmudists* pretend, that *Jerusalem* had this peculiar privilege above other cities, that it had but two tombs, namely, that of *David*, and that of the prophetess *Huldab*, which they pretend had been built by the old prophets; and that, when a corps was to be transported from one place to another, it was not lawful to go through the city, tho' it was in their way, lest it should be defiled by it (91). We find a strange opinion among the *Jews*, how old it is we cannot affirm, that those, who die out of the land of *Canaan*, shall be excluded the resurrection, unless God be pleased to afford them a subterranean way, by which their souls, after a long tumbling, or volving about, may at length happily reach it. This notion is partly owing to that extreme solicitude, which the old patriarchs, especially *Jacob* and *Joseph* shewed, to have their bodies buried there, and partly to an excessive fondness themselves have for

the land, not only upon account of its fancied holiness and excellence above all others, but more particularly, because they think that it will prove the scene of the resurrection. This last they infer from a mistaken place in *Ezekiel* (92), which, if rightly understood, rather implies, that God would rise his people out of their graves, and bring them from the lands in which they died, into their own land (that of *Canaan*): As one of their own rabbies has plainly shewn against them (93). However, this is one of the three reasons which the others give for *Joseph's* exacting an oath of his brethren to carry his body into *Canaan*. The second is, that he foresaw that the dust of *Egypt* would be turned into lice, which would have been a discredit to his ashes; and the third, lest the too great veneration of the *Egyptians* for his memory shou'd insensibly have drawn them into the worship of his relicks (94).

(91) Vide BASHAG. R. H. lib. i. c. 7. (92) *Ezek.* xxxvii. 11, 12. (93) KIMCHI *in loc.*  
(94) Vide R. SAL. JARCH. *in Gen.* xlvii. 20.

on beds of *ivory*, and upon their soft couches; and the harlot in the *Proverbs*, vii. 16. speaks of the fine furniture and perfumes with which she has decked her own; and, no doubt, a great deal of luxury had been introduced by *Solomon's* wives, and was imitated by the softer; but it is plain, that lying hard must have been more suitable to the heat of the country, as well as the simplicity of their forefathers, and upon both accounts preferred by the wiser sort. If we might guess of the rest of their furniture, by that which the *Shunamite* put into the prophet's chamber, we must suppose, that they did not value themselves upon the richness or superfluity of it. And we may here observe in general, that there is more frequent mention made in the sacred books of vessels of wood and earth, than of those of more costly stuff.

From this prophet's chamber and furniture, we beg leave to make two remarks; the first is, that bed-chambers were raised at some distance from the ground, because they are called by a name that implies an *ascent*, and might be as properly rendered, *an upper room*. Perhaps the reason of their being thus raised was, to avoid the dampness of the earth, which may be reasonably supposed greater and more dangerous, especially to those who did lie upon the ground, within than without doors. The other is, that tho' they did not turn so much of the night into day as we do, yet they made use of artificial light, which was that of an oil lamp, and this had more or fewer branchers, according to the work that was done by it. Thus *Solomon's* housewife is represented in the *Proverbs*, rising whilst it is yet dark, and distributing her work among her servants; where there is also a beautiful description of a well regulated family. As to the largeness of their houses, and number of their apartments, we may suppose them to be answerable to the richness and numerousness of the family. The women had their separate apartments, both for privacy, in which they were like other eastern nations, and for legal infirmities, which secluded them from the rest of the family for a time; during which, none must make use of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utensils. All the females of a house were obliged to be exceedingly careful in this particular, from which the poorest sort were not exempted, though it could not fail of putting such to great inconvenience. Upon this account, as well as some others, they were likewise forced to have places for bathing in every house. Their laborious life, the heat and driness of the country made washing likewise necessary, and as it is apt to dry the skin too much, they used to anoint themselves, either with oil, or with some other ointments more or less costly, according to their circumstances, but generally perfumed.

*Their arts and trades.* THE arts, in which the *Israelites* did chiefly distinguish themselves, were those of war, husbandry, poetry, and music. The first of these was in a manner natural to them. We shall not venture to say how much they, especially *Moses* their leader, had learned of it in *Egypt*; but whoever observes the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and such like, of which we have had occasion to speak in another place †, must allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time; and his people as well trained up in it as any of their neighbours. We need not to remind our reader here, in how short a time, not above six years, they conquered the greatest part of *Canaan*, in spite of all the natural and artificial strength of that country, and the united opposition of its warlike inhabitants. Neither was it possible for them to forget it at any time afterwards, because they were continually engaged in some war or other with their neighbours, from the days of *Joshua*, to the reign of *Solomon*; insomuch that it is recorded in one place, as a kind of wonder, that the land had rest forty years\*. A late author† has moreover been at the pains to prove the ancient *Jews* to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many instances of their prowess, mentioned in holy writ, but likewise from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of those books, which manifestly shew them to have been very well versed in the military art. We shall refer our readers to the author himself for those curious remarks, and only observe here, that the writers, from whom he took them, were neither given to flattery or partial fondness for their own nation, but related these facts with the candour and simplicity which became inspired penmen. As to their generals, whether judges or princes, or officers who acted under them, their warlike deeds will

† Vide sup. p. 541, & seq. \* Judg. v. ult. † FOLARD, Dissert. sur. la Tactique des Hebreux.



- a be mentioned in their proper place, in the sequel of this history ; and as to the people, tho' their courage was not always proof, but wanted often to be supported by art, yet we may say, that their men were all trained up to war, at least till *David's* reign, for we do not read of any regular troops till that time. Till then, as soon as their rulers had resolved upon a war, whether offensive or defensive, the summons were sent to every tribe, upon which, all, that were fit to bear arms, were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, both with their arms and with provision for a month : Here a certain number was drawn out according to the present exigence, and the rest sent back to their own home ; and as soon as they had achieved what they went upon, they returned every one to his own home \*. This did happen
- b very often on the very day on which they set out ; the country being small, and their enemies at their elbow, it was a common thing for them to sally out, engage the enemy, beat or be beaten, and be at home on the same, or at most on the next night. It was easy for their army to be subsisted, when their greatest marches did not exceed two or three days journey : The whole people of *Israel* may therefore be looked upon as a body of militia trained up in war, and in time of peace inured to a laborious life, that of agriculture. Their generals, from *Joshua* to *Saul*, were either appointed over them by God, as *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Sampson* \* and others, or chosen by the people, as *Jephtha* †, or by treachery and cruelty, as *Abimelech* ‡. These, however, especially the two last, were not universally obeyed, but by those only who had chosen them,
- c which occasioned such commotions amongst them, that they found themselves under a necessity of having a king to prevent all further disputes, and to be ready upon all occasions against their enemies.

THEIR arms were, like those of other ancient nations, either offensive or defensive ; the former were swords, spears, javelins, bows and arrows, and slings. Their swords were short, crooked, broad, and sharp, which they girded upon their thigh \* ; we read also of two-edged swords † ; as for their javelins, they seem rather to have been a kind of short pikes, such as that which *Saul* threw at *David* ‡. They were likewise very expert at slinging of stones, witness *David's* killing of *Goliath*, and the inhabitants of *Gibeath*, who are recorded to have hit within a hair's breadth §.

d The expression often used, *gird every man his sword*, and even by *David* in his fugitive state ¶, when he was exposed to continual dangers, shews the custom of wearing of swords at any time, but that of action, not to have been known, even to the Jewish warriors. *Saul* is the only person who is observed to have had his javelin or spear always about him \*\*, and this, perhaps, not till his suspicion and rage against *David* made him think himself unsafe without it. Their defensive arms were, the helmet, shield, breast-plate, coat of mail, and target : Some wore even greaves upon their legs. We find a description of a compleat armour in that of *Goliath* † ; but it is probable, that all these were more common among their neighbours, than among the *Israelites*, at least before *David's* reign ; for we find, that, in *Deborah's* time, there were found neither shield nor spear among the forty thousand that fought against *Sisera* ‡ ; and that, when *David* came to be dressed *cap-a-pie* in *Saul's* armour, he was so little used to that kind of incumbrance, that he could not stir in it, and was forced to pull it off §. This might probably be owing to the policy of their neighbours, by whom they were often conquered, and not only stripped of all their old weapons, but likewise hindered from making of new ones ; insomuch that the text tells us, that, on the day of battle, there were neither sword nor spear found among *Saul's* army, except those which himself and his son *Jonathan* had ¶. This, indeed, is very surprising, considering that the preceding chapter mentions one single victory, which that new monarch had got over the *Ammonites*, in which they might have furnished themselves with the arms of the slain, and of those that ran away ; to say nothing of the impossibility of their cutting that army in pieces from morning till noon, unless they had had a considerable quantity of their own : So that unless we suppose, that there is an accidental transposition of the chapters and facts, or that the words must not be understood to mean more than that there was a greater scarcity of them than the army

\* 1 Sam. xi. pass. xiii. 2, & alibi. \* Judg. iii. iv. & vi. pass. \* Ibid. xi. 6, & seq. † Ibid. ix. pass. † Vide Exod. xxxii. 27. Ps. xlv. 3. lv. 4. † Ps. cxlix. 6. † 1 Sam. xviii. 16. † Judg. xx. 16. † 1 Sam. xxv. 13. † Ibid. xviii. 11. xxvi. 7. † 1 Sam. xvii. 5, & seq. † Judg. v. 8. † 1 Sam. xvii. 38, & seq. † Vide ibid. xiii. 19, & seq.



would require, we shall be at a loss to guess how the *Philistines* could in so short a time strip them of all their arms. But however that be, it is certain, that they became more common, after they had recovered their liberty under *David* and *Solomon*; and in process of time, *Uzziab* is said to have provided a sufficient quantity of all these kinds, to furnish his army with, tho' it consisted of upwards of three hundred thousand men<sup>k</sup>. These arms were commonly made of brass, sometimes also of iron, steel, and other materials<sup>l</sup> (Z). *Job* speaks of weapons of iron, and bows of brass<sup>m</sup>, and this last is likewise mentioned by the psalmist<sup>n</sup>, though our version translates it bows of steel in both places, the original being capable of both meanings. We read likewise of shields of gold and of brass, but these can only be supposed to have been plated over with it, and that they were underneath of some light sort of wood, else they must have been rather a burthen than a help to those that wore them. From the prophet's expression of anointing the shield<sup>o</sup>, some authors have thought, that they had got the art of covering them with leather or raw hides<sup>p</sup>; but those that were covered with brass might want oiling, as much to keep them bright, as those of leather, if any such there were, to preserve them from cracking. Upon the whole, their fighting being rather a kind of skirmishing, than close and regular engagements, we find that they chiefly aimed at excelling in the use of those weapons, which hurt at a distance, such as were the bow, the sling, and the javelin.

*Chariots.*

THE heat, narrowness, and mountainousness of their country rendered cavalry altogether needless and useless, for which reason they never incumbered themselves with any, that being only necessary in cold and spacious countries, where marches are long, and the ways difficult. *Absalom* was the first we read of, that made use of them in his revolt against *David*<sup>q</sup>; but his ill success and loss of the battle shews, that they were of no other service to him, than to facilitate his flight<sup>r</sup>. *Solomon* did, indeed, send for a considerable number of horses from *Egypt*, with a proportionable number of chariots<sup>s</sup>; but some think that he did it rather for grandeur than use; and indeed, the expence did so far out-weigh their service, that his successors contented themselves with hiring them of the *Egyptians*, upon any exigence; insomuch that *Rabshakesh* made their want of them a pretence for taunting king *Ihezkiab*, that, if he should lend him two thousand horses, none of his subjects were capable of riding them<sup>t</sup>. From all which it appears, that the *Israelites* did not much regard either chariots or horses. And yet as to the former, it is certain, they had not only seen them in *Egypt*, where they were in great plenty; but that the *Canaanites*, against whom they were at continual wars, brought an almost incredible quantity of them to the field. *Sifra*, we read, had nine hundred of them in his army<sup>u</sup>; but what is still more surprising is, that those which the *Philistines* made use of against *Saul* are said to have amount-

<sup>k</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14. <sup>l</sup> Vide CALM. Dissert. sur la Milic. des Hebr. <sup>m</sup> Job xx. 24. <sup>n</sup> Pf. xviii. 3. <sup>o</sup> Isai. xxi. 5. <sup>p</sup> CALM. & FOLARD. ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 1. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. xviii. 6, & seq. <sup>s</sup> 1 Kings x. 26, & seq. 2 Chron. i. 14. <sup>t</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 23. <sup>u</sup> Judg. iv. 3, 13.

(Z) Some interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, think, that the coat of mail, which *Saul* died in, was made of some kind of linnen, so woven as to be impenetrable (95). They render the words, which the young *Amalekites* makes *Saul* to say, *I am intangled in this coat of linnen* (96), instead of *anguish*, or *terror is come upon me*, as ours and other versions have it. The truth is, the word שבץ, *Shebetz*, here in question, doth properly signify a sling, or a kind of net-work, such as we shewed the curtains of the court of the tabernacle to have been made of<sup>†</sup>, and the same word is used by the psalmist, when he speaks of the queen's vesture (97). Our version renders it barely, of wrought gold; but might be more properly rendered, *veste scellata*, a garment full of open work: If there had therefore been any truth in what the *Amalekite* told

*David*, the words אחוזי שבץ, *Achazani shebetz*, would be more properly rendered, *I am caught, or, intangled in a net*; but even this might as well allude to his enemies inclosing him as to his armour. But the text shews nothing like such an impenetrable coat, since, in fact, *Saul*, having in vain desired his armour-bearer to run him through with his sword, did put an end to his life, by falling upon his own (98).

We may observe here also, that the original has no less than four different names, for what ours and other versions render a *shield*, namely, מָגֶן, *Magen*, צִנּוּחַ, *Zinnah*, סוֹחֶרֶב, *Socherab*, and כֶּדֶן, *Kiden*; but whether they all signified the same kind of defensive weapon, and only distinguished their various shapes, and the materials they were made of, or otherwise, we dare not say.

(95) Rabb. LEVI, MUNTZ. & al. in 2 Sam. i. 9. CALM. sub voc. Arms. BUXTORF. sub voc. שבץ. (96) 2 Sam. ibid. <sup>†</sup> Vide sup. p. 659. c. (97) Pf. xlv. 13. (98) 1 Sam. xxxi. 4.

- a ed to about thirty thousand \*: A prodigious number indeed, if there is not crept some error in the text; and such as one would scarce think their scanty country would have been large enough to turn them in. They were indeed small, being just fit to contain one or two men at most; some of them had four, and others but two wheels, and they were generally drawn by two horses\*. The text calls them chariots of iron, because their poles, wheels, and axles, &c. were armed with sharp sithes. We are told, that they hindered, at first, the tribe of Judah from conquering those cities that were in the plains\*, because they do most execution there. Besides the terror they were apt to inject on the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and sometimes of putting the adversary to a total rout; so that there was no way of preventing it, but by either their stopping their career, by killing the horses before their too near approach, or, if that failed, by opening a passage to them. It is likely the Israelites were very well skilled in both, seeing they so often engaged them, and still came off with victory, without opposing the same kind of destructive engines.

- W<sup>e</sup> hinted before, that they kept no regular forces before Saul's time; and <sup>Standing</sup> he is mentioned to have had but few standing troops, scarce a handful, in com-<sup>army.</sup> parison to that prodigious number which David did rise them up to, namely, to above two hundred and eighty thousand (A), besides the Cherethites and Pelishtites, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, \* which were strangers kept in that monarch's pay \*. All these were not only continued on foot by his son Solomon, but an addition was made to those forces, of a prodigious number of horses and chariots; in-  
 c somuch that he is recorded to have had forty-thousand stalls for his chariot horses; besides twelve thousand horses for his cavalry, or life-guard \*, and fourteen hundred chariots of war \*: It is certain also, that the history of his successors doth frequently mention such numerous armies, as would scarce be credited in a profane author. Such were those of Abijah, king of Judah, and of Jeroboam, the new king of Israel; the former of which consisted of four hundred thousand men, and the latter of double that number \*, and of which five hundred thousand were killed on the spot, by the army of Judah\*. Such was also that of his son Asa, which consisted of almost six  
 d hundred thousand, with which he discomfited that of Zerah, king of Ethiopia, which consisted of a million of men \*. But the greatest standing army we read of, of any of the Jewish kings, was that of Josaphat, which is said to have amounted to eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all men of valour, and prepared for the war, besides those which he kept in his garrisons throughout the kingdom\*. To these we may add, that Uzziab introduced in Jerusalem a new invention of engines, which, being set up upon the walls and towers of it, did cast arrows, and other offensive weapons, and great stones, at a considerable distance\*.

- W<sup>e</sup> find nothing in the sacred books that can give us an idea of their form-<sup>Art of war.</sup> ing such numerous bodies into order of battle; yet if we may make a judgment  
 e from some scripture phrases, such as *joining in battle*, *setting the battle in array*, *engaging army against army*, and the like; or from their exact and regular division;  
 1. Into twelve main bodies, according to their tribes; 2. Each of these into thou-  
 sands or regiments; 3. Into hundreds or companies; 4. Into tens, and even into  
 threes, every one having a proper officer set over them; but above all, from their  
 admirable method of marching and encamping, mentioned elsewhere †, we may  
 venture to affirm, that they observed no less regularity in their disposition of the  
 order of battle, in their onsets, fighting, evolutions, retiring, and other military  
 motions. If we may believe the Jewish authors, they ranged their army into one  
 single line of a considerable depth, sometimes between twenty or thirty deep.  
 f On the front of these, they placed their light-armed men, that is, their most ex-  
 pert archers, spear-men, and slingers, who began the onset with a warlike shout,

\* 1 Sam. xiii. 5. \* Vide STEWART in Veget. de Re Militar. † Judg. i. 19. \* 1 Chron. xvii. ult. xxvii. 1, & seq. \* See hereafter, p. 778 (C). \* 1 Kings iv. 26. x. 26. † Ibid. x. 26. \* 2 Chron. xiii. 3. † Ibid. ver. 17. † Ibid. xiv. 8, & seq. † Ibid. xvii. 14, & seq. † Ibid. xxvi. 15. † See before, p. 541, & seq.

(A) The book of the Chronicles tells us, that he had 24,000, which came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year, under their respective officers (99), which, being therefore multiplied by 12, amounts to 288,000.

(99) 1 Chron. xxvii. 1, & seq.

and with sending thick showers of arrows and stones upon their enemies front, in order <sup>a</sup> to inject a terror and confusion, and to stop the rushing in of their chariots upon them, by wounding both the horse and the driver. This is indeed probable enough, seeing that method was common to all the *Asiatic* nations. We read that *David* entertained a considerable number of these troops, who are said to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aspect, and swift of foot <sup>b</sup>. But what they add seems more peculiar to their nation, namely, that they placed behind the ranks some of the stoutest subalterns, armed with sithes and axes, to cut in pieces those that offered to give ground. We are still to seek how they disposed of their cavalry, after it became in use among them: Probably after the manner of the *Egyptians*, from whom they had it; that is, in large squadrons of six or eight hundred horse, placed <sup>b</sup> on the two wings <sup>1</sup>. One thing is certain, that whether they had any of their own or not, they never dreaded it in an enemy, but endeavoured at once to open themselves a swift passage through it, as the surest way to gain the victory: And this is the reason why we find them so seldom discomfited, and so often victorious over their enemies, tho' superior to them in this and many other respects.

THE method of attacking the enemy in separate bodies was as ancient, we find, as *Abraham*, who divided his little army of 318 domesticks, and discomfited that of the four confederate kings <sup>a</sup>. It was afterwards followed by *Abimelech* against the *Shechemites* <sup>1</sup>, and by *Saul* against the besiegers of *Jabesh-gilead* <sup>m</sup>, with good success. We shall pass by some other warlike customs which they had in common with <sup>c</sup> other nations, such as the use of the trumpets in their marches and engagements, their usual harangues before they entered into action, and some others which have been hinted at already, under some former heads.

Wars.

THEIR wars were of two kinds, either such as God had obliged them to, as those against the *Amalekites*, and the seven nations of *Canaan*, or such as they undertook by their chiefs and princes, upon any other occasion, whether offensive or defensive. The *Mosaic* law had left these to their discretion; so that they were at liberty to engage in them upon any just grounds. We have already taken notice of their manner of entering upon an offensive war, by offering certain articles of peace, the refusal of which was interpreted as a declaration of war <sup>a</sup>; <sup>d</sup> when it was resolved upon for the recovery of any lost territories, they generally made a demand of them, and, when they were attacked by enemies, they likewise sent to expostulate with them <sup>e</sup>. However, this was not always the case, and a war was sometimes resolved upon, without any visible ground, and the charnel sent in these few words, *Let us look one another in the face*, and returned in terms equivalent <sup>e</sup>. The challenge of the king of *Affyria* to that of *Judab* was still more haughty; *Thy silver and thy gold, thy wives and children, and all thou hast are mine* <sup>e</sup>. The text observes in both cases, that these proud messages proved fatal to the senders. It was the constant custom of the *Hebrew* kings to command their armies in person, if they were able; and the people were so used to it, that, when *Ahab* <sup>e</sup> was mortally wounded by the *Syrians*, some of his servants were forced to stay him up in his chariot, to prevent his army being routed by the news of his death; and as soon as it was discovered by the bloodiness of his chariot, there went immediately a proclamation through his host, to dismiss every man to his city or country; tho' *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judab*, his confederate in that war, did likewise command there in person <sup>e</sup>. In the beginning of the *Jewish* monarchy, their kings used to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at least, we do not read of any horses or chariots used by them till a long time after; and it is very probable, that they took their rise from those alliances which the kings both of *Israel* and *Judab* were often forced to make with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other na- <sup>f</sup> tions, and which put them under a necessity of appearing at the head of their army, with a grandeur answerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were, 1. The head or general of the army (B); 2. The princes, or generals of

Alliances.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 1, & seq. <sup>1</sup> Vide FOLARD. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> Gen. xiv. 13, & seq. <sup>1</sup> Judg. ix. 34. <sup>m</sup> 1 Sam. xi. 11. <sup>a</sup> Deut. xx. 10, & seq. Vide sup. p. 531. (P). <sup>e</sup> Judg. xi. 12. & seq. <sup>e</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 8. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings xx. 2, & seq. <sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 34, & seq.

(B) This officer was called שַׂר צָבָה, *Sar izaba*, *Saul* (100), *Joab* under *David* (1), and *Benajab* or prince of the host, such as *Abner* was under *Solomon* (2).

(100) 2 Sam. ii. 8. (1) *Ibid.* xxiv. 2. (2) 1 Kings ii. 35.

- a each tribe. 3. The commanders of thousands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes (C). 8. Their scribes or muster-masters, who kept *Officers.* exact rolls of all that bore arms under their districts. 9. Lastly, Their *Soterim*, or inspectors, or, as others think, a kind of provosts or ministers to inflict punishments on all delinquents.

THE *Mosaic* law was certainly the best calculated to make a people happy, by making every man live by his labour, without luxury or ambition, and at once free from the danger of being totally ruined, and from the temptation of becoming excessively rich by those two vices, or from too great desire after change and novelty. Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard, and *Agriculture.*

- b could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the sword and bow, as occasion required, but preferred still a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. This is that their lawgiver enforced, not only by the example of the old patriarchs, but much more by the blessings which were promised to their obedience; these were to be neither gold, silver, nor precious stones, stately houses, or sumptuous furniture, but the former and latter rain, regular seasons, plenty of corn, wine, and oil, increase of cattle, multitude of children, with a quiet peaceful enjoyment of them, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of their soil, proved such powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is scarce any known people that gave itself more entirely and universally to it than the *Jews*.  
c Accordingly, from the most opulent families of the tribe of *Judah*, to the most indigent of that of *Benjamin*, from the oldest to the youngest, we find them either plowing or sowing, or reaping, at the threshing-floor, or feeding their numerous herds (D); at least till *Solomon* introduced commerce and luxury, and with it a multitude of manufactures and trades from other nations (E).

- THUS then every one was bound to cultivate that portion of land which the lot had assigned to his ancestors at its first distribution, and to maintain himself and family out of the product of it. It was his patrimony, which he could not change for another, or alienate without injury to his children and disgrace to himself. The judges, and the very kings themselves, did both practise it themselves, and  
d encourage it in others; all the difference there was between them and private men was, that they had more lands and more numerous herds. Thus *David*, tho' he heaped immense quantities of gold and silver, yet, in the list of his riches, mention is made of his arable and pasture grounds, of his store-houses for corn, wine, and oil, of his plantations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees, of his numerous herds of oxen, camels, sheep, and asses. \* His son *Solomon* not only multiplied them in proportion to the great consumption which the vast number of his wives, concubines, and servants required; but tells us likewise what pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him, in the number and elegance of them \*; where it is to be observed, that his fine gardens and orchards were chiefly stored with such fruit-trees, plants, and herbs, as were more for use than shew. How he commends the  
e diligence of the husband-man, and exposes the stupidity of the slothful, every

\* 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, & seq. \* Ecclef. ii. 5, & seq.

(C) These are called שַׁלִּישִׁים, *Shalishim*, and mentioned after the decurions, from which it is concluded that they were inferior to them; but what their office was, is not easy to guess.

(D) Thus we find *Gideon* threshing, when he received his commission, and *Boaz* at his harvest, when *Ruth* came thither to glean. *Saul*, tho' anointed king, was at his plough when he received news of the distressed *Gileadites*, and *David* returned to feed his flocks after *Samuel* had anointed him king; and when he was come to the height of his grandeur, his sons used to feast one another at their sheep-shearing (3). We omit many more examples of the like nature, with which the sacred history abounds.

(E) Whoever considers how many curious manufactures were employed in the fabricature of the tabernacle, and all its sumptuous utensils, and that those arts were rather subservient to luxury than to

the necessities of life, such as were the casting of metals, engraving and cutting of precious stones, weaving of tapestry, embroidery, and many more, will be apt to conclude, that other more useful trades and manufactures were already in much greater perfection among the *Israelites*, and consequently, that they could not chuse but bring and cultivate them in the land of *Canaan*; but whether they, especially their master-artificers, had learned all those fine arts in *Egypt*, or were miraculously endowed with them, as the text doth rather intimate, yet it doth not appear that any of them were afterwards used among them till *Solomon's* time; and even he was forced to send for his artificers from abroad; probably, because the *Philistines* in *Saul's* time had deprived them of their workmen in iron (4), without which few trades could be carried on.

(3) 2 Sam. xiii. 23, & seq.

(4) 1 Sam. xiii. 19, & seq.

chapter almost of his proverbs is a witness †, however, he came afterwards to depart from his own maxims, which were built upon the most solid reason and truest policy.

For whoever considers the small extent of *Canaan*, and the numerousness of its inhabitants, will be rather apt to wonder how it could be able to maintain such incredible multitudes, though cultivated with all the care and industry they were capable of (F), especially considering that it was to rest every seventh year; and yet it is plain that it had more than sufficed them, seeing they exported great quantities of corn, oil, honey, and other provisions to the city of *Tyre*, both for the service of the king †, and for the merchants who came thither for it from other parts ‡. Besides these, they had great quantities of rie, barley, and other grains, variety of herbs and roots, and especially of fruits fit for food; such were their olives, dates, figs, pomegranates, and many more. Their very vines, which were very numerous, and of whose extraordinary fertility the spies brought such a noble specimen ¶, did afford them food as well as drink. For, as wine was not drank in such plenty, as it has been since, their dried grapes were not only in great plenty, but were justly esteemed an excellent food. To all these we may add, the multitude of cattle, which they not only bred themselves, but which they had from other neighbouring countries. For we have seen before, that *Mesha*, king of *Moab*, paid a yearly tribute to *Abah* king of *Israel*, of a hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams with their wool \*. *Jehoshaphat* drew likewise a constant supply of small cattle from the *Arabians* †; from which we may conclude, that all those nations, that were tributary to the *Jews*, paid their tribute in such commodities as their country abounded most with, whether for food or raiment. It must be likewise remembered, that the country had no woods, parks, or any waste grounds. The ancient *Canaanites* were already too populous and streightened to leave any part of the land uncultivated. Their houses were not more spacious than their families required, and their gardens and orchards did equally afford them nourishment with their fields and vineyards; so that though the *Jews* had doubtless lost, in a great measure, their skill in agriculture, as well in *Egypt*, where they were otherwise employed, and where the lands were manured in a manner peculiar to itself, as during their abode in the wilderness; yet, coming into a country so well and so thoroughly cultivated, necessity alone would have obliged them to imitate the diligence and industry of its old inhabitants (G).

## AFTER

† Vide int. al. c. vi. 6, & seq. † 1 Kings v. 11. \* Ezek. xxvii. 17. † Num. xiii. 13, & seq. † 2 Kings iii. 4. vid. sup. p. 290. d. † 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

(F) The reader may easily form a judgment of their numerousness, by the computation we made of those that came out of *Egypt*, whom we shewed to have amounted to near three millions †; and by that which *David* caused to be made a little before his death, the sum of which was thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, which being above double the number of those who came out of *Egypt*, we must consequently allow, with the same proportion of young and old men, wives, servants, and slaves, to have been at least six millions; a prodigious number seemingly, to be all fed out of the product of so small a country, tho' far enough from impossible, if we consider it, not as it is now, laid waste and depopulated by the *Turk*, but as it was at that time, fertile, populous, cultivated, and improved \*.

(G) There will be nothing surprising in all this, if we remember what has been observed concerning the populousness of *Egypt*, especially the upper one, called *Thebais*, and of its metropolis, which could send out 10000 men and 200 chariots out at each of its gates at one and the same time \*\*; and of what *Tacitus* tells us of that province, that it furnished 700,000 fighting men (5), tho' the soldiery were here scarce a fourth part of its men, where there were so many trades and manufactures which excluded them by the laws from bearing arms;

whereas, in *Judea*, the soldiery made near one half of its male inhabitants. *Livy* tells us, that *Rome*, 188 years after its foundation, had 800,000 citizens fit to bear arms (6); and yet, as a judicious author observes (7), they could only subsist from the territories that were about it, which are now altogether barren and uncultivated, and extended at most but about half a degree, or 30 miles. We may add, that, when it was at the best, it was not half so fertile as *Palestine*, whose extent was five degrees, that is, ten times as much every way, as is plain by the geography we have given of it; so that, even allowing them to be both equally fertile, populous, and cultivated, the latter must produce 99 times as much provision as the former, and consequently be able to maintain 99 times the number of people. Supposing then these *Roman* citizens to have made up one third part of the inhabitants, which is the most that can be supposed, the whole will amount to 240,000, which being multiplied by 99, the sum of those of *Judea* will be 23,760,000 souls, which is above three times as many as we need suppose to have been in *Israel*, from the largest account that the holy writ gives us of them. However, lest this should not satisfy every reader, unless it can be proved that the land was capable of maintaining such a number, the author above quoted has taken the

† Vid. sup. p. 473. a. b. & p. 506. not. P. \* Ibid. p. 581. \*\* Sup. p. 175. 200. f. pass. & alib. (5) *Annal. lib. 2.* (6) *Lib. 2. c. 24.* (7) *FLEURY Mœurs des Israélites. c. 7.*



- a** AFTER what has been observed here, and in a former note, we must not expect <sup>Trades and</sup> to find any trades or manufactures among them before *David* or *Solomon's* time, ex-<sup>Manufactures.</sup> cept such as were absolutely necessary; and even these were carried on in a different way from other great nations: They built their own houses, their wives and servants spun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dressed their meat, and, in a word, supplied the business of cloth-workers, taylors, shoe-makers, cooks, bakers, confectioners, and many more. The plainness of their food, their cloathing and household-furniture, some few utensils excepted, rendered those trades unnecessary, till a more luxurious way of living got footing among them. We have already spoken of all the other particulars, except their cloathing, and this was plain and
- b** artless enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. It must not, however, be expected here, that we should give an exact description of their dress, because we have no paintings or statues of them, as we have of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but, from what we find in the sacred books, it appears that they had a long loose tunick and drawers, made of linnen, next to their body, and a loose garment somewhat like a cloak, of light woollen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad (H). The beauty of them consisted either in <sup>Dress.</sup> the fineness of the cloth, or the richness of the dye, such as purple, scarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plainest and the most commonly worn was the white, because it was the natural colour of the linnen and wool, and could be more easily washed;
- c** upon which account it is much recommended by *Solomon*<sup>2</sup>, it being highly necessary in hot countries to shift frequently. Accordingly, we find it was usual among them to make presents of changes of raiment<sup>3</sup>; though probably some of them might be richer than others, both as to the stuff, the dye, and other ornaments; and these might be reserved to be worn on their solemn festivals and other publick occasions. As to the youth of both sexes, it is probable they did wear their stuffs striped or flowered with various colours, such as was that of *Joseph*, such as we find was also that of *Tamar*, and of all *David's* other unmarried daughters<sup>4</sup>. We do not read of any other ornaments to the mens dress, except

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 3.    <sup>3</sup> Gen. xlv. 22.    <sup>4</sup> 2 Kings v. 5, 23.    <sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

the pains to compute what portion of land will maintain one man, and from the extent of the whole country, to make an estimate of the number of people that might conveniently subsist in it. We shall follow our author, or the subject no farther: Every reader, that understands figures, may easily convince himself, by comparing the number of acres which a country five degrees square may be reasonably supposed to contain, with the largest number of its inhabitants, that we find upon record at any time.

(H) The scripture, at least, mentions only these two, the one under the name of כְּתוֹנֶת, *Ketoneth*, or coat, and the other under that of מְעִיל, *Me'il*, or upper garment. The former, being next to the skin, is reasonably supposed to have been made of linnen, as the properest wear for hot countries, and for a people inured to labour. It was long and loose, but, when they went about any business, they tied it about, whence that expression of girding oneself is synonymous to getting oneself in readiness. The latter was only a large piece of cloth cut off the whole piece, without shaping or seam: As for the breeches, they were indeed ordered to be worn by the priests, but are probably enough supposed to have been worn by the rest for decency sake; tho' if we were allowed to guess at the reason of their wearing of fringes at the bottom of their garments, abstracted from that given in the text, we should be apt to think that they were designed to keep the garment close to the legs by their weight, to prevent the wind, or any violent motion, throwing them up. As to the coat of many colours spoken of immediately after, we have followed our own and the generality of interpreters, tho' it is much disputed whether the original word פְּסִיסִים, *Psisim*,

doth really signify any such thing. Some think it was a robe with a long train; but tho' that might have fitted young princesses, yet it is scarce credible, that *Jacob* would have sent his son *Joseph* on such a journey with such a cumbersome garb. Others think the word to signify a wide kind of sleeve, narrow towards the shoulder, and widening towards the wrist, such as the *Arabians* used to wear. There is no being certain which of these three versions is right, only ours is confirmed by the *Targum*, the septuagint and vulgate, which may easily outweigh all that is urged on the other side, were the subject of more moment than it is.

What we have advanced of the *Israelites* being able to supply their own wants without the help of artificers, during so many centuries, will not appear a matter of wonder to those, who are acquainted with *Homer's* writings, and remember that he makes *Ulysses* make his own shoes, and build himself stately cots for his numerous herds (8), and *Ulysses* to build his own fine house and ship, whilst his wife's loom supplied the house with hangings and carpets, and the family with cloaths (9). So that the *Hebrews* were not the only people who affected this simple way of living, and thought it an instance of great wisdom to be able to supply their own wants, without the help of other hands. Neither need we go to *Plato's* common-wealth for parallels of this patriarchal life, since there is scarce a polite nation in antiquity, which did not live up to it as much as the *Jews*; witness the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Phenicians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians*, &c. witness also *Homer*, *Magen*, *Cato*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, and other authors, who have either writ upon, or in commendation of it.

(8) *Odys.* xiv. & xxiii.

(9) *Odys.* v.



except that of the fringes, which were fastened to a blue ribbon, and sewed round the border of their garments; and even these, if we except the conjectures offered in the last note, were ordained only as a memorandum that their happiness depended upon their obedience<sup>c</sup>. Some covering they wore upon their head, but the fashion is not to be guessed at; they wore likewise shoes abroad, and perhaps a kind of stockings, but how and what they were made of, we are equally to seek; only their shoes, or rather sandals, seem to have been a sole, whether of wood, skin, or some other material, tyed to the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the washing of the feet so frequent among them. All these might be easily made without artificers.

THE dress of the women, especially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious, because they bestowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was still within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and silver, but a great deal of that finery was brought at first from *Egypt*, and more might be easily added unto it, as they enlarged their conquest, without entertaining any artists to supply them with it, because their fashions did not alter as ours do. However, it is not improbable that they had some of these, as well as several other rich stuffs and linnen from *Tyre*, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; especially after *Solomon's* time, when pride and luxury grew to such a height, that *Isaiah* spent almost a whole chapter in enumerating the costly ornaments with which that sex used to deck itself in his time<sup>d</sup>; but concerning which it were impossible to frame any tolerable idea, because the terms there used are unknown to us. One thing may be observed from it, that they were very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet, and that they wore some kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a musical cadence to their steps. *Judith's* sandals are particularly taken notice of to have ravished *Holofernes*<sup>e</sup>, and the richness and elegancy of her other ornaments might give us a clear notion of a compleat *Jewess's* dress, were we sure that they had not by that time mixed some of the *Babylonish* fashion with it. However, we have a more authentick description of the female garb in the prophet *Ezekiel*<sup>f</sup>, where the *Jewish* nation is compared to a poor, naked, and helpless woman, whom God, out of pity, and husband-like kindness, cloathed and girded with silk and fine linnen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, such as that of *Judith*, and put a jewel upon her forehead, a costly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wrists, ear-rings in her ears, and sandals upon her feet. To all these we may add the veil, which is often mentioned in scripture, and was very necessary in those countries, both to preserve the complexion and the character of women, it being esteemed highly immodest for them to appear without it; but whether they were made of some such transparent stuffs as our gauzes, so as that they might see their way through them, and at the same time give some glimpse both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwise, we cannot determine.

It doth not appear, however, that they fell into this excess of finery, 'till about the latter end of *David's* life; till then a wonderful oeconomy seems to have reigned in every family under the wives at home, and the husbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, strength, swiftness, and surprising exploits, for which the scripture doth so highly extol them, especially *David's* worthies<sup>g</sup> and excellent troops<sup>h</sup>. But the immense treasures which that monarch had heaped up, having inspired him with a desire of consecrating some part of it to God, by building a sumptuous temple to him, soon introduced a number of artificers (I), such as carvers, masons, carpenters, joyners, gold and silver-smiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and stone; and these brought on a number of others, without which they could not subsist. His son *Solomon* built himself some stately palaces, as well as the temple,

<sup>c</sup> Num. xv. 37. <sup>d</sup> Ch. iii. 16, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Judith xvi. 9. <sup>f</sup> Ch. xvi. 10, & seq. <sup>g</sup> 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. ad fin. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xvii. 8, & seq. & alib. pass.

(I) It is said in two places, that *Solomon* sent to king *Hiram* for some of his best artists in metals, stone, and wood, because he had none so skilful among his own subjects (10), and presently after that he raised a levy of thirty thousand men out of all *Israel* to carry on the work (11); from which

we may reasonably conclude, that the former were only designed by that politic prince to instruct the latter in that great variety of arts, which were necessary to execute his noble designs, as the most curious part was actually done upon the plain of *Jordan* (12).

(10) 2 Chron. ii. 3, & seq. 1 Kings v. 6. (11) Ibid. ver. 13, & seq. (12) 2 Chron. iv. 17.

a temple; and this probably gave his subjects such a relish of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied still more. The division of the two kingdoms increased the mischief. *Jerusalem* and many other places must be fortified; chariots and engines of war, and a much greater quantity of arms of all sorts became necessary, which required a suitable number of artificers; inso-much that we read in the *Chronicles* of a valley belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, called by the name of the valley of *Cbarashim*, or artificers, because it was inhabited only by such<sup>1</sup>. In a word, one may guess at the increase of them by the number which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away captive out of the bare city of *Jerusalem*<sup>2</sup>, though it is plain at the same time, that the *Jews* did never neglect the cultivation of their lands for the sake of these. On the contrary, it is only the product of this last, that is said to have been exported<sup>3</sup>, whereas that of their other manufactures seem to have been all consumed within themselves. *Solomon* himself, who opened so wide a door to commerce and luxury, was so far from thinking it beneath his care, that he not only cultivated it himself, as was hinted before, but did also earnestly recommend it to his people, as the best means of growing rich, preserving health, prolonging their days, and leading a quiet and happy life; inso-much that there is scarce a chapter in his proverbs, wherein he doth not enforce it from one or other of these advantages. We may even affirm, that he made trade and navigation, though in all appearance his most favourite projects, subservient to the promotion of agriculture. But as those did in a manner rise and set with him, we shall suspend all further account of them, till we come to speak of his reign; the peacefulness of which may also, in all probability, be the reason, why we read of so few *Jewish* worthies and brave generals in his days, in comparison of those, which his warlike father had had during his whole life (K).

POETRY is perhaps the only art in which the *Hebrews*, at least since *Moses's* time, Poetry: have excelled all other nations, we had almost said, that have been ever since. It has, indeed, this great advantage, above all others, that the authors of it, being divinely inspired, seem to have consecrated it wholly to the honour of God, and adapted it to the service of the temple. No wonder then, if not only their great law-giver, but their monarchs, judges, priests, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by some excellent performance in this kind: Witness, the two inimitable songs of *Moses* mentioned elsewhere, those of *Deborah* and *Hannah*, the whole book of *Psalms*, the *Canticles*, the thanksgiving of *Hezekias*, the book of *Job*, a great part of the prophet *Isaiab*, and the *Lamentations*; not to mention some other prophets, who are likewise supposed, by the loftiness of their stile, to have writ, at least, part of their prophecies in verse;

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 14. <sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 16. <sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 17.

(K) The valiant men of *Judah* are most beautifully described in the 87th *Psalms*, under the figure of *Sion*, which is commonly used to signify that tribe<sup>a</sup>; but it has happened in this as in many other *Psalms* and poetical pieces of the sacred books, that not only the beauties and energy, but even the sense has been entirely lost, and another substituted, which scarce will bear that name. We shall therefore beg leave to subjoin a new and even more literal, or at least idiomatical version of this *Psalms*, that our readers may see a specimen both of the beauty and elegance of it, and how far it has been wronged by all the versions we have hitherto met with. The elegance, which they have overlooked here, is in the opposition between the pronoun *היא* *Zeh*, which is commonly used to express an inconsiderable person; and the word *איש* *ish*, which signifies a considerable one, in opposition to *אדם*, which is used to express those of inferior rank; according to which the sense will run thus:

She [*Zion*] or the tribe of *Judah* is founded upon the holy mountains.

The Lord has more love for her gates (or places of resort) than for all the dwellings of *Jacob*.

Glorious things shall be spoken of thee, O city of God.

In mentioning, among my acquaintance, either *Rahab* (*Egypt*) or *Babylon*, or here *Philistia*, *Tyrs*, and *Ethiopia*, (the phrase is) *Zeh*, this inconsiderable person was born there, or it has given birth to such a one.

But of *Sion* it is, or shall be said, *ish* *we ish*, this or that great person owes his birth to it, seeing he, who is the most high, is to establish her; and so on.

We shall not go about to justify this new version; those, who are masters of the *Hebrew*, will easily see that it is not only more natural and agreeable to the original, but also freer from these expletives which are forced in, to make it speak sense; and criticisms of this nature would be needless to those who are unacquainted with it. This *Psalms* we take to be parallel with the 48th, which abounds with sublime expressions in praise of *Sion*, but such as can hardly be reached by any translation.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. int. al. Pf. lxxviii. 68.

concerning which it is universally agreed, that nothing can be conceived more a majestick or more surprisingly sublime ; whether we consider the variety of action, the greatness of the sentiments, the richness of the figures, and imagery, or the strength and beauty of the expressions. To all these we may add, that a strain of the most seraphick piety, and of the most excellent morality, runs through the whole ; which conveys into the reader's mind the most important truths, the noblest precepts and instructions, that can possibly frame and fit it for all stages and conditions of life ; whilst the expressions and figures, strong and lofty as they be, are no less adapted to the reach and understanding of the young and illiterate, than they are to raise the deepest attention and admiration in those who are the ablest masters of it (L). And yet it is certain that, like all ancient works b of that kind, it frequently alludes to things, customs, and sayings, to which we are utter strangers at this distance of time, tho' they were then perfectly known ; and that it abounds with words and idioms, whose true meaning we are left to guess at, for want of such parallels as might determine it to us. From these, and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may easily guess how short all translation must come of the beauty and energy of the original ; so that we may be really said to guess at it, as much from the thicknes of the medium through which we behold it, as from the amazing lustre, it is still able to cast through it. This is evident, from the character which Mr. Gildon, after many others, has given of it : That *there is nothing so sweet, so tender and pathetic ; and at the same c time nothing so grand, so majestick, so terrible, and so harmonious, as the poetick part of the Bible, to which all the beaten verse is low and flat.* We may add, that nothing can be juster than this character, tho' both he, and the far greatest part of those who have so highly extolled it, have rather judged of it from the versions they had read, than from any great acquaintance they had with the original.

BUT tho' there be nothing more universally agreed on, than the excellency of this ancient *Hebrew* poetry, above all others, in all the above-mentioned respects, yet there is scarce a point more debated, or less possible to be determined, than the nature, metre, cadence, and rules of it. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very signal discoveries in this intricate province, but they have either d had

(L) Such are these expressions of *Moses*, The heavens, and the heaven of heavens, are the Lord's thy God (13). I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass. Ye shall be terrified at the sound of a shaken leaf. You shall flee when none pursueth (14). One shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, &c. Such are likewise these of *Isaiah* : To whom will ye liken the Lord, who measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and the heavens with a span ; who weighs the mountains in the balance ? All the nations of the earth are as a drop of water that sticks to the bucket, and as the small dust that remains in the scales (15). Or those of the psalmist : The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped at the presence of God. The mountains skipped like rams, and the vallies like young sheep (16). Who stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain, telleth the number of the stars, and calls them by their names (17). He bowed the heavens and came down ; darkness was under his feet. He rode upon the wings of cherubims (18). He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind (19). We shall go no further with instances which are innumerable ; but observe here, that some of them have such a complicated beauty, that the best part of it may be easily lost to any but an attentive reader, who is likewise a good judge of poetry. Of this kind is the last expression we instanced in, of *walking upon the wings of the wind* ; for as a modern author justly observes (20), wind is generally used

to express the velocity of any thing ; and here the wings of the wind carry with them an idea of the utmost fierceness of that velocity ; so that we cannot imagine the serene and deliberate walking of the Deity upon a creature of the most unconceivable swiftness, without being filled with the deepest wonder and abasement. And yet this inimitable beauty has passed unobserved by many, otherwise learned, translators and commentators, who have chosen to render it, *who rideth upon the wings of the wind* ; as if riding upon the wind, which is common to feathers, straw, dust, &c. conveyed a more natural or sublimer idea of the Godhead, than the literal one of walking upon it.

This is one of the reasons why the *Psalms*, the book of *Job*, and some other poetick pieces of holy writ, lose so much of their beauty and energy in all versions (21). However, there is this difference between these two books, that the latter cannot bear a literal translation ; whereas those of the former, which have followed the original closest, have succeeded best ; such are, in particular, the *Latin* ones of *Castalis*, *Buchanan*, and *Jenson*. This last is, indeed, the most literal, and wonderfully displays the elegance of the *Hebrew*. It has but one fault, namely, its running all along in exámetros and pentámetros, which takes off a great deal of its majesty ; whereas, had it been all in exámetros, there would not have been a better, as there is not indeed a more exact one in all other respects extant, that we know of.

(13) *Dent. x. 14.* (14) *Levit. xxvi. pass. Dent. xxxii. 30.* (15) *Isai. xl. 12, & seq.* (16) *Pf. lxxviii. 8. cxiv. 4.* (17) *civ. 2. cxlviii. 4.* (18) *Pf. xviii. 7, & seq.* (19) *civ. 3.* (20) *AAR. HILL Not. in Gideon.* (21) *Vid. PINEDA DIEG. DE STUNIC. & al. in Job ; BUGHENAC, BUCER, BUCHAN. & al. in Psal.*

- a had the modesty to conceal them from the world<sup>a</sup>, or those who have ventured to publish them, have only provoked some learned antagonists to expose their weakness and vanity<sup>a</sup>. The truth is, that those who have made any attempts in this way have been forced to shift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctuation, and sometimes the very sense, in order to bring the text to their rules. This is what a learned modern has done almost in every verse, in a dissertation writ on purpose to prove that *Hebrew* poetry was writ in rhyme, like that of the *French* and other modern nations<sup>a</sup>. In order to this, he takes the liberty to lengthen or shorten the verses and syllables, as he thinks fit, without observing any other rule or proportion in them than the jingle of the last words; inso-
- b much that there is not, we will not say with *Calmet*<sup>a</sup> any of *Tully's* orations, but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the old testament, which may not, by the same method, be reduced into rhyming verse. He had more need have said, that the rhyme, in those poetical works, was not only altogether accidental, but almost unavoidable, unless the authors had made a resolution against it, and taken more than ordinary pains to alter their words, and cramp their diction, in order to shun it. Those that are ever so little acquainted with the *Hebrew* grammar know, that the terminations of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the possessive pronouns to both of them, are so alike and uniform, that it would be vastly more difficult to write a poem in blank verse in that
- c tongue, than to have it all in rhyme. And yet it must be owned, that he has displayed a great deal of learning in it, and that several eminent men have embraced his opinion<sup>a</sup>, tho' there is one objection against it which seems almost insurmountable; which is, that there is no rhyme but what is plainly accidental in all the acrostick or alphabetick pieces we have left, such as several *Psalms*<sup>a</sup>, the *Lamentations*, and some few others, where the length of the verse is determined by the first letter of it, and where consequently the liberty of transposing and altering the measure is quite taken off. Our author doth indeed tell us, that these were not designed for rhyme but blank verse; but this is said gratis: and what is more, some of them have a greater number of hemistichs rhyming to one
- d another, than those which are pretended to be written designedly so; as the reader may see by the specimen in the margin (M).

<sup>a</sup> F. VATABL. ap. MERCER in Job iii. MEIBOM. vid. Journal des Sçavans, 1699. & al. <sup>a</sup> FR. GOMAN Lyra David. TH. HERBERT. Vid. CAPEL cont. Goman. BEDFORD cont. Le Clerc. <sup>a</sup> Biblioth. Univerf. May, 1688. <sup>a</sup> Comment. in Exod. xv. & alib. <sup>a</sup> BERN. LAMI. CAROFALO & al. <sup>a</sup> Pf. xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxiii, cxix, & cxlv.

(M) We shall instance only in the 34th Psalm, and omit all the blank verses in it; and here the reader will see by the interlineal version of them, how accidental, and as it were inevitable, the rhyme is in those that chance to have it.

Loveth days  
Obeſ yamim  
to ſee good.  
liroth tof.

Ver. I fought the Lord, and he heard me:

4. *Daraſhti eth Adonai uebanani:*  
And from all my troubles he delivered me.  
*Umiccol megurothai izillani.*

5. They looked unto him and were inlightened:  
*Hibittu elaw venabaru:*  
And their faces were not confounded.  
*Upnehem al jechpharu.*

9. Fear ye the Lord, ye ſaints of his:  
*Ireu eth Adonai kedſhau:*  
For no lack (is) to them that fear him.  
*Ki aen machſor liroaw.*

10. Little lions lack and hunger:  
*Kephirim raſhu verabau:*  
They that ſeek the Lord ſhall not lack  
*Vedoreſhe Adonai la jachſeru*  
any good.  
*col tof.*

12. What man deſireth life:  
*Mi haiſh hacbaphetz chajim:*

13. Keep thy tongue from evil:  
*Netzor leſhorcha merab:*  
And thy lips from ſpeaking guiſe.  
*Upbatacha midabber mirmah.*

These are in the very order we find them in all *Hebrew* Pfalters, without any tranſpoſition or change. But, did the alphabetical order permit it, it is plain, that one might reduce every acroſtic psalm and poem into rhyme by Mr. *Le Clerc's* method.

We hope there is no neceſſity to acquaint our readers, that an alphabetic psalm begins with each of the letters of the alphabet ſucceſſively, either in every verſe, as in the 25th, 34th, and 145th; or every other verſe, as in the 37th; or in every hemiſtick or half verſe, as in the 111th, 112th, and 113th. The 119th doth ſtill differ from all theſe, becauſe every verſe of a ſtanza begins with the ſame letter of the alphabet; ſo that it has 22 ſanzas, anſwering to the 22 letters of it. Thoſe, who deſire to ſee a more ſuccinct conſutation of this notion, may read our learned Mr. *Bedford's* treatiſe concerning the temple muſick, where he will find a ſhort, but full conſutation of *Le Clerc's*.

THE truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that ancient tongue, which, for aught appears, has been lost ever since the captivity, makes it morally impossible to determine any thing about it with any tolerable probability; because, without it, we never can be sensible of the length or shortness of the syllables, or of the harmony of words and verses, in which a great part of the poetick beauty consists. Had we indeed the same helps in this, as we have in the Greek and Latin tongues, we might perhaps have attained an equal knowledge of its quantity and metre, and of the construction and cadence of its verse; and tho' it is probable we might not have found it so elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet should not we have fallen into that strange notion of so many learned moderns, that it was written without measure, form, or regularity. Surely one would think that Scaliger had never heard of any modern Hebrew poetry, how common soever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the Syriack, nor the Arabick, were capable of such a constraint; for it is plain, even from those specimens which Buxtorf has given us out of some of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regular as any we have, either in Greek or Latin; and consequently, that the Hebrew is as capable of the strictest poetick rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the syllables. We may add, that they have been so far from thinking metre and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an ornament or not, is nevertheless a confinement, tho' not so great in the Hebrew as it is in other tongues, for the reasons alledged a little before. Besides, it appears further, that the ancient Hebrew poetry was confined to some certain rules and restraints, tho' unknown to us, because, in many of those works, we find some letters retrenched, and others superadded, in order to lengthen or shorten the verses or the syllables, or to give a sweeter cadence to them.

ON the other hand, to hear some ancient authors, both Jews and Christians, such as Josephus and Philo, Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerom, expatiate on this subject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the Hebrew, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preserved to their time, they give us so succinct an account of every poetical piece of the old testament. Thus, according to them, the two songs of Moses were written in heroick verse: the Psalms were of a mixt sort, trimeters, pentameters, and others exameters. St. Jerom has ventured to be still more particular, and to tell us that the songs of Moses, the books of Isaiah, Job, and some others, were exameters and pentameters; that the Psalms were sapphick, iambick, and alcaick, after the manner of Horace and Pindar; that the Lamentations were of the sapphick kind; and, in his preface to the book of Job, he says, that, from the third verse of the third chapter, the verse is mostly exameter and pentameter, consisting of dactyls and spondees; tho' he adds, that it is here and there intermixed with some other foot or feet; and that some verses, tho' still more irregular, do yet preserve such a cadence and harmony as never fails of pleasing those who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with respect to Moses's song in Deuteronomy, he seems either to have forgot, or to correct himself in another place, and says, that it was wrote in iambick verse of four feet. The same he says also of the 119th, and some other psalms; concerning which we own ourselves wholly in the dark. All therefore that we can say of him and of these learned ancients is, that they give us their bare word for what they say, for none of them has ventured so far as to give us any proof or example of it; so that the reader is at liberty to take it or not. But upon the whole, the greatest part of them, even those two solemn ones of Moses, were certainly of the lyrick kind, composed and set to musick, sung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the sound of divers instruments, and with dances suitable to the musick, as we shall shew under the next head.

IN the mean time, tho' we willingly excuse ourselves from entering into the merit of the cause, whether or not the Hebrews were the first inventors of poetry; because

\* Vid. SCALIG. Animadv. in chron. Euseb. p. 7. EGUBIN. L. CAPEL MAR. MARTIN. VASMUTH. PFEIFER. GROT. in LUC. i. 46. CALM. Dissert. & al.    † Thesaur. ling. Sanc. ad fin.    ‡ Joseph. Ant. i. ii. c. ult. i. iv. c. ult. i. vii. c. 10. Phil. in vit. Mos. & lib. de vit. contemplat. ad fin. Orig. ap. c. xxx. præpar. i. xi. c. 2.    \* Epist. ad Paulin. & præf. in chron. Euseb. vid. & comment. Ezech. Euseb.    † Vid. Epist. 135. ad Paul. Urbic.

- a because we cannot tell how much they might have brought of it out of *Ægypt*; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the *Greeks*, who attribute the lyric kind to *Orpheus*; whereas it is plain, that it was in its perfection among the *Jews* at the time of the *Exod*, from that excellent piece which *Moses* composed immediately after their passage through the *Red Sea*, which was upwards of 200 Years before *Orpheus*, since he is said to have gone a stripling to the *Argonautick* war; that is, at soonest, about *Gideon's* time<sup>r</sup>. We shall willingly allow them the invention of dramatick poetry; which consisting only in imitation, and being calculated to make instruction go down, for the sake of the diversion that it is interlarded with, suited their rough and unpolished genius, such as it
- b was at that time and since, much better than that of the *Hebrews*, who, for aught appears to the contrary, never admitted it among them. For though the author of *Job* and *Solomon*, in his *Canticles*, introduce divers speakers, yet it is plain, their design is rather to express their sentiments in a more lively and pathetick manner, than to represent any action such as commonly come into a dramatick piece. Whereas the lyric, which consists of musical hymns and odes, and is adapted to promote the glory and worship of God, was the most proper to inspire that people with a more than ordinary delight in it, was chiefly calculated for that end by its first *Hebrew* authors, and has continued in the greatest vogue and admiration amongst them ever since, inasmuch that it seems
- c to have been in some manner peculiar to them. Again, if *Homer* and *Virgil* are so justly admired for their judicious choice of such words and phrases, as carried a strong idea of the action in their very sound, those who have but the least knowledge of the *Hebrew*, and will but make some attention to this particular beauty, will easily feel it in almost every line (N); and yet without that air of affectation

<sup>r</sup> See *USHER's Annals*. *SIR IS. NEWT. BEDFORD's Chronol.* & al.

(N) We should be glad to give such of our readers, as are unacquainted with the *Hebrew*, some faint idea of this; but, unless they can forget for a moment their less masculine pronunciation, 'tis to be

feared our labour will be lost. However, in hopes that it may excite a curiosity in those that do, to examine it more nearly in this view, we shall venture to subjoin the few instances following out of the *Psalms*.

Let the sea roar, and the fulness of it.

*Jirham baion umelo-e.* Pf. xcvi. 7.

Let the floods clap their hands.

*Neharoth jimbhan caph.* ib. ver. 8.

The Lord also thundered from heaven, and the most high gave his voice.

*Vejarghem basamajim Elobim, uvelion giten col.* xviii. 13.

The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they trembled, and the depths quaked.

*Rauka mayim Elobim, rauka mayim; jakbilu, apb yirghazu tebomoth.* lxxvii. 16.

Mountains skipped like rams, vallies like young sheep.

*Hebarim rakkedcu ke-elim, gebagboth kibne zan.* cxiv. 4.

For God is high, and looks on the humble, the proud afar off he beholdeth.

*Ki ram Elobim, shapbal yre geboagb mimerkbak yiedagb.* cxxxviii. 6.

All the horns of the wicked will I break.

*Col carne reshaghim agadeagb.* lxxv. ult.

And now her carvings, at once, with axes and hammers do they break.

*Vegbatta pettukhiab jakbad bacashill ukelapboth gabalomun.* lxxiv. 6.

Chariot and horse are cast into a deep sleep.

*Nirdam varrekeb vassus.* lxxvi. 7.

And in my God I will knock down an ox.

*Ubelohai adaleg shoer.* xviii. 29.

The reader will easily judge of the rest by these few, the three last of which are well worth, at least, that so much admired one of *Virgil*, *Procumbit bumi bos*; or any other of that poet, or of *Homer*.

But not to dwell longer on this elegance, it will suffice to say upon the whole, that whoever makes any tolerable attention to the beautiful choice of words, where-ever the subject is of the same nature with the instances given above, he will find them fall with a suitable force and rapidity, like

the cataracts of the *Nile*; and where the subject is of a contrary nature, he will discover in them the most surprizing smoothness and harmony that can be imagined. But of this last it will be still more difficult to give our *English* readers any tolerable idea; because an unknown language, tho' it were the *Italian*, will always carry a distastful harshness to the ear, which nothing can overcome but a knowledge of at least the meaning of the words. We shall therefore content ourselves with giving them the two or three following instances:

Hearken my people to my law; incline their ears to the words of my mouth.

*Haazina bami shorati battu ofnekem leimre phi.*



a affectation and study, which visibly appears in those two poets, especially in the latter. We may here add, that if the most beautiful figures, and the strongest metaphors and allegories, be a sign of a poetick tongue, the *Hebrew* exceeds both the *Greek*, and all others that we know of, in this particular also.

Musick.

WHAT their musick was, with which they used to accompany and enliven their poetick performances, we know little of but from conjecture. We have indeed nothing left of it that can assure us that it was equal to their poetry; and yet if we judge of the excellency of the one, from that of the other, and if the most elegant and harmonious words and phrases, composed upon the sublimest subjects, could inspire a musical person with a suitable melody, it will be absurd to suppose their musick to have been otherwise than sweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, tho' attended with a noble gravity answerable to the grandeur of the subject and occasion. Musick and poetry are justly observed to be twin-sisters; they both spring from the same liberal faculty. To imagine therefore any such an inequality between them would be to suppose, that it requires greater talents to form a good musician than a good poet; which is a palpable absurdity. However, were we to judge of the latter by what some learned commentators have conjectured, concerning both it and the musical instruments of the *Jews*, one would rather think them antipodes. Indeed nothing can be more opposite, than the supposition of their having so exquisite an ear for poetry, and so dull a one for musick. For such we must suppose theirs to have been if we can persuade ourselves, that they admitted such dull and insipid instruments into their concerts (O); instruments which were only fit to grate the ear, and spread the harshest discord through the best compositions. b c

\* See LE CLERC'S *ESS. RHEINFELD, CALMET & AL.*

O that my people hearkened to me; that *Israel* would walk in my ways!

*Lu hami shomagh ly, Israel bidrakai hallaku.*

But my people would not hear my voice; *Israel* would not acquiesce in me:

*Velo shamagh hami le coli, Israel le abba li.*

How amiable are thy tabernacles, O God of Hosts!

*Mah yaddidoh miskenotheka, Elohe nebanth.*

My beloved is mine, and I am his; he feedeth among the lillies.

*Doddi li vaani lo, barogheb bashofanim.*

His eyes are like doves by the rivers of water:

*Henaru heyonim bal apphike mayim.*

These will suffice, to shew the vast disparity of sounds in those two subjects, which is all that we could pretend to. Those who understand the original will easily feel it in almost every line of the sacred poets; as for those who are unacquainted with it, even the *Canticles* of *Solomon*, the softest and most harmonious piece, for aught we know, extant in any language, would lose the greatest part of the last beauty we have been speaking of.

(O) Thus *Le Clerc* has taken some pains to prove, that the *תלצל* *talzele*, which our version after the septuagint renders cymbals, were only a couple of hollow demi-globes of brass or some other tinkling metal, and about six inches in diameter, which they used to shake one against another, like a pair of castanets †; because we find some such instruments to have been in use among the ancients, and because the root *talzal* doth often signify to tinkle. Etymologies are at best very uncertain, and very often ridiculous. Might we not justly laugh at a foreigner, who should pretend to give such an awkward description of a *bas-viol*, as he found them under those two words in his *lexicon*? We own that such tinkling instruments were used among the ancients; but the distinction which the psalmist makes of *talzele shamagh* and *talzele terugbah* (22), and the other instruments which he joins with them, do at least imply something more musical, warlike, and masculine, if not more melodious, than two such demi-globes.

The same may be said of the *בגב* *bagab*, which we translate the organ, and which is thought by our moderns to have been no more than a row of six or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, and which was played by passing them successively under the upper lip (23). According to this description it must have been incapable of any regular harmony; tho' in its etymon it signify a lovely instrument, from *בגב* *bagab*, to love, or delight in, to doat upon. But not to insist upon the name, it is plain this instrument was known before the flood (24), and it is scarcely credible it should have received so small an improvement in all that long interval, and in a nation where poetry and musick had been so highly cultivated.

The *שליש* *shalishim*, one of the instruments with which the women came to meet *Saul* (25), and which the septuagint translate cymbals, *St. Jerome*, *fifra*, and our version, instruments of musick; is supposed to have been of a triangular figure, like the  $\Delta$ , through which were strung a parcel of rings, so that the instrument being struck with a stick, or shaken by the hand, made the rings strike both against it and one another, and caused a most inharmonious jarring. But if it must needs be supposed to have been triangular, because the word *שליש* implies the number three (tho' it might as reasonably be supposed to mean an instrument of three strings, and a very musical one too) we see no reason why its triangular form might not be designed

† See his *Essay on Heb. poetry in Bibliot. Univers. Tom. ix. ad fin. & alib.* (22) *Psal. cl. 5.* (23) *Ib. ver. 4.* (24) *Gen. iv. 21.* (25) *1 Sam. xviii. 6.*

- a positions. It appears, on the contrary, that those instruments which were most in vogue amongst them were really musical and harmonious. We read of eight and ten-stringed instruments; of the *nebel* and *kinor*, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp, and from which the *Greeks* had their *naba* and *cinyra*. They had likewise several kinds of wind instruments, such as the trumpet, flute, and what several ancient and modern versions call the organ, whatever resemblance it might have to ours. To these they joined the drum; and perhaps the kettle-drums (which we take to be the instrument spoken of in the last note) especially when their musick was accompanied with dances, as it generally was; and these, if artfully touch'd, could not but give a wonderful cadence to them.
- b BUT if we may judge of the excellence of the *Hebrew* musick from its wonderful effects, such as we find it had upon *Saul* in his most melancholy and distracted moods<sup>a</sup>, and in calming the souls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inspiration<sup>b</sup>, which is no more than the *Greeks* tell us of their own, and which can hardly be denied without giving the lye to a cloud of ancient authors; we shall be forced to own, that it was vastly more moving than any thing we have now. And indeed what wonder is it that it should have attained to such perfection, if we consider the great distance of time between its first author *Jubal*<sup>c</sup>, and *Moses*? and that, from the latter's time downwards, it was in constant use, both in their worship, in their religious and civil festivals, in their publick and private rejoycings, and even in their mournings; witness that which *David* composed on the death of *Saul* and *Jonathab*<sup>d</sup>, and the lamentations of *Jeremy* at the death of king *Josiah*. But what improvement it may have received from *David's* time may be easily guessed, if we consider the great encouragement which that monarch gave it: he was a good musician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. What progress then may we not suppose was made to it, by those 4000 *Levites*, whom he wholly devoted to that province, under the tuition of 288 excellent masters, with *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun* at their head<sup>e</sup>? The law had already provided for their maintenance another way; and the addition which
- c their merit could procure, joined to the natural desire of excelling, was spur sufficient for men who have nothing to take them off from it, to bestow their whole time and application upon so delightful and so profitable an art. Besides these, who assisted constantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, but in much greater number at all solemn festivals; we read likewise of women who applied themselves to musick both vocal and instrumental: such were *Heman's* three daughters<sup>f</sup>, and those which are mentioned by the psalmist<sup>g</sup>. Their kings had also their own musicians of both sexes<sup>h</sup>. Some of the *Psalms*, especially the 20th, 21st, and 72d, are supposed to have been composed, in order to be sung on the day of

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 23. vid. & xix. 23. & seq. <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings iii. 15. <sup>c</sup> Gen. iv. 21. <sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. i. 17. & seq. <sup>e</sup> 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. xxv. 7. & seq. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. ver. 5, 6. <sup>g</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 25. <sup>h</sup> 1 Chron. xxv. 2. 2 Sam. xix. 35. Eccles. ii. 8.

designed to contain a sett of strings one longer than another, in order to be played upon, either with sticks, as our old dulcimers, or with the fingers, like the harp. As for the account which the *Jewish* writers give of these, and several other musical instruments mentioned in holy writ, it is still more pitiful. But this is not so much to be wondered at; their musical, as well as their poetick genius, has left them long ago; but if those, who are judges of either, can suppose such a vast disparity between them to be possible, and that the dulcist and most musical instruments were used to enliven the harmony of the most sublime poetry, we freely own we cannot join with them; and that tho' it be never so impossible to come at any notion of the nature and symmetry of those instruments, yet we cannot forbear thinking, that they must have been vastly more suitable to it, than any of those which our most diligent searchers have yet been able to discover.

It would be lost labour to go about giving a further account of all the various kinds of musical in-

struments mentioned in holy writ, which the *Jewish* rabbies reckon to the number of 34, by taking the titles of several psalms, such as *Mizmor*, *Sigaiou*, *Scheminitb*, &c. for particular instruments on which these psalms were to be played. But, setting even these aside, there will be still at least twenty different sorts left, which we shall, however, forbear mentioning, because we know so little of them, and have so little reason to be satisfied with the conjectures of commentators about them. All that we shall say further is, that they were of three kinds, namely, 1. wind-instruments, such as the several sorts of flutes, trumpets, and the organ; 2. stringed instruments, of this kind were the harp, lute, instruments of three, eight, or ten strings; and 3. such as were beat either by the hand, or with a stick, as the tabor, drum, kettle-drums, and such like. To go further, upon the subject, would be venturing in the dark. The reader may, if he pleases, see a fuller account of them in *Calmer's* dissertation, quoted in the next page.

of their inauguration. The 45th, and the *Canticles*, are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-day. We have seen likewise that they had proper psalms and hymns, not only at the temple, for every great festival, and other publick occasions, but also at their private feasts, such as weddings, circumcisions, and the like. In a word, no nation seems to have been sonder of musick than the *Jews*; insomuch, that tho' the *Babylonish* captivity had made them hang their harps on the willows; yet at their return we find they brought back a troop of 200 musicians of both sexes<sup>1</sup>.

From all this the reader may easily judge, whether it be credible, that an art of so long standing, so much admired, encouraged, so universally practised, and capable to cause such wonderful effects, could be so rude and plain, as to consist only in the variety of voices and instruments, playing all to the same notes, without any combination of even bass and treble, much less of the other parts, which make up the soul of musick<sup>2</sup>; and that chance, at least, should not have led them to observe the harmony of some, as well as the harshness of other compound notes, so as to point out this improvement to them, in so long a time, and among such variety of voices and instruments. For our part, we think it as difficult to imagine, as it is to account for the surprising effects we read of it, from bare simple tunes, how fine and melodious soever. One thing seems more than probable from the style of several of the psalms, and the frequent transition from the first to the third person; that it was performed alternately, one part of the chorus answering to the other at proper itanzas and divisions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals<sup>3</sup>. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not so easy to guess at, as how and when they might be lost.

It is indeed generally objected, that the roughness of the *Hebrew*, its abounding with consonants, gutturals, and monosyllables, makes it so unfit for musick, that it would be even madness to attempt it. Were this indeed really fact, it would at once explode all that we have said on the other side; but we hope we have already sufficiently shewn the contrary, in those few instances we have given in the former note. We may even venture to affirm, that some pieces of *Hebrew*, which we have set to suitable musick, would easily convince any impartial judge, that this objection is wholly imaginary, and springs partly from the want of due attention on that neglected tongue, and partly from our present unaccountable fondness for the modern *Italick* taste; rather than from any inharmonious roughness in the *Hebrew* numbers. It is even certain, from the excellent compositions which have been made in our own native *English*, tho' in most respects (gutturals excepted, which, by the way, are far from unmusical) the most like the *Hebrew* of any modern language, that the perfection of musick doth not consist in that smooth sinking softness we are now so taken with. We are well satisfied, on the contrary, that many of us, who fondly imagine that our age hath raised musick to its zenith, would be strangely surprised to find, by comparing its most admired performances with those of two, three, or more centuries past, some of its noblest beauties and excellencies quite lost, not to be recovered again to the world, till it has recovered its genuine taste, that is, perhaps, not till we have a new heaven and a new earth (P).

THIS is certainly true, at least with respect to divine musick, (how much soever it may be thought to have been improved by art). And it were as absurd to expect that a master should set to proper musick a piece that is calculated to inspire us with mirth or seriousness, whilst himself is in a quite opposite mood, as that he should compose, for instance, a *Te Deum* which shall inspire its hearers with the highest sense of gratitude to the divine goodness, unless he be in the same temper as the royal musician, when he said, *My heart is ready, O God, I will sing and give praise*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ezr. iii. 65. <sup>2</sup> See CALMET Dissert. de Music. Heb. <sup>3</sup> BEDFORD'S Discourse on the same. <sup>4</sup> Ps. cxviii. 1.

(P) This reflection is not designed to affront the present age, but partly to excite some able judges to recover, if possible, vast numbers of inestimable pieces of this kind, and to revive the memory of their worthy authors, who now lie shamefully buried in oblivion; and partly to prevent the dangerous effects of the taste now in vogue: For if it be undeniable, that musick is capable either of softening

the roughest tempers, or of inspiring the soft and debonnaire with more heroick and noble sentiments, according as it is skilfully managed by a good master; we need not say which of the two this age stands most in need of; and experience shews, that the hardest metals, as well as rough tempers, may be softened so long, and so much, as to become quite useless.

WHAT

a WHAT has been said of the *Hebrew* musick may be also supposed of their dances, namely, that those, that were of a religious nature, were generally more grave, solemn, and suitable both to the musick and words, and to the occasion than their other sorts; but whether confined to any rules as ours are, or rather directed only by custom and imitation; whether circular, as is generally supposed, or of any other form, we can only guess by those of other antient nations. But even this being all conjecture, and the subject not worth a further enquiry, we shall now pass to another, which is somewhat better known to us. As to the *Hebrew* poetry, musick, and dances, the reader may, if he pleases, consult the authors quoted in the margin.

b

*Of the language, writing, and learning of the Jews.*

THEIR tongue was the *Hebrew*, such as we have it in the writings of *Moses* *Hebrew* and other sacred authors. We have elsewhere given the most probable etymology of that name †, so that we are far from thinking that it was called so from *Heber*, in whose family alone it had been preserved in its purity, as the parent of all the rest, as some authors have imagined. What we have said formerly, both about the confusion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the *Hebrew* being the mother, much less the original tongue, doth sufficiently expose the fondness of such a notion. We shall not therefore repeat what has been said already \*, but confine ourselves to what was there promised; namely, to give some further account of the genius, and of those particular excellencies of the *Hebrew* tongue, for which it is so generally supposed to have been the mother of all others. But, without engaging ourselves too far into the merit of the cause, we do willingly give up the conceit of some antient fathers † who, from the words of the psalmist ‡, *when he (Israel) came out of Egypt and heard a language which he knew not*, have imagined that to the many favours, which God shewed to that people at their deliverance out of *Egypt*, he added this one, of inspiring them with an immediate knowledge of the sacred tongue. As to what is farther urged in favour of it by some criticks, that we find in it the greatest number of the aptest etymologies and roots, both of men and things, the same has been also urged in favour of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Æthiopic*, *Armenian*, and almost of every eastern tongue; yea, and we need not wonder much at it, since a modern author has even found this mother tongue in the *Fleming* (Q). But tho' we do allow the preference to the *Hebrew* in this respect, yet we have already proved etymologies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon; if therefore this last has any advantage over the rest, with respect to its being the mother rather than a daughter to any of them, it must be upon the account of its simplicity, its pureness, energy, fecundity of meanings and expressions, notwithstanding its natural barrenness of words; over and above its great affinity to all these tongues, which it seems to excel in all these particulars. To this may also be added the significancy of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to express their nature and properties in this, more than in any other known tongue; not to insist on the antiquity and venerableness of its writings above all others; all which seem to speak much more in its favour than of any other. From all this we may reasonably conclude, that, if we could know it as well and as fully as it was in *Moses's* time, we might find still greater arguments on its side (R).

BUT as far as we understand, and are able to judge of it at this great distance, and from those few books we have left of it, this will be hardly contested, that its

\* Vide MERCER. SKIKARD, MEIBOM, GOMAR, LE CLERC, CALMET, & al. † Vide sup. p. 421. (A). ‡ Vide Auct. sup. citat. sub lit. f. g. p. 152. \* Vide sup. p. 149, & seq. P ORIGEN lib. 3. cont. Cels. GREGOR. NYSSEN. Orat. 12. cont. Eunom. Theodoret quest. 61. in Gen. & al. † Psal. lxxxii. 5.

(Q) This is what a *Flemish* antiquary has endeavoured to do (26) from a considerable number of etymologies of primitive names, as of *Adam* from *Haas-dam*, *Eve* from *Ew-wat*, *Abel* from *Haas-belg*, *Cain* from *Quaat-ende*, and many others, which are so forced and unapposite, that one would have ra-

ther took it as a burlesque upon etymologists, than for a serious piece, had he not taken such pains to tell his readers that he was in very good earnest.

(R) It must be owned, however, that several learned criticks have observed several defects in it, as we have it now in the sacred books, which plainly

(26) GOROP. BECAN. *Origin. Antwerp. lib. 5. pass.*

genius is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native simplicity of the *Hebrew* patriarchs; its words are concise yet expressive, derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied composition of the *Greek* and *Roman*. It has the happiest and richest fecundity in its verbs of any tongue, either antient or modern, which arises from the variety and significancy of its conjugations, some of which do even imply a whole phrase, and cannot be well expressed in any other without paraphrasing. Thus, for instance, to love, to be loved, to love vehemently, to be loved vehemently, to be made to love, or to be loved, and to love oneself, are expressed by the same verb with a small variation, in some, only of the points, and in others, of one or at most two letters. Thus again, the change of conjugation doth make a verb express a contrary sense or action, as to bless and b curse, honour and dishonour, to root in, or cause to take root, and to root out utterly (S). Pronouns and prepositions are only single letters, put the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is simple, easy, and natural. There is no difference in their nouns, but what is absolutely necessary to express gender and number, and their cases are distinguished by articles, which are only single letters at the beginning of the word. The same simplicity runs through all the moods and tenses of their verbs, and indeed throughout their syntax and concordance. Their words follow one another in an easy and natural order, without intricacy or transposition, without suspending or clogging the sense by long-winded periods, so that their style could not but be extremely free and clear whilst c it continued a living tongue; and, if in some cases it appears otherwise to us at this great distance, it is owing either to its frequent allusions to customs and things then universally understood, and since lost, or to our being in the dark about the true meaning of a great number of words and proper idioms, which we are forced to seek for in the *Chaldee* and *Arabic*, tho' often without success, and seldom with any tolerable certainty of having found the right one. Some of their manners of speaking there are likewise, which seem to us flat and uncouth, which will, upon due examination, appear not only the most natural and exact, but argue perhaps a clearer and more solid judgment in those that used them. Of this nature is their introducing persons, in their narrations, speaking their own words instead of d affecting to repeat them in their name; it is, for instance, the common style of the divine writers to express themselves thus, *And God said to Abraham, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward*, instead of *God told Abraham that he was his shield*. *And Abraham said, O that Ishmael might live!* instead of *he entreated God for Ishmael's life*. This, every one knows, is the constant language of all the writers of the old testament; but, whether or no it will be allowed to be the most natural and exact way of writing, it cannot be denied to be a certain mark of the

plainly shew that, if it was the original tongue and the parent of the rest, it must have suffered many changes, such as the losing of a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting those of strange nations (27). Of this number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, besides very many scriptural words, whose roots are intirely lost. However, this is plain from the books we have still extant, that from *Moses's* time to the *Babylonish* captivity it has continued the same, without any visible improvement, or indeed without any change, either for the better or for the worse.

(S) This excellency, so peculiar to this tongue above all others, is further displayed by *Bellarmino*, in his *Hebrew* grammar, to the following effect: Every verb (says he) doth imply either an action or passion, or neither, or both; the active verbs signify the action of a man either upon himself or upon another, and if the latter, it is caused either by himself, or by the means of a third. Here then the action of a man upon himself is found in the conjugation *Hithpabel*, which therefore admits of no passive to answer it; because, in this case, the same person is agent and patient. *Pibel* expresses the

action of one thing upon another, to which answers the passive *Pabal*; if the action be caused by means of a third, you will find it in the conjugation *Hipbal*, to which answers the passive *Hopbal*. The neuter verbs are to be found in the conjugation *Kal*, which containing also sometimes verbs of active signification, that of *Nipbal* answers to them in a passive sense. Lastly, the common verbs are to be found in the conjugation *Pobel*.

Thus by these eight conjugations, or flexions of one and the same root, performed by the addition or change of a few points, or of a letter or two, is expressed all the variety of significations, into which it is possible for a verb to be branched out, and which can hardly be done even in any of its derivatives, much less in the *Greek*, *Roman*, &c. without circumlocution. To this we might add the simplicity of its primitive roots, consisting at most of three letters; of its composition, whether with respect to the pronouns joined with them, with their adverbs, prepositions, &c. and many other particulars; but all these are so well known to the learned, and so hard to be understood by the rest, that we shall bestow no more time about them.

(27) *Vid. GROT. de verit. Rel. chr. not. 16, & seq. & 10 nm. in Gen. ix. HUET. demonstr. Evang. GENÈR. CLUVER. HORN. CAPEL. & al. mult.*

- a the most antient simplicity, which we cannot say doth run with the like constancy and pureness through the *Chaldee*, much less in the *Syriac*, *Arabick*, and other antient tongues, so that upon all these accounts the *Hebrew* seems to bid fairest for being the parent of the rest. The *Chaldee* bears a great affinity to it, but seems to have been so emasculated, that we cannot but look upon it rather as a daughter than a mother to it. However, as nothing can be positively decided on either side, we shall only observe further, with respect to the *Hebrew*, that it is of all others the most concise, masculine, pathetick, and freest from lightness and bombast; upon which accounts a judicious author says of it, that it comes nearest to the language of spirits, who stand in no need of words to convey their minds to one another <sup>1</sup>.
- b It is indeed far otherwise with their way of writing, tho' we should allow it *Character*. equally easy and natural to write from the right to the left as they did, or from the left to the right as the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Moderns* do; for whether we take it to have been the same with the present character in which we have the sacred books, which yet is universally allowed now to have been the old *Assyrian*, and introduced only since the *Babylonish* captivity, or whether we take it to have been the old *Samaritan*, which has been preserved only in some few medals, and in the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which is now the most received opinion; sure it is that the former seems rather to have been contrived for beauty than expedition, whilst the last is the farthest from either, and is perhaps the most uncouth and unnatural, the most puzzling and unsightly that ever was invented; infomuch that it is scarcely credible that so judicious a person, as *Moses* was, would ever have made use of it, if he had known of any better being extant at that time. This the reader will best judge of by the alphabet following, by which he will see sufficient reason to justify *Ezrab*, and those who changed them for the more elegant and commodious *Assyrian*, if they did really so, and the *Samaritan* was really the old one.
- c

The HEBREW ALPHABET.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.
א	א	1 Aleph	Aspiration	1	
ב	ב	2 Beth	B	2	
ג	ג	3 Gimel	G	3	
ד	ד	4 Daleth	D	4	
ה	ה	5 He	H	5	
ו	ו	6 Vau	V	6	
ז	ז	7 Zain	Z	7	
ח	ח	8 Cheth	Ch	8	
ט	ט	9 Teth	Teth	9	
י	י	10 Iod	I y	10	
כ	כ	11 Capb	K	20	ך 500
ל	ל	12 Lamed	L	30	
מ	מ	13 Mem	M	40	ם 600
נ	נ	14 Nun	N	50	ן 700
ס	ס	15 Samek	S	60	
ע	ע	16 Ain	H gh ngb	70	
פ	פ	17 Peb	P pb	80	ף 800
צ	צ	18 Tzade	T tz	90	ץ 900
ק	ק	19 Coph	K	100	ק 1000
ר	ר	20 Resb	R	200	
ש	ש	21 Sbin	Sb f	300	
ת	ת	22 Tau	T th	400	

THAT this is the exact number and order of their letters is demonstrable from those acrostic pieces, both in the psalms and elsewhere, whose every half or whole verse, or every other verse, begins with one of these letters successively, as we mentioned it under the last article. It is likewise universally agreed, that the *Samaritan* letters are either the same, or very near so, with the old *Phenician*. This

WE

<sup>1</sup> Fleury Mœurs des Israelites, ch. 20.



we have hinted already †, and it is far from improbable that the old *Egyptian* <sup>a</sup> was also very like it †, so that *Moses*, who was learned in all the wisdom of *Egypt*, might write his laws in that character. Sir *Isaac Newton* indeed thinks that he had it from the *Midianites* †; and we have, in more places than one of this history, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours had the art of writing very early \*, tho' it be not possible to determine whether each nation had a peculiar one of their own, or the same in common to them all, much less to ascribe the invention of it to its true author (T).

HOWEVER, tho' it be now the most received opinion that the *Samaritan* was the antient *Hebrew* character, yet it has been strenuously opposed by several learned men †. The *Talmudists* not only suppose the contrary all along, but have declared <sup>b</sup> themselves for the *Chaldee* characters even in that place, where they have been quoted for the opposite opinion † (V), and there seems to have ran an universal consent to them through all their successors ever since (W). Among those of the Christians,

† Vid. sup. p. 404. c. mult. Chronol. p. 210. POSTEL. BUXTORF jun. & al.

\* Vid. PLUTARCH lib. de dæmon. SOCRAT. KIRCHER. VOSS. CAPEL. & al. Vid. sup. p. 300. b. 325. a. & alib. HOTTING. cont. MORIN. Traët. Sanhedr. ap. Walt. prolegom.

(T) Were the *Sabeans* to be relied upon, we should not be long to seek for the first inventor of writing and letters, since they produce a book which they pretend to have been written by *Adam*, the character of which, tho' different from all others (28), might have given the hint to those alphabets that have since been used. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to *Seeth*, upon the authority of *Josephus*, who tells us, that he caused his astronomical discoveries to be engraven upon two pillars, designed to continue proof, one against the flood, and the other against the conflagration (29). Others to *Enoch*, because St. *Jude* quotes a prophecy of his (30), which they think must have been handed down in writing, tho' much more probably by tradition. Others again to *Noah* and to *Abraham* †, but the far greatest part of both *Jews* and *Christians*, ancient and modern, to *Moses*, whom very many think to be the same with the *Egyptian Thoth* or *Hermes*, mentioned in the history of that nation (31). Among these last, some believe that the first writing was that upon the two tables, and that consequently, God did first shew it unto *Moses*, who taught it to *Aaron*, *Joshua*, and the 70 elders. Most of the *Jews* are of the same opinion, and some of them add, that there was an alphabet engraven also upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him and his people the way of reading the decalogue. But the reverse of all this seems implied in the account which that law-giver gives us of his receiving those tables; he says, indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as we formerly shewed †, by the order and direction of God; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his instructing others in it, much less that such a way of writing was taught him by God himself, and till then unknown to the world; which circumstance he can hardly be supposed to have omitted, had that been the case. But we have elsewhere shewed, that this art was, in all probability, of much older date among the *Phœnician*, and other trading nations, than the decalogue, so that we can by no means fall in with this notion; tho' we know of nothing recorded of greater antiquity than that.

(V) We have had occasion to hint this formerly (32), and the miraculous power by which they affirm the middle of the *Q* and *Q* to have been supported, doth plainly shew that they did not

mean the *Samaritan*, but *Chaldee*; because, in the former, the *Mem* hath nothing in its figure that required such a supernatural support. As to the passage quoted out of the *Talmud* by *Walton*, and those that have followed him, in favour of the *Samaritan* against the *Chaldee*, or, as that place calls it, the *Affyrian* letters, if those authors had but had the patience to have read a little further, they would have found several answers to it, which, tho' neither definitive nor satisfactory, yet plainly shew that the compilers were of a quite contrary opinion. We shall not trouble the reader with the whole passage, but only subjoin the most material things they answer in favour of the *Chaldee*; the first of which is to this purpose, We have still our columns and our vau, intimating thereby the likeness of the *Y* to a column with its chapter, such as its name implies in the *Hebrew*, whereas the *Samaritan* vau has nothing in its figure that bears the least resemblance to it. The next answer is, that it is said in the book of *Ezra* (33), that *Mordecai* wrote unto all the nations, according to their writing and language, and to the *Jews* also, according to their language and writing; which last, it is there urged, would have been needless, if the present *Hebrew* had been the old *Affyrian* character, and the *Jews* had already adopted it, instead of the old *Samaritan*, or any other. To this is subjoined a further question, or objection, Why then are those characters called *אֲשֵׁרִים* *Ashrim*? to which the answer given is; From the *Ashrim* or *Beatitudes* contained in it, meaning, in the sacred books written in that character.

We beg leave to observe here, that we are not vindicating the answers of the *Talmudists*, which must stand or fall according to their worth; but only shew how lightly they have been quoted on that side the question, which they have most plainly declared themselves against.

(W) They even tell us at the very threshold of their grammar, that the names of several of the letters, which, they would have us believe, are of almost equal antiquity with them, were given them from their figure, as that of others from their sound. Thus *Q* the second letter, was called *Betb*, from its far off resemblance to a house, and the *Q* *Gimel*, from a much nearer one to a camel, the *Y* *Daleth* to a door, the *Y* *Vau* to a column, *S* *Lamed* to a spit,

(28) HERBELOT. *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 726. (29) *Ant. l. 1. c. 3.* (30) *Epist. Jud. corr.* 14. † *Vide sup.* p. 435. (Q). (31) *Ita Rabbin. fer om.* ARTAPHAN. EUPOLEM. *Vide sup.* p. 222. c. *vid. Et ARTAPH. Et EUPOLEM. ap EUSEB. præp. lib ix. c. 17, 18. Rabbin. fer om.* LUD. VIVES *comm. in St. August. de civit. Dei. lib. 18. c. 29. GROT. not. in verit. Rel. Chr.* HUET. *demonst. Evang. GALL. Court of the Gentil.* p. 36. & al. innumer. \* *Vide sup.* p. 519. (A) *sub fin.* (32) *Ibid.* (33) *Ezra. viii. 9.*

- a Christians, who have declared themselves on that side, there has been one \* who has taken an unspeakable deal of pains, to prove the *Chaldee* character to be the genuine alphabet of nature, because no letter can be rightly founded, without disposing the organs of speech into an uniform position, with the figure of that letter X. This he has endeavoured to display in 33 copper plates, 22 of which shew the pronunciation of the letters, and the rest that of the point vowels; from which he infers at the same time, that the *Samaritan*, bearing no kind of similitude to such a position of the organs, could not be the ancient *Hebrew*.

- THE misfortune is, that all his fine reasoning, and what ever else is urged by others on that side of the question, is entirely overthrown by one fact produced b for the other side, namely, that of the old *Jewish* shekel here annexed, which is



- inscribed on the one side, THE SHEKEL OF ISRAEL; and on the reverse, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this *Samaritan* character, but, as there is some reason to suppose, in the *Jerusalaimic* dialect. We shall refer the further particulars of this coin and its inscriptions to the next note; and only observe here, that, by the name of *Israel* in the first, could not be meant the ten revolted tribes, because they had nothing to do with *Jerusalem the holy*, which is on the reverse. There are also some pregnant proofs that it could not belong to the *Samaritans* after the captivity; one of which among the rest is, that their hatred against the *Jews* was grown to such a height by that time, that they would have suffered any thing, rather than be forced to stamp such an inscription

\* F. M. B. Van HELMONT Alphabet. Natur.

spit, and so on; whereas no such resemblance is to be found in the *Samaritan* alphabet; but they are wanting in the main proof, namely, the antiquity of those names, for want of which their conclusion falls to the ground. For the same argument might as well be urged in favour of the points *Pattab*, *Kamets*, *Zere*, *Kibbuts*, &c. which are now universally allowed to be of modern invention, as we shall see anon; for tho' these names bear no resemblance to the figure of those points, yet they were invented, in all likelihood, to express the manner in which they ought to be pronounced; as for instance, the *Pattab*, or *A*, with an open mouth, and the

*Kibbuts*, or *U*, with the lips closely gathered. In like manner, it is probable, they made choice at first of such names as could best imprint the shape of the letter on the memory, by the likeness it did bear to the thing by which they were called, as the *Gimel* to a Camel, by reason of the bunch on its back, the *Yin* to an Eye, the *Shin* to a Tooth; and this might as probably have been done, when they began to teach this *Chaldee* character to those who had been used to the old *Samaritan*, for their easier attainment of it; but, where the letter bore no likeness to any thing that carried the sound of it, they gave it a name that did, as *Mem*, *Nun*, &c.

upon their coins. The reader may see the whole argument at length, in the authors <sup>a</sup> quoted in the margin \*; from which the *Samaritan* character is proved to have been the antient *Hebrew*, and not that which has been, and is still used by the *Jews* and *Christians* under that name (X).

THESE characters, notwithstanding their great affinity to the old *Phœnician*, if they be not indeed the same with them, and the vast progress of this latter all over the world, would have been entirely lost, had it not been preserved to us in the *Samaritan* pentateuch; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inscription of these shekels, which have given so great a light to this controversy, and of some other *Phœnician* medals, of no less use in other parts of antient history. But tho' we have had no copies of that book till within these 200 years (Y), and <sup>b</sup> consequently no knowledge of those shekels till some time after, we must not think the *Samaritan* pentateuch had been unknown till then, or that the *Chaldees* had passed till then for the original *Hebrew* character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by some of the fathers and other antient authors', the greatest part of whom (especially of the fathers) were of opinion, that the *Jews* exchanged their

\* MORIN, SIMON, CALMET, WHISTON, & al. † Vid. ORIG. Hexapl. HEBRON. in Ezek. & alib. EUSEB. CÆSAR. TARSEN. CYRIL. ALEX. PROCOF. SYNCHELL. & al.

(X) Some of these shekels were in the possession of *Maimonides* and *Rabbi Azarias* among the *Jews*, and of *Marinus*, *Montanus*, *Villalpandus*, and others, among the *Christians*. The mark on the one side is suppos'd to have been *Aaron's* miraculous rod budding forth almonds, and on the other, the pot of manna. The letters over this last, not being plain enough, are variously conjectured to stand for the name of God, of *Israel*, *David*, *Jerusalem*, and the like; as for the inscriptions round those two sides, bating a small variation of the character and spelling between those extant coins, they plainly answer to these in the modern *Hebrew*, on the one side *שְׁקֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל* *Shekel Israel*; and on the reverse *יְרוּשָׁלַם הַקְּדוֹשָׁה* or *Jerusalaim Hakadoshab* *Jerusalem the Holy* \*.

Thus then the argument in favour of the *Samaritan* characters seems to amount to a demonstration. We can see but two things that can be objected against it with any colour of reason; the first is, that considering the notorious cheats which have been imposed upon the world, with respect to coins and medals, we should be well assured of the genuineness of these, before we venture to decide in so weighty a point. The next is, that allowing them to be genuine, and to have been coined before the revolt of the ten tribes, which is more than probable from what we observed above of one side's being inscribed the *Shekel of Israel*, yet they may as likely have been the tribute money which either the *Samaritans* or some of the *Canaanitish* nations paid either to *David*, *Solomon*, or to some of his successors. What gives this latter a greater face of probability is, the difference of character and spelling between those coins, and which cannot be so well accounted for, if we suppose them to have belonged to a single people, especially that of *Israel*. But if the several nations of *Canaan*, for instance, were obliged to stamp these inscriptions on their tribute money, in token of their subjection to the *Hebrews*, we shall not be to seek for the reason of this difference. Now such an exaction is so far from improbable, that we find it has been practised afterwards by several conquerors upon the people they subdued; and we shall shew, in the sequel of this work, that some nations have even chosen to sacrifice their lives, rather than to comply with this one single mark of subjection. We pretend not to determine on either side, but if we may be per-

mitted to speak our thoughts concerning the *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* characters; it is plain that as they were never calculated for ease and expedition, such as one might reasonably expect among those trading nations, but rather to conceal learning from the vulgar, as the *Egyptians* affected to do †; so if *Moses* chose to write his laws in them, preferably to any other, that might then be in use, one can scarce suppose any other reason for it, than that of preserving an awful regard to them.

This might be the reason of his ordaining the lecture of them to be made by the priests to the people, and of his commanding the parents to transmit the main ones to their children by word of mouth; and lastly, this may be the reason why the learned among the antient *Jews* are called סופרים *Sopherim*, that is, *Scribes*, according to the generality of versions, or, according to the more literal sense of the word, men that could read or write books.

(Y) Archbishop *Usher* is the first person, to whom we are beholden for the first copies that ever were brought into *Europe*; the frequent mention, which he met with of it in the last quoted author, would not suffer him to be at rest, as he expresses himself (34), till he had procured five or six of them from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and had carefully examined them. What his observations, and those of other learned men are concerning that book, is foreign to our purpose, the reader may consult the authors quoted in the margin about it (35). With respect to the character itself, we shall not pretend to decide whether the *Phœnicians* had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them; sure it is, indeed, that *Moses* is the oldest writer we know of, but whoever considers the vast interval between the creation of the world, and the time in which he wrote; the great increase of mankind, their early commerce, arts, sciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowledge of letters to be so recent as that law-giver's writings. It will be more reasonable to divide the honour of that invention and its gradual improvements, among more nations, and perhaps more ages than one; for without all peradventure, had he known it to have been the invention of one man, especially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him as well as the inventors of mulick, forging, and such like.

\* Vid. int. al. WALTON. Supplem. in prolegom. de ponder. p. 36. & 38. † Vid. sup. p. 222. l. (34) Epist. ad Lud. Capel. (35) MORIN. dissert. HOTTING. cons. MORIN. F. SIMON Hist. Critic. u. t. Sentiments de quelq; Theolog. de Holland. Prideaux Connex. T. 2. l. 6.

- a their old *Samaritan* for that more beautiful *Chaldee* which is now in use with them, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, whilst the *Samaritan* chose to preserve the antient one. This opinion was likewise embraced by many modern critics, even before these *Samaritan* copies were brought into *Europe*, tho' by a far greater number since these additional testimonies have been brought to light. There has been however a third class, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming that the antient *Jews* had two sorts of characters, the sacred and the vulgar; the first of which they pretend was the *Chaldee* now in use, and the latter the *Samaritan* <sup>2</sup>: but, as they have given no reasonable proof for such a distinction, it has been justly rejected as chimerical; tho', if they had really had two such sorts
- b of characters, one would rather have supposed the *Samaritan* to have been the sacred, for the reasons mentioned in a former note.

- It has likewise been a famous dispute among the learned, whether the *Hebrews* used any vowel-letters, or whether the points, which are now called by that name, <sup>Their points or vowels.</sup> were substituted instead of them, and if the latter, whether they are as old as *Moses*, or invented by *Ezra*, or by the *Masoretes*. It is not our design to enter into that spacious field of controversy, which has exercised the wits of the most learned critics of the two last centuries, and is far from being, as yet, adjusted by those of the present. It will be sufficient, we hope, to acquaint our readers with the most received opinions upon those two heads, and to refer them, for further satisfaction, to those authors who have treated on those subjects *ex professo*. As to the first, it is now the general opinion that the *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Iod*, and *Ain* did serve instead of vowels, tho' they were sometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, understood in their declensions and conjugations, and often varied in their sound, and had sometimes the power of consonants as our J and V; but for this we refer our readers to the grammars of that tongue. Sure it is that the *Samaritans* never admitted of any others, tho' they readily read their *Hebrew* pentateuch by the help of their *Samaritan* character. The same may be said of the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic*, which last did not begin to use points till several centuries after Christ: nay, the *Jews* themselves never admitted them in their synagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithstanding the many objections that have been raised against it, that it may be, and is easily read without those points, which seem only invented for the greater ease of learners, and to preserve the true pronunciation of that tongue. All that needs be added, with respect to their letters, is, that in the sacred books, as we have them now, some words have one letter bigger than the rest, others less, some at the beginning, some in the middle, and some at the end of a word; some are suspended, or stand higher in the line, and others are turned upside down (Z). An unwary reader might be easily led to think that these differences happened since the invention of printing, because such mistakes are apt to happen frequently in printed books; but it is plain they have been taken
- c notice of, a great many centuries before that art was thought upon, and have been religiously conveyed down to us in the same form, both in the written volumes, such as they have always used in their synagogues, and in their printed books since the

<sup>2</sup> RR AZARIAH AB. de BARTENOR. POSTEL, BUXTORF, CONTING. SCHAMBAT, & al. quid.

(Z) There are thirty one places in the old testament, in which some one or other of the letters of the alphabet are of a larger size than the rest, as the א in אדם *Adam*, 1 *Chron.* i. 1. the ב in בראשית *Bereishith*, *Gen.* i. 1. the ו in וחתול *vehith galab*, he shall shave himself, *Levit.* xiii. 33. the ד in אדור *Achad*, *Deut.* vi. 4. and so of the rest. The minuscule, or letters of a lesser size, happen in thirty three places, as the א in ויקרא *vajicra*, *Levit.* i. 1. the ב in הב *hab*, give, *Prov.* xxx. 15. the כ in the word לבכתב *libkotbab*, *Gen.* xxiii. 2. where *Abram* is said to have come to weep for her (*Sarab*); and where they say the smallness of that letter is designed to express the moderation of his mourning, she being an old woman. Most of their reasons for the rest of those minuscule are much of the same stamp. The נ *Nun* is the only inverted letter, or turned upside down; it is observed

to be so nine times, but the *Jews*, instead of inverting it in their printed books, do only note it in the margin, thus נ: הפוכה that is *Nun inverted*, which they think signifies some perversity, or retroaction, implied in the word, wherein it happeneth to be so. The same letter is suspended once in the word מנשה *Menasseh*, *Judg.* xviii. 30. where, in some printed books it is only marked in the margin נ תלויה *Nun suspended*. The י *Ain* is suspended three times, once in *Pf.* lxxx. 13. in the word יער *jabar*, forest, and twice in *Jab*.

We hope it will suffice to have just hinted these *Masoretic* observations, which are not worth dwelling longer upon, unless we could be satisfied both about the antiquity and design of these variations; which, for aught we know, may be owing to change; and, if they were done with a design, yet would puzzle an *OEdipus* to find it out.

the discovery of that art, as having been designedly so written by their inspired a pen-men, either to convey some extraordinary mystery, or to imply some excellence or commendation, if the letter be of the larger, or, if of the smaller kind, some diminution and contempt of the thing signified by the word in which they are placed, or at least to raise either a greater degree of attention to the subject, of which we have had occasion to give an instance under a former head †.

As to the numbers which we have set over against each letter, it must be observed, that they are those which the *Jews* have made use of time out of mind; but, as to the divine penmen, they never made any use of them for numerical letters, but always wrote the numbers in words at length; which we the more willingly take notice of, because some chronologers, in imitation of the cabbablistical *Jews*, have pretended to find out and settle dates, and rectify epochas; as the latter pretend to find out the weight and measure of things, by the help of these numerical letters \*; and both *Jews* and some cabbalistical Christians, to find out mysteries in them. Thus it is pretended that the letter *מ*, which signifies either 1, or 1000, occurs six times in the first verse of *Genesis*, to denote that the world shall last just 6000 years in the condition it is now in, after which it is to be renewed. But all this is said without the least proof that they were used to any such purpose, either by the inspired writers, or even by the ancient *Jews*.

THE antiquity and authority of the points is the next thing in dispute; e *Jews* and Christians have been much divided, one part attributing them to *Moses*, and making them equally authentick with the text; and the other to *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue; till the famous *Elias Levita*, a learned *German Jew*, who flourished at *Rome* about the middle of the sixteenth century, did make it appear, that they had never been in use till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, that is, according to him, about 500 years after Christ. His book soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation and of Christians against him. Among the latter were the two *Buxtorfs*, who produced some cabbalistical books of great antiquity, at least boasted as such by the *Jews*, in which there was express mention of points (A). These were answered by *Capellus* and other criticks, till *Morinus*, having examined all that had been urged on both sides, wrote his learned dissertation on that subject, against which there has nothing been replied of any consequence; whereas his opinion has been universally applauded and confirmed by those that have come after. So that it plainly appears, that neither *Origen*, nor *St. Jerom*, nor even the compilers of the *Talmud*, which according to him was not finished till the seventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the *Jewish* rabbies, that wrote during the eighth and ninth century. He adds, that the first footsteps he met with of them were in the writings of the rabbies, *Aaron Ben-Alpher*, chief of the western, and of *Moses Ben-Naphtali*, chief of the eastern school; that is, e about

† See before, p. 598. (H).  
T. 6. l. 19. c. 8. 20. & seq.

\* Ibid. 521. sub. fin. (C). Vid. & BASNAG. Hist. des Juifs,  
\* ELI. LEVIT. præfat. 3. in Masorath Hammafor.

(A) These books are; the *בהיר Babir*, *צוהר Zabar*, and the *כוזרי Kozri*. The first of these is pretended to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the second, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the *Kozri*, the *Jews*, will have it to be about 1900 years old, and to have been an account of a conference between a learned *Jew* and the king of *Chebreets*, in which the latter was converted to Judaism †.

In these three books mention is made of points more than once or twice, and the latter has this expression about them; that they are the same to the letters, that cloaths are to modest woman, who

dare not be seen without them. Were the boasted antiquity of these books unquestionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the *Jews* fidelity in such things is too well known to be relied upon. However, what shews the imposture of them is, that there are things in them which must have been written about 1000 years after their supposed date, and that none of those books have been quoted or mentioned during that time by any author. Other objections, urged by the *Buxtorfs* and others against the recentness of the points, the reader will find fully answered by *Morinus*, and the authors quoted after him above.

† De his vid. lib. *Juchasin*, p. 42. & seq. R. AZARIA, c. 19. BUXTORF, CAPEL, MORIN. BASNAG. & al.

- a about the middle of the tenth century. So that they can hardly be supposed older than the beginning of it <sup>b</sup> (B).

At the same time, these doctors set about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full stop, to divide the periods and verses, which till that time had lain confused and undistinguished, not only in the sacred, but in all the other *Hebrew* books (C). This has been also a very useful work to the world, tho' few Christian interpreters have thought it necessary to confine themselves to their divisions. On the contrary, there is scarce a modern version that doth not very reasonably depart from them, when a clearer sense, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith can bear them out in it. And it is to be believed, that, if a

- b new version was now to be made of the Old Testament, it would alter the punctuation of the *Massorites* in a much greater number of places than the former have done (D). Notwithstanding which, it must be owned, that their labour in these

two

<sup>b</sup> Vid. MORIN. Differt. Biblic. CAPEL. Arcan. Punctat. & Diatrib. VALTON. prolegom. DUPIN, VOSS. WASMUTH & al. mult.

(B) We shall venture, however, to subjoin a short specimen of those points for the sake of our *English* readers. They are reckoned fourteen in number ;

all of them, one or two excepted, placed under the letter, as follows :

Long points.		Semibriefs.		Quite brief.	
Ⲛ Kamets	a	Ⲛ Pattach	a	Ⲛ Shewa	e
Ⲛ Tzere	e	Ⲛ Segol	e	Ⲛ Chateph-pattab	ā
Ⲛ Chirick	i gadol	Ⲛ Chirick	} i	Ⲛ Chateph-segol	e ī
Ⲛ Cholem	o	Ⲛ Caton		Ⲛ Chateph-cometz	ō
Ⲛ Shureek	u	Ⲛ Holem	o		
		Ⲛ Kibbutz			

It would be needless to dwell longer upon these, or to mention some differences among grammarians about them ; for tho' the *Jews*, even those who believe them to be the invention of the *Massorites*, look upon them to be of such authority, that nothing can be altered in them ; yet the generality of Christians reject such a superstitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them, whenever a better sense may be obtained by a change of them ; because it is plain, that their reading doth not exactly agree either with the septuagint version, nor with that of St. *Jerom*, nor with their targums, nor with the *Chaldee* paraphrase, the most ancient of all, nor with the interpretation of the ancient rabbies ; for which reason their punctuation has been as much suspected by some, as it has been cried up by others : So that, if we could suppose the points to have been as old as those ancient versions, we must likewise suppose, that their books were differently pointed from those of the *Massorites*. All that can therefore be said for these last is, that they have succeeded better in their punctuation than Christians could have done, because they had retained the true reading, at least for the most part, by constant tradition, which we should have had to seek for, by the bare help of those ancient versions and paraphrases, not without an immense deal of trouble. It is even plain, that they could not so much as agree among themselves about every particular word, tho' they did it in the main ; hence arose that difference of lection or punctuation, known by the critics by the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*.

This bring into our minds a story out of the *Talmud*, which, tho' not of any authority, serves to shew, that their reading was not fixed at that time. There *David* is introduced reproving his general for not utterly destroying the *Amalikes*, according

to the command of God. *Joab* answers, that he had punctually done it, and rooted out the זכר *Zakar*, or the males, and *David* tells him, that he ought to have rooted out the זכר *Zeker*, the memory of

*Amalek* : To which *Joab* replies, that he had been always taught to read it *Zakar*, and not *Zeker*. The reader must not, however, imagine, that these differences are considerable, or that they leave the sense of the scripture too undetermined. This is indeed objected by those who contend for the authenticity of the points ; but is fully answered by the authors on the opposite side. This is certain, that tho' the points are a vast help both to the learners of *Hebrew*, and for a more ready way of reading it, yet, when men have made any considerable progress in that tongue, they not only can read it with ease without them, but even chuse to do so (36).

(C) An eminent critick assures us (37), that he had examined above 2000 *Hebrew* manuscripts of all sorts, and that he never met with any pointed that were above 600 years old ; or, at least, if the books themselves were of older date, yet the points were manifestly added to them afterwards ; and this he affirms, equally of the grammatical and vowel points. And he was so sure that he had made all the necessary enquiry after them, that he defies all the advocates for the points, to produce one that could disprove his assertion ; which has never been done to this day, that we know of.

(D) This is not at all to be wondered at ; the *Jews* were too tenacious of their old traditions, and had too wrong a bias in every thing that related to the religion and reign of the *Messiah*, to have succeeded thoroughly in such an undertaking, if their intentions had been never so upright. But it is to be questioned, whether their fear of giving the *Chr-*

istians

(36) Vid. Method of learning Hebrew without points. (37) Is. Voss. de LXXVII. interpret. translat. c. 30.



two respects, have proved very serviceable to the learned, and that they have made <sup>a</sup> the knowledge of the sacred books much easier and expeditious than it could have been without it. Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature; they excogitated a great variety of other points, some rhetorical, some musical, and others critical; the former of which were designed to keep up the right cadence and chant of the *Hebrew*, and the latter to fix the sense of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate, as they were indeed useless, and in some cases ridiculous. From these they set themselves about numbering the verses, and even letters, and middle verses of every book; and to set down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs in each book (E). And as the design of all this labour was to prevent any <sup>b</sup> mistakes, additions, omissions, or alterations creeping into the text; so it plainly intimates, that they were conscious of its having done so before; and that, notwithstanding all their pretended care and scrupulous exactness in transcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid some such mischances.

THE materials they wrote upon, as well as the instrument they wrote with, may in some measure be gathered from some places of scripture. As to the former it is plain, that their first writing, namely the *Decalogue*, was upon tables of stone. But it is likely, that *Moses* made use of a less heavy and cumbersome material to write the rest of his laws upon, such as the *Skittim*, or some other hard wood.

This

stians any advantage, has not cramped them more than all the rest, and made them sit down satisfied with a pointing, which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards used against them.

To give one instance for all: It is plain, that by making but two periods of the 2d, 3d, and 4th verses of the 110th psalm, which is confessed on all hands to be prophetic of the Messiah's reign, they have so far murdered the sense of it, that no version has been able to translate it, without some

needless and unwarrantable suppletives; whereas, had they divided it into three verses, and placed the full stops where they ought to be, the sense would have been clear, easy, and exactly agreeable to the prophecy contained in it. But perhaps that is what they carefully avoided. The reason of it will appear by what follows. And, as no version has as yet rectified it, we shall take the liberty to subjoin the literal version of those three verses, according to their and our punctuation, that our readers may see which ought to be preferred.

*According to the Massoretick.*

2 The Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of *Sion*; be thou ruler in the midst of thine enemies.

3 Thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness; from the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

*According to our punctuation.*

2 The Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of *Sion*.

3 Rule thou, in the midst of thy enemies; thy free-will people in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness.

4 From the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

In the first of these, the reader will see, that the placing the full point, after enemies, strikes off the next words, *thy free-will people*, from being either the accusative of the verb *רדב* *redab*, rule thou, going before, or from having any connexion with what comes after. So that those words stand so ungrammatically there by themselves, that, to make sense of the verse, most versions have been forced to make it the nominative of a verb which they have substituted to it of their own. Thus one of our versions, that, in our Common-Prayer-Book, words it thus; In the day of thy power *shall* the people offer free-will offerings, where the words *shall offer* are added to make up the sense, and the order inverted, by placing the words, *in the day of thy power*, before them, contrary to the *Hebrew*. That in our Bible is still wider from the original, tho' it substitutes less, as the reader may see by comparing it with ours here, which is exactly literal and plain. According, therefore, to this pointing, the verses in question may be fairly commented as follows.

2 The Lord shall send the rod, or scepter, of thy power out of *Sion*, that is, out of the tribe of *Judah*. Compare *Gen*. xlix. 10. and *Pf*. lxxviii. 68. 3 Rule thou over *thy free-will* people (for none but such are fit to be Christ's subjects; see *Matth*. xi. 29.) In the midst of thy enemies (*Jews* and *Heathens*, or, in a spiritual sense, the world, the flesh, and the

devil.) In the day of thy power (that is, when all power shall be given him, both in heaven and earth, *Matth*. xxviii. 18.) In the beauties of holiness (which is the peculiar characteristic of Christ's reign, and of his religion.)

(E) Thus they observe, for instance, that *Genesis* contains 1534 verses, the middle of which is the 40th of the 27th chapter; and that the letter *א Aleph* occurs in that book 42,377 times; the *ב Beth* 38,218; and so of the rest of the letters, and of every canonical book. The number of all the letters in the whole stands thus, according to them:

Final letters, standing at the end of words 51,520

In the middle of words 160,734

Medial letters apart ——— 763,160

Total of medial and final ——— 975,414

Whether these niceties were an improvement upon the *Mohammedans*, who likewise compute the number of verses at the end of each section of their *Koran*, and sum up the total at the end of it; or whether these did it in imitation of the *Jews*, we will not affirm; the former, however, seems the more likely of the two, from what *Morinus* and others have observed (38), that the first *Jewish* grammars

(38) *Morin. ub. sup. & al. quoq.*

- <sup>a</sup> This way of writing upon tables was still in use, not only in *Isaiab's* days <sup>c</sup> (F), but even continued so till our Saviour's time <sup>d</sup>. But, besides these, we find frequent mention made in *Job*, the *Psalms*, and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls <sup>e</sup>, which are reasonably supposed to have been made of skins, or of some pliable matter, fit to roll up or round, for so the original word imports (G). And we have the testimonies of *Herodotus* <sup>f</sup>, and *Diodorus Siculus* <sup>g</sup>, that the *Ionians* and *Persians* used the skins of sheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king *Pergamus's* time, who is rather therefore to be looked upon as an improver than the inventor of parchment <sup>h</sup>. These rolls differed in the size, according to the subject they contained, and the character in which it was written; so that some
- <sup>b</sup> of them had several skins sewed to one another lengthwise. The *Jews* retain them to this day in their synagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the skin, much less of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our version renders leaves, in that place of *Jeremiab* <sup>i</sup>, where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it (H). Of this sort, we suppose, was also the book of the law, which the high-priest found in *Josiah's* time <sup>j</sup>.

Hence we conclude they used two sorts of instruments; the first of steel, or some hard metal, for engraving upon stone and wood; one side of which was sharp-pointed, and the other blunt and smooth, and served either to smooth or erase what had been written. Hence the *Latin* proverb, *Invertere stylum*. This kind of instrument we find mentioned in some places of scripture <sup>k</sup>, tho' not described, but guessed at, from those which were used by other nations. The other sort was for writing upon the skins of beasts; but how it was made, whether like our pens, pencils, or some other way, we cannot conjecture; only we read of a pen-knife, or, as the original has it, a scribe or writer's knife, with which king *Jeboiakim* cut the roll which was sent him by *Jeremiab*.

We do not find that they had any schools, or colleges, for the instruction of <sup>Education and Learning.</sup> their youth, if we except those of the prophets, which were of a different nature, as we shall shew by-and-by. They have not so much as a word to

<sup>d</sup> express it (I): and, if we consider their manner of education and life, we shall

<sup>c</sup> *Isai.* xxx. 8. <sup>d</sup> *Luke* i. 63. <sup>e</sup> *Job* xxxi. 35, 36. *Pf.* xl. 7. *Isai.* viii. 1. *Jerem.* xxvi. 4. *Ezek.* ii. 9. iii. 1. & seq. *Zechar.* v. 2. <sup>f</sup> *Lib.* 5. <sup>g</sup> *Lib.* 2. <sup>h</sup> See Voss. orig. & lib. de gramm. cap. xxxviii. <sup>i</sup> *Jerem.* xxxvi. 23. <sup>j</sup> *2 Kings* xxii. 8. <sup>k</sup> *Job* xix. 24. *Pf.* xlv. 2. & alib.

grammarians were *Arabians*, and wrote their grammars in that tongue, some time after the points had been added to it; from which he concludes it probable, that they took both their points and rules of grammar from the *Arabians*; and, if so, they might as well take their method of numbering the verses, and improve it by extending it to the letters, and those others niceties above-mentioned.

(F) The septuagint render this place, *write it upon a box-table*; which makes it probable, that that wood had been in use before their time. And the *Talmud* tells us, that the lots of the two goats, which were ordered to be brought to the high priest on the day of expiation (39), were at first written upon two small box-tables <sup>†</sup>.

(G) *Meqilab* comes from *גלל Gallal*, which signifies to roll up, as *volumen* from *volvo*; answerable to which, the evangelist (40) makes use of the words *ᾠστῆς* and *ἀναρτυῆς*, for the opening and shutting of the book.

(H) The word *דלתות Daltot*, which properly signifies doors; and here pages or columns, from their likeness to a door. A leaf of a book doth, indeed, bear the same resemblance, but cannot properly belong to such roll as we are speaking of.

(I) The *Jews*, however, to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for their schools,

of which there is no mention in the sacred books, namely, the *בית מוסר Beth-Musar*, which signifies the house of instruction, or an inferior school for reading and writing; and the *בית מדרש Beth-Midrash*, or house of enquiry or expounding, whither they went to be instructed in the weightier matters of religion, or rather in the rabbinick subtilties. But tho' it be visible, that these are of more recent date, namely, after the *Babylonish* captivity, yet they affirm the former to have been kept by the tribe of *Simcon*, and the latter by that of *Levi*; which they infer from *Jacob's* prophecy of the dispersion of those two tribes in *Israel* (41). So that, having no inheritance, they were obliged to keep school for a livelihood (42). Agreeably to this absurd notion, for it is plain that *Simcon* had a portion with the rest (43), they interpret the words of the psalmist, *passing through the valley of Bacca, use it for a well; and the rain filleth the pool* (44); of these wells of learning; and it was a common phrase with them, Master, we come to drink waters from thy well; instead of, We come to be thy scholars or disciples (45). And thus also the words in the next verse, *they go from strength to strength*; they understood, of raising from one class to the other. These are, according to them, the *מועדי אל Moade El*, houses of God; or, as our version more truly renders it,

(39) *Levit.* xvi. 8. <sup>†</sup> *Vide sup.* p. 619. (V). (40) *Luke* iv. 17, 20. (41) *Gen.* xlix. 7. (42) *Targ. Hierosol. Rab. RASCH. SAL. JARCH. Et al. in Gen.* xlix. 7. (43) *Vide Job.* xix. 1. & *sup.* p. 462. (F). (44) *Pf.* lxxxiv. 6, 7. (45) *Vide Gemar. tr. חגיגה fol.* 3. & *Midrash in Pf.* lxxxiv. 8.

shall find no great use for them. They bred up their sons to bodily exercises, such as would best fit them either for war or husbandry; and their daughters to household occupations, without troubling themselves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to instruct them in the knowledge of their religion and laws; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the sabbath. They had rather an aversion, than curiosity for foreign languages; and he that could speak and write his own well, or at least as well as his neighbours, thought himself sufficiently learned; and, for these, custom served them instead of grammar. History, further than they found it in their sacred books, they thought beneath their care, because they found, in these, all that they esteemed worth knowing. The creation of the world, the flood, the origin and dispersion of nations, and, what concerned them most, their own history and descent from *Abraham*, their affinity to other branches of his posterity, the *Egyptian* bondage and deliverance, and, in a word, all that wonderful series of transactions which had happened to their nation; in all which God had shewed such peculiar regard to them, that it is no wonder if we find them so full of themselves, and so prone to despise all the rest of the world. Besides the *Pentateuch*, and the histories of *Joshua*, of their judges and kings, which they thought themselves obliged to be versed in, they had also several others which have been lost since; such as the book of the wars of the Lord, that of *Jasher*, and especially the book of the *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, to which those we have extant continually refer (K): But these last were not perhaps so universally studied, but fell only to the lot of princes and politicians.

it, the synagogues, which the psalmist said were destroyed by the king of *Babylon* (46). So that, upon the whole, we have not any grounds from scripture for any such schools.

Much less for those antediluvian academies, of which some Christian moderns do make *Adam* the first founder, and which they pretend to have been continued by *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Melchisedech*, *Abraham*, and *Jacob* (47); the last of which, where it is said that he was a plain man, and dwelt in tents, the *Chaldee* paraphrast, and after him other *Hebrew* commentators, have rendered it, that he was a perfect man, and master of the *Beth Mussar*, or in plain *English*, an excellent school-master. Of *Abraham* we have seen heretofore, that he is affirmed by *Josephus* and others to have taught astronomy in *Egypt*\*; and *Melchisedech* is likewise supposed, by the same authors, to have kept a famous school at *Hebron*, called from thence *Kiriath-sepher*, which may be properly rendered, the city of books or learning; and *Debir*, oracle. Some others think, that it flourished about 1456 years before Christ, that is, about *Joshua's* time; and that it had been founded by the *Canaanites*, and was the most ancient academy in the world; after whose model that famous one of the *Edomites* called *Theman*, and that of *Tekoa*, had been formed. Some add, that it had a publick library, in which were preserved the records, and history of the world, continued from the flood downwards†. All which is built, at the best, upon very uncertain conjectures.

(K) It cannot be reasonably supposed, that the *Chronicles* and the book of *Kings* do refer to one another, whenever we meet with these words at the end of every reign: *The rest of the acts of* — and so on, *are they not written in the book of*, &c. seeing the same facts are repeated all the way in both, with little or no variation or addition, and very often in the same words. The *Greek* version has indeed given the book of *Chronicles* the name of

*παράλειποντες*, or things omitted, but with relation to historical facts, the reader will find but a small number in this, that are not in that of the *Kings*: It seems therefore to have been called so from its having given a full chronology of the scripture from *Adam*, and carried it beyond that of the *Kings*, as *St. Jerom* justly observes (48). To which may be added, that it sets forth the order of the genealogies, tribes, and families, the offices and courses of the priests and *Levites*, and many other particularities, which give a great light to the rest of the sacred writings, and without which it would be ridiculous for a man to pretend to understand them, as the same father elsewhere expresses it (49).

The books therefore, referred to in these, seem to be, either the records out of which they were taken by their compilers, or, which is indeed more probable, the annals and archives of every king's reign, to which the readers were sent for a farther account, whilst these, being written by inspired pen-men, were designed to contain only such transactions, as had an immediate relation to religion.

If it be asked who were the authors of those books, it is plain that the former were written by the historians or recorders of every reign, who were appointed to that office by the kings themselves. But who were the writers of the latter is not so easily agreed: For as on the one hand the historians mentioning every transaction, as done in their time, has induced many of the learned to suppose, that they were written at several times, and by several inspired pen-men cotemporary with them, such as *Samuel*, *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremias*, and others; so, on the other side, the seeming uniformity of style, through all those books, makes that notion seem very improbable, and several expressions interspersed in them, impossible. Thus it is said, in the beginning of the book of *Samuel*, that the word of God was precious, or scarce, in those days (50); and that it was then the custom, to call a prophet a seer, and to inquire for

(46) *Pf. lxxiv. 8. vid. middr. in loc.*

*BASNAG. Es. al. \* Vid. sup. p. 435. (Q).*

*St. PHILIP. Monarch. Hebr. sub Orbanet.*

(50) 1 Sam. iii. 1.

(47) *Vid. BOULDUC. Eccles. ant. leg. SANDERS vindic. Bibl.*

† *MILDENDORF, DRIEDO, AR. MONTAN, MASIVS op.*

(48) *Epist. ad Damian.*

(49) *Id. ad Paulin.*

- a ALL, that related to religion and morality, was contained in the *Mosaic* books, and interspersed in the others; but besides these they had the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*, besides many other writings of *Solomon*, a great part of which are likewise lost; to say nothing of *Job* and the *Prophets*. All these they were to be instructed in, even from their infancy, they heard them expounded on the sabbath, and other festivals, by the *Prophets* and *Levites*, and in them they found such a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we cannot suppose them to have had the least curiosity to know more of it. And indeed their law-giver knew but too well, how dangerous such knowledge would have been to a people so easy to be corrupted, and therefore wisely ordained, that their children should be
- b instructed only in such truths, as were proper to inspire them with an awful regard to God and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilst he forbade them, almost upon all occasions, to be inquisitive after the religion and learning of other nations.

- THIS was most probably also the foundation of that extraordinary disregard they shewed for those useful arts and sciences, in which their neighbours had so long excelled. Arithmetick, being so necessary for the trading part, might indeed find some encouragement amongst them, and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture than from any testimony; but as for navigation, astronomy, and such like, we find nothing in their history, but what assures us of their unskilfulness in them. The maritime tribes contented themselves with receiving foreign merchants into their harbours, without endeavouring to carry on their commerce abroad; inasmuch that, when *Solomon* resolved to send some ships into foreign countries, he was forced to have them manned with foreign sailors. And as for astronomy, we need but call to mind what has been said under another head, of the poor shifts they were drove to, to find out their new moons \*, to convince us of their profound ignorance of it. We shall only add, that they were so far from knowing any thing of eclipses, that they have not so much as one upon record, or indeed a name for it. They probably looked upon them as miraculous, and as tokens of the divine anger, and so never dived farther into the nature of them.
- d Perhaps also they were led into this notion, by that figurative expression in *Job* <sup>1</sup>, *he covers the light with his hands, and sets, as it were, an interposer over it*; for that is the literal sense of the original, and of the version of the septuagint: agreeable to which is that awful description of the day of the Lord in *Joel* <sup>2</sup>, and of the downfall of *Egypt*, and other nations, which we meet with in the *Prophets*.

- THE changing of the solar into the lunar year, and the compleat month of 30 days into the irregular moons of 29 and 30 days, mentioned under other heads; the distinguishing of the days of the week (not by the seven planets, of which they do not seem to have had any knowledge, or so much as names for; but to have ranked them, the two great luminaries excepted, among the fixed stars; but) by 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup> day, or 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> from the sabbath; the division of the day and night not into 12 equal parts, as the *Egyptians* are thought to have done long before, but the day into four parts, and the night into four watches. These divisions of time, so very opposite to that more perfect one of the *Egyptians* and other neighbouring nations, seem entirely calculated by their law-giver, to prevent their applying themselves to the study of astronomy, and thence falling insensibly into that of

\* Vid. p. 610. (H).

<sup>1</sup> Job xxxvi. 32.<sup>2</sup> Ch. ii. 10 & 31. iii. 15.

for him by that name (51). These, and several others in the same style, seem, at least, to intimate that it was otherwise when the books were written. Thus it is also said in another place of the same book, that, in the author's time, the name of *Betbel*, or *house of God*, was turned into that of *Bethaven*, or *the house of wickedness*; which did not happen till after *Jeroboam's* revolt (52). These, and many more which we omit, make it very probable that they were not written by cotemporary authors.

To reconcile these, it is generally believed that the original authors of them were those inspired

persons above-mentioned, who committed them to writing as they happened; but that all those pieces were afterwards collected into a regular history either by *Esra*, *Haggai*, or some of these prophets, who return'd from the captivity; and who, being alike inspired, might make such further additions as they thought proper to illustrate their history: such as the change of names, customs, and the like, without derogating from their authority. Accordingly we find, that they have been still constantly acknowledged, by the *Jews*, to be of divine authority, and have been appealed to, as such, by the writers of the gospel (53).

(51) *Ibid.* ix. 9. (52) *Ibid.* xiii. 2, 5. (53) *Vid.* *Matth.* xii. 3. & *al.* *Luke* iv. 25. & *seq.* & *alib.* *pass.*

astrology; and being thereby insinuated into the worship of those heavenly bodies after the example of other nations (L). What instruments they had to reckon the time by, whether the *Egyptian Clepsydra*, or water-glasses, or sun-dials, or any other; we cannot affirm, except that we read of the sun-dial, or, as the original signifies, the stair-case, or flight of steps of *Abaz* \*; but, allowing it to have been a real and regular sun-dial, it may easily be supposed to have been rather the work of some foreign astronomer, than a common thing among them; that prince's character sufficiently shews, that he was not over scrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous nature, witness his new *altar from Damascus* †. Besides, as they divided the day into four parts, the two first of which were from the sun-rising to its meridian, and the two last from noon to its setting, it was not difficult for them to make out the other division by such observations, either on his career, or on the shadow of any trees, houses, or even of their own bodies, as every ploughman with us is able to do to a much greater justness. The same might be done in the division of the four night-watches from the motion of the stars. To seek for other sciences, or for schools or universities among them, were like seeking them among the *Goths* and *Vandals*; they not only had an equal contempt for them and for those nations that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred against them, was so far from abating, after their return from *Babylon*, where they had seen them flourish, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, insomuch that their large chronick, intituled *Juchasin*, hath recorded a sentence of anathema, which passed in the time of *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus*, against such as should suffer their children to be instructed in any part of the *Greek* learning. *Solomon* indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturalist, and wrote a great deal upon that subject; but he was so far from recommending that study to others, that he calls his researches of that kind *vanity and vexation of spirit*; or, as the original imports, a feeding upon the wind ‡: which is probably the reason why, instead of following his example, they suffered all those excellent writings to be lost. Whilst they were thus averse to the learning of other nations, they were no less scrupulous of concealing their own from them, especially their sacred books; witness the grief they expressed when *Ptolemy* obtained a version of them into *Greek*, in memory of which they have kept a strict, even a double fast on the 8th and 9th days of the month *Thevet*, or *December*.

Synagogues.

ON the other hand, they were no less careful to cultivate the knowledge of them among themselves: we cannot indeed be sure that they had any synagogues before the captivity, tho' it be far from improbable, considering the great distance at which some of them lived from the temple, and that at best they were obliged to

\* 2 Kings xx. 9, & seq.

† Ibid. xvi. 10, & seq.

‡ Eccles. i. & seq. pass.

(L.) It is no difficult matter to conceive how those ancient nations came to worship the planets and heavenly bodies, after they had once imbibed the belief of their having so considerable a share in the government of all sublunary things, and had ascribed to every one their several influences, good or bad, and the particular periods in which they ruled by turns. But how this notion came first into their head, is not so easy to imagine; and yet that it must have began very early, and was universally received by all the heathen world, will plainly appear, if we consider how ancient the division of the day and night into 24 hours is; and that the consecrating every day of the week to one of the seven planets, not in the regular order in which they stand in their system, ♄, ♀, ☿, ☽, ☿, ☿, ☿, but by skipping two of them every new day, could not be owing to any thing but an opinion that every planet ruled alternately the several hours of each day.

Thus, on *Saturday*, *Saturn*, the planet of that day being supposed to govern the 1, 8, 15, and 22 hours, whilst *Jupiter*, the next in order, governed the 2, 9, 16, and 23. ♄ the 3, 10, 17, and 24, the *Sun* must of course govern the first hour of the next day, upon which account he became the planet of that day, and having ruled the 1, 8, 15, and 22, and *Venus* and *Mercury* the two remaining ones,

brought in the *Moon* to be lady of the next, or of the *Mondays*; and so of the rest, according to the following diagram.



Thus then it is plain, that this planetary division of the week was of astrological extraction; and that that of the days into 24 parts was so likewise, tho' not equally demonstrable, can hardly be questioned, if we consider the great connection which these two have

a to resort thither but thrice in a year; but other places they had for prayer and instruction, namely, the schools of the prophets, to which they might repair on *Schools* the sabbaths, new moons, and other festivals<sup>a</sup>. By prophets we mean not those strictly so called, men endowed with the spirit of prophecy (M), but their disciples, or, as the *Hebrew* idiom words it, the sons of the prophets. The former were generally consulted by the kings, priests, and elders of the people upon all extraordinary occasions, whether about religion or state affairs<sup>b</sup>; and the latter were brought up under them, and fitted for instructing the people in the way of virtue and the worship of God.

THESE had their habitations chiefly in the country, they lived in a kind of society *Prophets*. among themselves, and had generally one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, and to whom they gave the title of father<sup>c</sup>. Their houses were but mean, and of their own building<sup>d</sup>. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs<sup>e</sup>; unless when the people sent some better fare to them, such as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits, and the like<sup>f</sup>. Their dress was plain and coarse, and tied about with a leathern girdle<sup>g</sup>; their wants, being so few, were easily supplied by their own hands, and as their views reached no further, so they limited their labour to that, that they might bestow the more time in prayer, study, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in such a state, and therefore *Elijah* not only refused *Naaman's* presents, but punished *Gehazi* in a severe manner, for having clandestinely obtained a small portion of them<sup>h</sup>. This laborious, reclusive, and abstemious course of life, joined to the meanness of dress, gave them such a strange air, especially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen<sup>i</sup>. Their extraordinary freedom, in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewise expose them frequently to persecutions, imprisonments, and sometimes to death; especially in the reigns of some wicked princes, such as were *Abab* and *Manasseh*; but, in the main, they were always respected by the better and wiser sort, even of the highest rank, and used with the utmost reverence and regard both in language and behaviour<sup>j</sup>.

THIS is all that we know, concerning those religious communities and their manner of life: those who have ventured to give us a further account of it, such as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like, have spun it out of their own brain<sup>k</sup>. It is true that we do not read of any women living amongst

<sup>a</sup> Vide 2 Kings iv. 23. <sup>b</sup> Vide 1 Kings xxii. 5, 7. 2 Kings xix. 2, 20, & seq. Jerem. xxxvii. 3, & seq. Ezek. xiv. 1, & seq. & alib. <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 5. 2 Kings vi. 1, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 2, 3, & 4. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. iv. 38, & seq. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 3, & seq. 2 Kings iv. 42, & alib. <sup>g</sup> Vide Zach. xiii. 4. 2 Kings i. 8. <sup>h</sup> 2 Kings v. pass. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. ii. 23. ix. 10. <sup>j</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 7, & seq. 2 Kings i. 13. xiii. 14, & alib. <sup>k</sup> Vid. int. al. BOULDUCE. Eccl. ant. leg. CALM. sub. voc. prophet.

have one to another, and that the reputed author of this last, the *Egyptian Hermes*, surnamed *Trismegistus*, and cotemporary with *Moses*, if not the same person with him, was a great astrologer, as it appears by some of his writings on that subject still extant under his name.

Some authors do indeed tell us, that he took the hint of this division from the *Egyptian Cunocephalus*, which he observed, at the time of the equinox, to have puffed and howled 12 times from sun-rising to sun-set, and at equal distance, from which the *Egyptians* took also the hint of the *Clepsydra*, or water-hour-glasses, in memory of which, they used to place the image of that animal on the top of them (54). But as we cannot look upon the whole story to be authentick, so the most that can be made of it is, that that nation hath the fairest claim for being the inventors of this division; tho' whether they, or the *Chaldeans* were so, the *Jews* never admitted of it till after the captivity; for the first mention that we find of hours, properly so called, is in the apocryphal book of *Judith*; so that in all respects, their computation of time was different from the rest of

the world. Even their very seasons are not called by the usual names of spring and autumn, but of seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, winter and summer (55).

(M) The word Prophet doth not always signify an inspired person, in the old testament, but often a preacher of righteousness, such as were all the patriarchs from *Seth*, or, in the sense of the gospel, such as believed and taught the coming of the *Messiah* (56); in which sense also, those that preached him and his doctrine, after his coming, are also called prophets, and their preaching prophecy (57). The same may be also said of those who sung the praises of God, or accompanied them with some musical instrument, as *Miriam* (58), the company of prophets that met *Saul* (59), and the sons of *Asaph*, of *Heman* and *Jeduthun*, who are said to have prophesied with harps, psalteries, and cymbals (60); tho' they were properly no other than musicians. The apostle gives the title of prophet even to the heathen poets (61); and hence comes that distinction in *St. Austin*, of *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Heathen* prophets (62).

(54) TULL. ap. *Victorin.* cited by *Macrob.* lib. i. c. 21. Vide KERCH. *Hieroglyph.* & al. (55) *Jud. Gen. viii. ver. ult. & alib. pass. vide & WHIST. Theory.* (56) *Luke i. 70.* (57) *Vide 1 Cor. xii. 4. xiv. 24, 29, & seq. & alib.* (58) *Exod. xv. 20.* (59) *1 Sam. x. 5.* (60) *1 Chron. xxv. 1.* (61) *Tit. i. 12.* (62) *Præfat. in lib. xix. cont. Faust.*



amongst them, and that, when the *Shunamite* went to acquaint *Elijab* with the death of her son, he sent *Gebasi* to meet her, and that, when she would have fallen down at his master's feet, he offered to hinder her; but it is also certain, that several of the prophets were married, and had children, as *Samuel*, *Isaiab*, whose wife is called a prophetess<sup>d</sup>, *Ezekiel*<sup>e</sup>, and *Hosea*<sup>f</sup>, and it was the widow of one of the sons of the prophets, whose oyl *Elijab* did miraculously multiply, to save her sons from being sold to the creditors of the deceased<sup>g</sup>. The prophetesses were likewise married, *Deborah* was the wife of *Lapidoth*<sup>h</sup>, and *Huldab*, whom king *Josiah* sent to consult, was the wife of *Shallum*, and she is observed (in the text) to have lived in the college of *Jerusalem*<sup>i</sup>. These inspired persons, whilst they continued in *Israel*, which was till the return from *Babylon*, being the surest expounders of the *Mosaic* law, proved such a strong fence against schism and heresy (that political one of *Jeroboam* excepted, against which they waged a continual war) that it could never get footing amongst them (N); whereas prophecy no sooner ceased, than they split themselves into such a great variety of sects, and gave such a scope to their fertile fancies, that, the *Talmudists* own, *Elias* himself would be at a loss to solve the subtle difficulties which they have raised against each other<sup>k</sup>.

THESE prophets, the *Talmudists* reckon, from *Abraham* to *Malacbi*, to the number of forty-eight, and six prophetesses (O). Several of the former are known to

<sup>d</sup> *Isai*. viii. 3.    <sup>e</sup> *Ezek*. xxiv. 18.    <sup>f</sup> *Hos*. i. 2. & seq.    <sup>g</sup> 2 *Kings* iv. 1, & seq.    <sup>h</sup> *Judg*. iv. 4.    <sup>i</sup> 2 *Kings* xxii. 14, 15.    <sup>k</sup> *Traß*. *Megillath*.

(N) We must not, however, pass by a distinction which the ancient *Jews* have hammered out of the sacred writings, between the חסידים *Hassidim*, called by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers *Assidei*†, the צדיקים *Tzadikim*, and רשעים *Reshabim*. The words properly signify no more than merciful, just, and wicked men; and the assembly or company of the two former is often opposed to that of the latter, not as being different sects, but as persons of a different character. But the *Talmudists* have attributed some peculiar opinions to each of these, tho' they are not quite agreed, whether they related to speculation or practice. They give the preference to the *Hassidim* in both respects, as being the honestest interpreters and practisers of the law, and the *Pharisees* boast themselves sprung from them; tho' much more likely from the *Tzadikim*, which were an over strict and scrupulous sect, pretending much to works of supererogation, to whom it is thought the advice of *Solomon* was directed, *be not righteous over much* (63). These, however, are the tenets attributed to each of them, with respect to *meum* and *tuum* (64). The *Hassidim* said, what is mine is yours; the *Reshabim*, what is yours is mine; but the *Tzadikim*, what is mine is mine, and what is yours is yours. To this the apostle seems to allude, when he says (65), that scarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die, whilst *Christ* vouchsafed to die, even for the worst of the three, even for the wicked; where the *Saxator* alludes to the *Tzadik*, or rigidly righteous, and צדיק to the *Hassid*, or merciful man, as the wicked to the *Reshabim*. Whether that distinction likewise of our Saviour (66), between the good and the bad, the just and unjust, hath not probably an eye to this threefold sort of men, we leave to the reader.

(O) The prophetesses are *Miriam*, *Deborah*, *Hannah* (*Samuel's* mother) *Abigail*, *Huldab*, and *Esther*; some add the two *Egyptian* midwives to that number. As for the prophets, they are *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Josua*, *Phineas*, *Elha-*

*nah* and his son *Samuel*, *Eli*, *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Ido*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Micahab* the son of *Imiab* (67), *Obadiab*, *Abijah* the *Shilonite* (68), *Jaba*, the son of *Hanani* (69), *Azariab* the son of *Obed* (70), *Abexiel* the son of *Mathaniah*, *Eliexer* the son of *Dodowab* (71), *Hosea*, *Amos*, *Micah*, *Amos* II. supposed the father of *Isaiab*, *Elijab*, *Elysa*, *Isaiab*, *Jonah*, *Nabum*, *Joel*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniab*, *Jeremiab*, *Uriab* the son of *Shemaiab* (72), *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Baruch*, *Neria*, *Seraiah* his son, *Maasiah* his father (73), *Haggai*, *Zechariab*, *Malacbi*, *Mordecai*, *Shallum* the husband of *Huldab*, and *Hanameel*, *Jeremiab's* kinsman, of whom he bought a field (74).

Some add, that, when the father of any prophet is mentioned, he is also a prophet (75); as where *Jeremiab* is said to be the son of *Hilkiah*, *Hija* the son of *Beri* (76), &c. and that, when the place of his nativity is not mentioned, he is supposed to have been of *Jerusalem* (77).

It is observable, with respect to *Daniel*, that tho' the *Jews* allow him a rank among the other prophets, yet they will not admit his writings amongst those of the other prophets, but only among the *Hagiographa*, which they look upon as of the least authority of all the canonical books. The reasons they give for it are, 1. That *Daniel* was a courtier, and spent his life in luxury and grandeur in the service of an uncircumcised king. 2. That the spirit of prophecy was confined to the land *Canaan*, out of which he lived all his life: to these some have added a third, namely, that he had been made an eunuch, according to *Isaiab's* prophecy to *Hizkiah* (78), and that such were excluded from entering into the congregation of the Lord (79). Some learned *Jews* have indeed vindicated him, from this last imputation (80); but their *Gemarras* doth cast still a much more injurious reflection upon him, namely, that he stole away privately into *Egypt* to buy hogs, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was setting up his golden image, and his three friends *Shadrach*, *Mesback*, and *Abednego*, were condemned to the flames for refusing to worship it (81). But it is plain

† *Vide* 1 *Maccab*. vii. 13.    (63) *Ecclef*. vii. 16.    (64) *Vide* D. KIMCHI in *Pf*. ciii. 17. BARTHE-  
NOR. gloss. in *pirke abb*. c. ii. 8. v. 10. WAGENSCH. ad *hb*. פסוק c. ix. 15.    (65) *Rom*. v. 7, 8.  
(66) *Matth*. v. 45.    (67) 1 *Kings* xxii. 8, & seq.    (68) *Ibid*. xi. 29.    (69) *Ibid*. xvi. 1    (70)  
2 *Chron*. xv. 1.    (71) *Ibid*. xx. ult.    (72) *Jerem*. xxi. 20, & seq.    (73) *Ibid*. li. 59.    (74)  
*Ibid*. xxii. 7, & seq. de his prophet. ult. *Sedar*. *otam*. minor.    (75) *Vide* KIMCHI in *Hof*. i.    (76)  
*Jer*. & *Hof*. i. 1.    (77) KIMCHI. *ibid*.    (78) 2 *Kings* xx. 18.    (79) *Deut*. xxiii. 1.    (80)  
*Vide* ABNEZZ. in *Dan*.    (81) *Traßlat*. *Sanhedr*.

- a to us by nothing but their names ; as for the rest of them, we shall refer the farther account of their actions, writings, and character, till we come to the history of those kings in whose reigns they lived, and with which they have an immediate relation. The ways by which God revealed himself to them were various ; to some he appeared and spoke, either in a human, or some other visible form, as he did to *Abraham* and *Moses* ; to others by voice only, as to *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Hosea*, and others<sup>1</sup> ; sometimes by visions, as he did to *Isaiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and others<sup>m</sup> : At other times by dreams<sup>a</sup> ; but the most usual and general way was, by the sole operation of the Spirit of God, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this last manner, the book of *Psalms* is generally thought to have been dictated by the Holy-  
b Ghost to the author, or rather the authors of it, *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, the three sons of *Chore*, *Asaph*, and the rest<sup>o</sup>.

## S E C T. V.

The JEWISH CHRONOLOGY, from Abraham's vocation, to the Babylonish Captivity.

- c WE have shewn, in a former section, that the time, which elapsed from *Abraham's* first entrance into *Canaan*, to *Jacob's* descent into *Egypt*, was 215 years †, and that his posterity continued in the latter another 215 years \*, in all, 430. From their coming out of that bondage, to *Solomon's* laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years<sup>a</sup> ; from thence to the destruction of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* was carried into captivity, are reckoned 422 years<sup>b</sup> : So that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of *Abraham*, to the *Babylonish* captivity, amounts to 1334. As to the kingdom of *Israel*, it lasted only 254 years from its defection from that of *Judah*, in the 37th year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by *Shalmaneser* ; which happened 134 years before the *Babylonish* captivity.  
d THUS far then the larger divisions of this æra are fixed upon a solid ground, the authority of the sacred writers ; but lest our readers should think it equally easy to adjust the smaller periods, especially those which relate to the several reigns of their judges and kings ; or should think it impossible to err in them, because the length of each is transmitted to us by inspired writers, from whom it would be impious to dissent ; we beg leave to remind them, before we give a list of those monarchs, of what has been observed in the preamble, prefixed to the first number of this work, concerning the vast and almost irreconcilable difference there is between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* chronology, as well as between these two and that of the *septuagint* : To say nothing of *Josephus* and other *Jewish* writers. We did also give  
e our reasons there, for preferring the *Samaritan*, as far as it went, to all the rest, even to the *Hebrew*, which last is justly supposed to have been corrupted by the *Jews*, and mutilated by the carelessness of copyists. We have given a pregnant proof of the latter in another section \*†\*, and shall soon have occasion to say something further of the former.

BUT these are not the only causes of the difficulty one finds in settling the *Jewish* chronology, we beg leave to add a few others equally considerable ; and these are, 1. That the sacred writers affected to use round numbers in their large

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. iii. 4, & seq. Jerem. i. 4, & seq. & alib. Hof. i. 2. <sup>m</sup> Isai. vi. 1, & seq. Ezek. i. 4, & seq. Dan. vii. 1, & seq. <sup>n</sup> Dan. ii. 19. Mat. i. 20. & al. Acts xvi. 9. <sup>o</sup> Vid. Hieron. præfat. in psalm. † Comp. the years in the margin, in p. 422. & 559. See also p. 422, 423. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 425. note K. <sup>b</sup> 1 Kings vi. 1. <sup>c</sup> See the marginal chronol. of our Bibles, and Usher's ann. p. 31. <sup>d</sup> \*†\* Before p. 422. note B.

plain, that all this rancour springs from the great use, which the *Christians* have since made of his writings against them, in spite of the noble character which *Ezekiel* gives him, when he mentions him with *Noah* and *Job* (82). Even *Josephus*, though he allows him to have been a compleat politician,

is so far from denying him the title of prophet, that he doth even give him the preference to the rest, in several respects (83). But the rest of the *Jews* have thrown his prophecies into the ספר כתיבִים *Sepher Ketubim*, among those of *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, &c. (84).

(82) Ezek. xiv. & pass. (83) Ant. l. x. c. 12. (84) Vid. Hieron. præfat. in Isai. Maim. More Nevoch. pt. 2. Grot. præfat. in Isai. Munster. Bund. & al.

computations, without minding too scrupulously the odd years that fell over or under them. 2. The same they did in their lesser reckonings; those, for instance, of their kings reigns, which they computed by compleat years, and overlooked the odd months, which the first and last happened to fall short of; by which it often happened, that a whole year was gained within the compass of two or three reigns, or of forty or fifty years. 3. The book of *Judges*, whoever was the author of it (P), compared with *Josephus's* history of them, seems only a short account of so many persons, and of their government, without regard to the inter-regnums and anarchies, which happened between any of them. It seems, indeed, as if they were designedly passed by, as dead *epochas* not worth recording. But, lastly, and to mention no more, after the division of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign seems, indeed, exactly set down, and the synchronisms between those of *Judab* and *Israel* exactly observed; and yet there often happens such jarring and disagreement between them, as cannot be reconciled by any other way, than by supposing that some of those monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnership with their predecessors, and that the beginning of their reigns was dated from that time, and not from that of their father's death. The necessity of this supposition cannot but be obvious to those who are conversant with chronologick works, especially those of the learned *Usher*. How far the *Jewish* computation by lunar years, their ignorance of astronomy, and want of exact tables, of which we have lately had occasion to speak under another head, may have increased these difficulties, we need not say. But these, and many more, we willingly omit, have induced a great number of learned chronologers, ancient and modern, such as *St. Jerom*, *Scaliger*, *Vossius*, *Genebrard*, and others, to think it next to impossible to adjust the *Jewish* chronology by those few books we have extant, and which are but epitomes of more full and comprehensive histories, long since lost.

We need not tell our readers, that the histories of several kings are said in the text to have been written by cotemporary prophets, of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and that the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: *Now the rest of the acts of such a king, his valour and conquest, and the like, are they not written in the book of the Kings (or Chronicles) of the kings of Judab (or Israel)*. Now it were absurd to suppose, that those we have extant, under the name of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, do refer to one another, seeing, some few inconsiderable particulars excepted, they all

(P) It is plain, that it was not begun and continued by several hands, under the government of each judge, as some have imagined; not only from the uniformity of style throughout, but also because the author of it, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning (85); and the expression which often occurs in it, that *in those days there was no king in Israel* (86), shews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, those who date it after their captivity; because it is said there (87), that *Jonathan and his sons continued to be priests until the day of the captivity of the land*, which they think must at least be that of *Tiglath-pileser* (88); seem to post-date it prodigiously, not considering that by what the author says at the beginning (89), that *the children of Benjamin dwell with the Jebusites in Jerusalem, unto this day*, he must have lived before these were driven out of it by *David*. It is therefore more probable, as the *Jews* think, that the captivity, here spoken of, was the battle which the *Israelites* lost against the *Philistines*, when the ark was taken by them; at which time, one may reasonably suppose a great number of the people were also taken captive.

What makes this conjecture still more probable is, that, in the very next verse to that where the captivity is mentioned, the author adds, that the

*Danites set up Micah's ephod all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh*, which was only till they fetched the ark from thence, to carry it against the *Philistines*; and this was about the beginning of *Samuel's* time; for, after his return, it was not carried back to *Shiloh*, but to *Kirjath-jearim* (90). If the *ephod* then continued no longer in *Dan*, there was no farther need of keeping any priests to sacrifice unto it. Neither, indeed, is it credible, that such a notorious piece of idolatry could have continued under *Samuel's* government, when it is expressly said, that he made the children of *Israel* put away their strange gods to serve the Lord alone (91).

It seems, therefore, very probable to us, that a mistake has been committed in the last word of that 30th verse, from the likeness of the final letters; and that instead of גלות הארץ, the captivity of the land, it was originally written גלות הארון, the taking of the ark. From all which it will follow, that *Samuel* lived at the time of this book being written; and consequently, that he is most likely to have been the author of it. Neither will the supposition of a much later captivity destroy this conjecture, if we suppose that *Exra*, or any of the inspired writers, that returned from that of *Babylon*, might add this circumstance, as, we have made it probable already, they did many others to the historical books, by way of illustration.

(85) *Ch. ii. 10. Et seq.* (86) *Ch. xviii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. Et alib.* (87) *Judg. xviii. 30.* (88) *See 2 Kings xv. 30.* (89) *Ch. i. ver. 21.* (90) *Conf. 1 Sam. iv. 4. Et viii. 1. 2.* (91) *2d. ver. 3. 4.*

a all mention the same things, and almost word for word ; and are alike regardless of all the other particulars of those reigns. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose, that they referred the readers to more exact and voluminous annals or histories, written by proper persons in every reign, and which either perished during the captivity, or since. But whether we ascribe the difficulties of the *Jewish* chronology to the loss of these books, to the *Jews* corrupting of the text, or to the carelessness of transcribers ; any, or all of these, will sufficiently account for the different ways by which almost every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various *eras* before the birth of Christ ; concerning which we shall refer our readers to our preface above mentioned, and to the tables thereto annexed.

b THE *Jews* indeed, whether ancient or modern, do not differ so widely from one another in this respect, as the Christians do ; but then it is plain, from the tables above mentioned, that they have shortened, one and all, the space between the creation of the world, and the birth of Christ, by 240 years, little more or less, of the vulgar *era*. Whether therefore this was wilfully done, and with design to explode the completion of the prophecies concerning the time of the Messiah's coming, which is but too likely, seeing their chronology, from that time to this, doth exactly agree with ours, this being their 5495th year from the creation ; or whether it happened through the inadvertency of copyists, which yet was hardly ever granted by any true *Jew* ; their chronology can no more be reconciled to ours, than to that of the *Egyptians*, or of any other nation.

c THE truth is, that all their records, the sacred books excepted, are not only of recenter date than their *Talmud*, but seem wholly directed by it. So that whatever small difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or understanding of that book, than a deviation from it ; and, of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not tell the reader. However, for the satisfaction of those who are not acquainted with these chronological works, we shall subjoin some few of the most considerable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled.

d AND here we shall pass by their fictitious *Josephus Ben Gorion*, whom they have obtruded upon the world instead of the real one, so well known to the Christians, and so often mentioned in this history. The reader may see an account of these two, and the reasons for the former being trumped up by the *Jews*, in opposition to the latter, in *Prideaux's Connexion*\*, where he will find also a fuller account of the following chronological works ; which we shall, for that reason, content ourselves with the bare mention of, and only observe here, that they follow the *Hebrew* text as far as it goes ; the rest is mostly supplied by the *Talmud* to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of a recenter date.

e THE first is the *Sedar Holam Rabbah*, or large Chronicle ; which contains a short history from the creation, and is generally attributed to one rabbi *Jose Ben Chalephta*, who flourished, if we may believe the generality of the *Jews*, about 130 years after Christ, and is said to have been master to the famous *Jebudah Hakodesh*, the compiler of the *Mishna*† ; but what shews him to be of more modern date is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor *Adrian*‡. And *Prideaux* observes, that the book is stuffed with rabbinick fables, which certainly appear to have been taken out of the *Babylonish Talmud* ; from which he concludes that it was written after it§. To this we may add what a learned *Jew* tells us¶, that he had seen a copy of it, in which it was said, that the author lived 760 years after the destruction of the temple.

f 2. THE *Shealoth* and *Teshuboth*, or questions and answers, dialoguewise, of rabbi *Sherira*, surnamed *Gaon*, or the sublime. This is a chronological epitome, the author of which flourished from the year 967 downward¶.

3. THE *Sedar Holam Zutta*, or the lesser Chronicle, another epitome of history, from the creation to the year of Christ 552 ; but whose unknown author lived, as the book itself says, about the year 1123¹.

\* Preface to the 3d vol. p. 18. & seq.    † Vid. WOLF. Bibliot. Rabbin. num. 848. p. 462. & seq.  
 ‡ See MORIN. BARTOLC. BUXT. & al.    § PRID. ub. sup.    ¶ R. AZAR. Meor henaim. pt. 3.    ¹ Vid. WOLF. & PRID. ub. sup.    † Vid. Sepher Yuchasin, Shalsheleth Et Temach David ap. WOLF. ub. sup.

4. *Sepher Cabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior* ; this book pretends to give a continual and uninterrupted succession of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wise men, through whose hands the oral tradition passed, from *Adam* to *Moses*, and so on to the compilers of the *Talmud*, and from thence to the year of Christ 1141. This author doth often abridge the fictitious *Josephus Ben Gorion*, and is supposed to be the first, who brought that spurious author and his book into credit among the *Jews*.

5. *The Sepher Yuchasin*, or book of genealogies, from the creation to the year of Christ 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. *The Shalsheleth*, or chain of the cabbala, of the same kind with the *Yuchasin*.

7. *The Tzemach David*, or sprout of *David*, treats on the same subject with the two last. These three are still more modern, and less worth our notice <sup>b</sup>. Besides these, we find an apocryphal book, intituled, *Dibre bajamim*, or chronicle of *Moses* ; but which is universally rejected by the *Jews* as well as Christians. As for the *Samaritan* chronicle published by *Bernard* <sup>1</sup> and *Basnage* <sup>m</sup>, it is so short, obscure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is. These, especially the first seven, are the books which the *Jews* urge against our chronology, and from which they pretend to demonstrate, that Christ appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we say he did : But as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the *Talmud*, we shall spend no more time in confuting either <sup>a</sup>.

We pass by also the *Jewish Targums*, or *Chaldee* paraphrases, because we have none upon the book of the *Judges* or of the *Kings*. But upon the whole, whatever small differences there may be between those chronological works, they all agree in the series and succession of their kings and judges, in the same order of time as we find them in those two sacred books, and that of the *Chronicles*. It is true, that this last doth sometimes jar with those of *Samuel* and *Kings* in point of numbers, whether of years or other things mentioned in both. But such differences are scarce worth the pains which some criticks have taken to reconcile them <sup>†</sup>. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of their history, to hint at some of the latter sort ; and as to the first, the only instance, we are going to give, will easily convince the reader, that, in these cases, some errors have manifestly crept into the text, whether through the likeness of the numerical *Hebrew* letters, or the negligence of copyists, whatever the *Jews* may pretend to the contrary. The place we mean is, where the book of *Chronicles* says that *Abaziah* was 42 years of age when he began to reign <sup>‡</sup>, contrary to that of *Kings*, which makes him but 22 years old <sup>§</sup>. It will be no hard matter to find where the mistake lies, since, according to the former author, that monarch must have been two years older than his father, who is affirmed to have died in the 40th year of his age <sup>¶</sup>. It were ridiculous to follow the forced and unnatural solution of two or three authors, who have in vain endeavoured to solve the difficulty <sup>‡</sup>, against the far greater majority, who have plainly owned, that it could not be removed by any other way, than by owning the bigger number to be an error of the transcriber <sup>¶</sup>. The following is the list of the judges and kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. As for their chronology and synchronisms, we shall refer them, as we have done hitherto, the former to their history, and the latter to the chronological table at the end of this work.

<sup>a</sup> Id. & PRID. ub. sup. <sup>1</sup> Ap. CALMET sub voc. croniq. <sup>m</sup> Histoire des Juifs. T. 6. lib. 8. c. 6.  
<sup>b</sup> Vid. PRID. Conn. ub. sup. & pt. 1. lib. 5. <sup>†</sup> Vid. int. al. WHISTON'S Chronology, and CAP-  
 ZOVIVUS'S learned answer to it. <sup>‡</sup> 2 Chron. xxii. 2. <sup>§</sup> 2 Kings viii. 26. <sup>¶</sup> 2 Chr. xxi. ver.  
 ult. <sup>‡</sup> USSER. AN. BROUGHTON. JUN. in loc. <sup>¶</sup> JEROM. KINCH. ABARBAN. L. DE DIEU.  
 PISCAT. CAJET. SCALIG. GROT. CAPEL & al. mult. Vid. & NORT. KNATCHBUL Animadv. in N.  
 T. in Act. iv. LE SCER. Essay on a N. Verf. pt. 2. ch. vi. § 8. & al. mult.

*A Table of the ISRAELITISH JUDGES.*

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Othniel, son-in-law to Joshua (A).                                       | 8. Jair.                   |
| 2. Ebud.  | 9. Jephthab the Gileadite. |
| 3. Shamgar.   | 10. Ibzan.                 |
| 4. Deborah the prophetess, and wife of Lapidoth (B), and Barac her general. | 11. Elon.                  |
| b 5. Gideon, or Jerubbaal.  | 12. Abdon.                 |
| 6. Abimelech his son.   | 13. Eli the high-priest.   |
| 7. Tolab.   | 14. Samson.                |
|   | 15. Samuel.                |

*The JEWISH KINGS before Jeroboam's Revolt.*

Saul. Ishbosheth. David. Solomon.

*KINGS of JUDAH and ISRAEL after the Division of the two kingdoms.*

- |   |  |                                       |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| c | JUDAH.   | ISRAEL.                               |
|   | Rehoboam.  | Jeroboam.                             |
|   | Abijam.  | Nadab.                                |
|   | Aza.   | Baasha.                               |
|   |  | Elah.                                 |
|   |  | Zimri.                                |
|   |  | Omri.                                 |
|   |  | Abah.                                 |
|   |  | Abaziah.                              |
| d | Jehoshaphat.                                       |                                       |
|   | Jehoram.   | Jehoram.                              |
|   | Abaziah.   | Jehu.                                 |
|   | Atthaliah.   |                                       |
|   | Jehoash.   | Jehoabaz.                             |
|   | Amaziah.   | Jehoash.                              |
|   | Uzziah or Azariah.                                 | Jeroboam II.                          |
|   |  | An inter-regnum of 11 and half years. |
|   |  | Zachariah.                            |
|   |  | Shallum.                              |
|   |  | Menabem.                              |
| e | Jotham.  | Pekabiah.                             |
|   | Abaz.  | Pekab.                                |
|   | Hezekiah.  | Hoshea.                               |
|   | Manasseh.  |                                       |
|   | Amon.  |                                       |
|   | Josiah.  |                                       |
|   | Shallum or Jehoabaz.                               |                                       |
|   | Eliakim or Jehoiakim.                              |                                       |
|   | Jechoniah or Coniah, called also Jeho-<br>boiakim. |                                       |
| f | Mattaniah, called also Zedekiah.                   |                                       |

(A) Josephus makes Kenaz, the father of Othniel, to have been the first judge in Israel (1); and takes no notice of his son, either as his co-partner or successor; but the text is entirely against him, which gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes the signal victory to him; for which he was chosen and continued in it forty years (2).

(B) Some read אִשְׁתִּי-לָפִידוֹת, *Esbeth-Lapidoth*, a woman of Lapidoth, supposing that to be the name of the place of her abode; and others, because

*Lapidoth* properly signifies lamps, will have her called by that name, because she spun the cotton for the lamps that burnt in the holy place. But all this is said without foundation, and *Deborah* is not the only prophetess that had a husband. Witness *Huldah*, the wife of *Shallum*, mentioned in a former note. It doth not appear what tribe *Deborah* was of; the place of her abode was upon the frontiers of *Benjamin* and *Ephraim* (3), and these were indifferently inhabited by either tribe.

(1) *Ant. lib. V. c. 4.* (2) *See Judg. iii. 8. & seq.* (3) *Ibid. iv. 5.*



## S E C T. VI.

*The History of the JUDGES that governed Israel, from the death of Joshua to Saul their first king.*

**JOSHUA** had attained to the 110th year of his age, by that time he had finished his arduous task, of settling the tribes each in their proper lot, dismissing the two tribes and half to their own, on the other side *Jordan*, and appointing the cities of the *Levites*, and of *Refuge*, as we have seen in a former section. Finding, therefore, that he was drawing to his end, he called to him all the heads of *Israel* at *Shechem*; and, after the example of *Moses*, reminded them of all the wonderful and signal favours which God had shewed to them, from their fore-father *Abraham*, unto that time; and how much they were bound by interest, as well as duty, to continue stedfast in their obedience to him, and by no means to suffer themselves to be insnared into idolatry, or into a conformity with the ways of the *Canaanites*; which could not but prove fatal to them, as it had been to their ancestors. He added, that, as for them, they were at their choice, whether they would serve the Lord, or the gods of *Canaan*; but himself and his house were fully resolved to continue stedfast in the worship of the true God. This pathetick exhortation of their venerable general, whom they now saw for the last time, extorted from them an universal promise, that they would all follow his example, and cleave unto God. *Joshua* took care to see it recorded, and caused a monument to be erected in memory of this new covenant, under the oak that grew in the precinct of the tabernacle. He died soon after, and was buried at *Timnath-serath*, in mount *Ephraim*, which was his own inheritance. His death was soon followed by that of *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron*, who was succeeded by his son *Phineas* in the high-priesthood. By degrees, the rest of the seventy elders, who had out-lived *Joshua*, died also; and with them, one would have thought, not only the remembrance of *Joshua*, and of their late covenant, so solemnly sworn to by all the tribes, but even all sense of religion, and fear of God, or regard to his laws; insomuch, that *Joshua* had been scarce dead twenty years, before we find them sunk over head and ears into confusion and idolatry.

*Joshua's death.*

Year of the  
Flood, 1556.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1443.

*Judah's war.*

A GREAT part of *Canaan* remained still unconquered when that general died, so that they could not, without pursuing their conquest, secure the possession of what they had. *Judah* was appointed by the oracle to begin the war; *Caleb*, the son of *Jephuneh*, famous for his bravery and faithfulness, in the report he made of the land of *Canaan*, was head of that tribe, and engaged that of *Simeon*, with which his own was interwoven, to join forces with him against the king of *Bezek*. We have seen, elsewhere, the just fate of that insolent petty prince †. As for *Caleb*, he set himself immediately about the conquest of *Jerusalem*, which had been re-taken by the *Jebusites* from the tribe of *Benjamin*, and soon after took and burnt it to the ground; the besieged retiring into the fortrefs of *Zion*. After this, he turned his forces towards the south, against the cities of *Hebron*, or *Kirjath-Arba*, and *Debir*, called also *Kirjath-Sepher*, which were then inhabited by the gigantick sons of *Anak*. These had been formerly promised to him by *Moses*, as a reward of his faithfulness, and yielded to him accordingly by *Joshua*, a little before his death. *Caleb*, however, who was then above fourscore and five years of age, though still strong and vigorous, thought it prudent not to exhaust his strength too far in the siege of those strong places, and therefore proposed his daughter *Achsab* as a reward to the man that took *Kirjath-Sepher*; and it was not long before it was gained by *Othniel*, a man of valour, and of his own family (A), whose conduct and bravery, upon this occasion, did raise him soon after to the dignity of judge.

† *Josh.* xxiii. & xxiv. p. tot.    <sup>b</sup> *Vid.* Numb. xiii. 6. & 30. xiv. 6. & alib.    <sup>c</sup> *Judg.* i. 4. & seq.  
† *Vid.* sup. p. 333. d.    <sup>d</sup> *Judg.* i. 8.    <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 9. & seq. *vid.* *Josh.* xiv. 9. & seq.

(A) The text calls him the son of *Kenan*, brother whether he, or his father, was *Caleb's* brother.  
to *Caleb* (1); so that it is not easy to determine. The septuagint and vulgate have taken it in the first  
sense;

(1) *Josh.* xv. 17. *Judg.* i. 13.

- a WHILEST *Caleb* and his new son-in-law were employed in enlarging their inheritance, the other tribes were doing the same in their several lots. But whether out of compassion to the poor *Canaanites*, doomed to destruction; or out of an ambitious desire of having vassals under them, they wholly neglected the express order of their law-giver, and, instead of extirpating them, contented themselves with laying them under tribute; this proved the source of all their misfortunes, and of those many slaveries that ensued; for the oppressed *Canaanites* did, at least in appearance, so patiently submit to their yoke, that they became less cautious of them; they grew by degrees more intimate with them, and by that means were so far ensnared with the beauty of their women, as to contract
- b affinities with them. These unhappy intermarriages soon debauched them into all their idolatries, and reconciled them to the worship of *Baal*, *Astarte*, and other gods of *Canaan*, all which did often provoke God to forsake them, and gave their enemies frequent opportunities of regaining their liberties, and of oppressing them in their turns.

It was during this time of apostacy and confusion, that *Micah*, a wealthy man, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, is supposed to have erected that idol in his house, which was soon after taken from him by the *Dannites*, and set up at *Dan*. The story of it is indeed related at the end of the book of the *Judges*, from whence some have concluded, that it happened after *Sampson's* death<sup>f</sup>; whilst others place it

c about the latter end of *Joshua's* life<sup>g</sup>; but the far greater part, between *Caleb's* death, and *Othniel's* being chosen judge<sup>h</sup>. Till that time, the idolatrous *Israelites* seem to have contented themselves with the idols of the *Canaanites*, without setting up any of their own. *Micah* was the first, we read of, that took it into his head to outdo them, not only by erecting this, but by consecrating an apartment of his house to it, and procuring a wandering *Levite* to officiate to it. The story giving us a lively idea of the monstrous absurdities of the religion of those times, and of the degeneracy of the *Israelites*, who could so soon give into them, cannot well be omitted.

- Micah* felt a remorse for having wronged a covetous and superstitious mother
- d of 1100 pieces of silver, which amounted to somewhat above that number of <sup>The story of</sup> *Micah*. shillings of our money, and for which she had bestowed some severe curses upon him. She conceived such joy at his restoring them to her, that she resolved to consecrate the greatest part of it, to what she thought a religious use, such as might prove an equivalent blessing to him, for the curses he had extorted from her. Accordingly, with part of that silver, she and her son purchased two idols, one molten, and the other carved; and with the rest they built a chapel to set them up in, together with some *teraphim*, which they had, in all likelihood, already in the house; they being a kind of little statues or household gods, which the corrupted *Israelites* had in common with other nations\*. To this they added
- e an ephod, or priestly garment, with which *Micah* installed his son to the priestly office of his new gods. Soon after this, a young indigent *Levite*, wandering by that way, was hired, as a more proper person for that office than his own son.

Year of the  
Flood, 1586.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1413.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Seder Holam. SERAR. & al. in loc. \* MASIUS. DE LYR. RIBER. & al. <sup>h</sup> Vid. CORN. LAPID. GROT. USSER. MUNST. CALMET. & al. <sup>g</sup> Vid. sup. p. 443. (B).

sense; but it is plain he was not his brother by the father's side, because the one is called the son of *Jephuneh*, and the other the son of *Kenaz*; neither can they be supposed to be uterine brothers, because, in such a case, the law of *Moses* would not have permitted the one to have given his daughter to the other. The disparity of age is another proof of it: *Caleb* was then above 85 years of age; *Othniel* therefore must be supposed much younger, to have married his daughter, who was an heiress. Neither could he have married her, if his father *Kenaz* had been *Caleb's* brother; because the marriage of an aunt is likewise forbidden by the *Mosaic* law. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose, that *Caleb* and *Kenaz* were first cousins, which the original doth often call brothers; in which case *Othniel* and

*Akshab* might lawfully marry. St. *Austin*, and after him *Vatablus*, affirm *Othniel* to have been, not only a great warrior, but also a learned doctor of that law (2), and so doubly eager for the conquest of a place which was the seat of learning at that time†. The *Jews* tell us wonders of the beauty of *Caleb's* daughter. However, her husband was not so well satisfied with her and her portion, but he prevailed upon her to sue for an addition to it; which she accordingly did; and upon her complaining of the drought and barrenness of the south high lands, which her father had given her, she obtained those of the valleys beneath, which were better watered, and consequently more fertile. This happened in *Joshua's* time (3).

(2) Vid. VATAB. in loc. † Vid. sup. 728. sub fin. (I). (3) Vid. *Josh.* & *Jud.* ubi sup. *Micah*

*Micab* thought himself then highly blessed ; and having his chapel so well <sup>a</sup> furnished with idols, and with a priest to administer to them, began to think that nothing could hinder him from the favour of God ; when the *Dannites*, who found themselves too streightened in their own tribe, sent out some spies to seek for a new habitation. These chanced to come by that way, and having consulted the *Levite* about the success of their journey, and received a favourable answer, went directly to *Laiſh*, a considerable town, whose rich inhabitants, like those of *Zidon*, lived in a careless security, without magistrates, soldiery, or strength. They returned, and acquainted their tribe with the joyful news ; upon which, the *Dannites* of *Zorab* and *Eſhtaal* armed 600 of their men ; and these, with their five spies at their head, marched immediately toward *Laiſh*. In their <sup>b</sup> way, the spies acquainted them with what they had seen at *Micab's* chapel, and in particular with his having a young *Levite* there, named *Jonathan*, the son of *Gerſhom*, from whose mouth they had received a promise of success in this expedition. The text rightly observes, that *there was at that time no king in Israel, and that every one did what was right in his own eyes* <sup>c</sup>. The *Dannites*, therefore, instead of reproving *Micab* for his apostacy, and destroying his idolatrous chapel, entered it by main force, took away the idols, *teraphim* and *ephod*, and forced the young priest to go along with them to *Laiſh*. *Micab* pursued after them, and made loud complaints, that they had robbed him of all that was valuable in life ; all the answer they gave him was, that his outcries might cost him his life, and that it was his safest way to go home quietly. They soon arrived at *Laiſh*, took <sup>c</sup> and destroyed it, with its inhabitants ; and having built a new city, and called it *Dan*, after the name of their progenitor, they set up their idols there, and retained young *Jonathan* and his sons to be their priests. The septuagint, vulgate, and some *Jewish* rabbies, call him the grandson of *Moses*, but the original, the grandson of *Manasseh* <sup>m</sup>. As for the idol, the text says, that it continued there till the captivity of the land ; and what that means, we have shewed in a former note <sup>†</sup>.

A bloody war  
against Benjamin.

Year of the  
Flood, 1593.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1406.

<sup>d</sup> DURING these years of anarchy, the inhabitants of *Gibeath* in the tribe of *Benjamin* were guilty of so horrid a breach of hospitality towards a wandering *Levite*, as proved the cause of much bloodshed, and was like to have occasioned the ruin of that whole tribe. The *Levite* was bringing his eloped concubine home, and was come to that place towards sun-set. After he had waited some time in vain for some body to lodge him that night, an old man coming from his work, who was a sojourner there, being of the tribe of *Ephraim*, came at last and invited him to his house. They had scarce made an end of refreshing themselves, when a band of profligate young fellows surrounded the house, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded the stranger to be sacrificed to their brutish lust, which they made no difficulty to express in the plainest terms. This gives one reason to believe, that it was no unusual thing among them. The *Levite* found <sup>e</sup> no other way of saving himself, but by delivering his concubine to them ; and on the next morning he found her dead at the threshold of the door, whether of shame and regret, or of the grievous abuse she had suffered that night. It was in vain to complain of this cruelty in such an abandoned place ; he took therefore the dead body with him, and brought it to his own house, where he divided it into twelve pieces, and sent one of them to each tribe, with an account of the occasion of it. The surprized tribes assembled themselves from all parts of *Israel* to *Mizpeh*, to the number of 400,000 fighting men, and there the *Levite* gave them a farther account of the injury, which had been done to his concubine, but cunningly concealed his own weakness and cowardice, in sacrificing her to his own safety <sup>n</sup>. The whole people had scarce heard his story out, when they rose up as one man, and resolved not to return to their respective homes, till they had punished the authors of that unheard-of action with the utmost severity. Whilst therefore they deputed every tenth man to their respective tribes, to fetch them arms and provision for the war, they sent deputies to the heads of the tribe of *Benjamin*, to demand the delivery of the profligate *Gibeathites*. But that haughty tribe, instead of complying with their request, armed 25000 of their best warriors, <sup>f</sup> besides

<sup>†</sup> Judg. xvii. pass. vid. ver. ult.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. ver. 6.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. xviii. 14.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. ver. 30.

<sup>†</sup> Pag. 734. in fin. (P).

<sup>†</sup> lb. c. xx. 5. & seq.

- a besides 700 of the inhabitants of *Gibeath*, to go out against them. This unexpected stubbornness did only exasperate the eleven tribes the more, and made them vow to take a fuller revenge on that of *Benjamin*. However, they thought proper, before all things, to consult the Lord, not whether they should undertake the war against their brethren, for that they took for granted was both lawful and incumbent upon them; but which of the tribes should go out first against *Benjamin*; and the Lord answered by the mouth of *Phineas*, the then high-priest, that *Judab* should go first. They gave them battle accordingly on the next morning, not doubting of a complete victory; but it proved quite otherwise, and *Judab* was repulsed with the loss of 22,000 men. This unexpected defeat filled them with surprise, and made them apply themselves again to God, to know whether they should pursue the war against their brethren of *Benjamin*; who answered them by the high-priest, that they should engage them a second time, though without promising them the victory; and, upon their coming up against *Gibeath*, they were again repulsed, with the loss of 18,000 men, by a vigorous sally which the inhabitants made upon them. This second disappointment did almost drive them to despair; at length they resolved to return to *Shiloh*, and to lie prostrate before the ark all that night, and by sacrifices, fasting, and prayers, to intreat the Lord, either to grant them a victory, or to declare his displeasure against the war which they had engaged in. This humble behaviour of theirs obtained at length a favourable answer, and the high-priest promised
- c them, that the Lord would, on the next onset, deliver the *Benjamites* into their hands. This answer inspired them with fresh courage; but yet they thought it advisable to add policy to their strength. To this end, a stratagem was put in execution, which had its desired effect. They divided themselves into three bodies, one of which should lie in ambush, and be ready to enter in and set fire to the city, as soon as the men were sallied out. Another body was to make a sham assault, on purpose to draw them out of the place in pursuit of them; whilst the third and main body lay concealed in the neighbourhood of *Baaltamar*, and ready to fall upon them. The children of *Benjamin* did easily give into the snare; and, finding themselves unwarily surprised in their pursuit by the main body, were thinking to retreat into the town; when, upon turning themselves about, they saw it all in flames, and were so disheartened at the sight, that they were all cut off, to the number of 25,000. About 600 saved themselves by flight, and went and fortified themselves upon the tops of the rocks of *Rimon*, and there abode four months, that is, till they were called down by the other tribes in an amicable manner.
- d

In the mean time, this victory did only whet the fury of the other tribes, which did not so much as cool, till they had burnt down all their cities and villages, and killed all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, even to their very cattle; and made, as they thought, an utter end of that unfortunate tribe. It was then, indeed, that they began to reflect, with some remorse, upon what they had done, and to bewail the loss of one of their tribes. They went up to *Shiloh* again, and there expostulated with God, for having suffered such an universal destruction, without stopping their hand. They erected a large altar, probably because that of the tabernacle was not capacious enough for the multitude of their victims, and having been informed that the six hundred, which were escaped from the slaughter, were still upon the rocks of *Rimon*, they intreated God to direct them how to recall them peaceably, to restore the lost tribe by their means. There was, however, one main impediment to it, namely a rash oath they had made at *Mispeb*, when they vowed the war against *Benjamin*, that none of them would give their daughters to any of that tribe. The oath, being unlawful in itself, might have been

e dissolved by the high-priest, who was there present; but whether their conscience was more tender in this respect, than it generally was in all others, they bethought themselves of another expedient, which would answer their end, without the danger of being perjured, tho' it was scarcely so justifiable as the breach of such an oath would have been, even tho' they had had no *Phineas* to have absolved them from it. They caused a strict search to be made in their muster-rolls, whether any of the tribes had failed to come to the camp at *Mispeb*, and, upon enquiry, it was found that the inhabitants of *Jabesh Gilead*, belonging to the half tribe of *Manasseb*, on the other side *Jordan*, had not come to the general assembly. One would expect, therefore, that, as they had had no share in the oath with the other tribes,

they would only have obliged them to furnish those six hundred men with wives ; a but they went a more cruel way to work, and sent twelve thousand armed men, with orders to destroy all the inhabitants of the place, except the virgins. These soon went and executed this bloody command, and brought four hundred virgins captive, which were given to as many of the remaining men of *Benjamin*. There were still two hundred unprovided for, and no more towns to be condemned to the fate of *Jabesh* ; however, rather than break their oaths for their sakes, they be- thought themselves of a way of evading it, by giving them leave to take that by force, which they thought not lawful to give them of their own accord. The men took their advice, and lay perdue in the vineyards about *Shiloh*, and when the young damsels came out of it with tabrets and dances, from some solemn feast, b as is supposed, every man seized upon one of them, and took them home, whilst the rest of the tribes returned also every man to his habitation \*. These six hundred men soon rebuilt their cities, and the tribe of *Benjamin*, thus restored by degrees to its former valour and strength, did cleave ever after to that of *Judab*, and gave the second judge and first king unto *Israel*.

By these two instances, the reader may judge into what degree of degeneracy the whole nation was fallen, in that little interval between the death of *Caleb*, and that of his son in law's being chosen judge. What is still more surprising is, that the presence of one good man in authority should be able to put a stop to such a vehement propensity to idolatry, which, immediately after his death, could not c be contained within any bounds, but broke out like a torrent with double force. Yet this was the case of the *Israelites*, during all the time of their judges ; the same, that delivered them from thralldom, freed them also from idolatry, and he was no sooner dead, than their innocence and obedience were at an end, tho' their peace and happiness were sure to end with it : thus every epoch is only an alternate succession of sinning and repentance, of servitude and deliverance. What those nations were which they suffered to live amongst them, and by whom they were so often corrupted, enslaved, and delivered from by turns, we have already seen in the history of *Canaan* †, to which we shall refer the reader once for all, to avoid, as much as the series of this history will permit, all unnecessary repetitions. d

Othniel the  
first judge.  
Year of the  
Flood, 1597.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1402.

THE first slavery, which their defection brought upon them, was under *Cushan-rishataim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, who held them in subjection about eight years ; at the end of which, the warlike *Othniel* found means to raise an army against him, with which he gained a signal victory, and freed *Israel* from the yoke of that potent prince. The text gives us no further account of that war, which could not but be much to the *Hebrew* general's honour, considering the strength of his enemy. All that it adds is, that his success obtained him a peace which lasted forty years ; that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer \*. This victory happened about 38 years after *Joshua's* death ; as for that of *Othniel*, it is not easy to fix it †.

Ehud, second  
judge.  
Year of the  
Flood, 1663.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1336.

SOON after it, they fell again under servitude to the *Moabites*, and, at the end e of eighteen years, *Ehud* their second judge, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, being deputed to carry the yearly tribute to *Eglon* their king, freed them by the death of that prince, whom he privately stabbed, whilst he was delivering a pretended message from God to him ; and, having escaped undiscovered, blew the trumpet, and raised a sufficient army, with which he shook the *Moabish* yoke, and procured his people another forty years peace †.

Shamgar,  
third judge.

*Shamgar*, their third judge, delivered them from some small oppression which they suffered from the *Philistines*. The text gives us no further particulars about him, than that he slew six hundred of them with an ox-goad, or, as the *Latin* and *Greek* versions render it, with a plough-share † (B). How long he judged *Israel* f is not to be guessed at : he was succeeded by

THE

\* Judg. xix. & xx. per tot. † Vid. sup. p. 332, & seq. ‡ Judg. iii. 8, & seq. § Vide UssER. Annal. p. 28. ¶ Judg. iii. 12, & seq. See before, p. 289. d. † Judg. iii. ver. ult. See before, p. 348. a. & (S). ibid.

(B) The word is מלמד הבקר *Malmad babakar*, broke to labour. We have taken notice, under another head, that the *Philistines* were more careful than

- a** THE prophets *Deborah*, soon after the smart of a fourth servitude, worse and longer than any of the three former, had brought them to a sense of their sins and ingratitude. *Israel* was for every market, and as ready as they were to sell themselves to some new crimes, so was providence to sell them to new lords. The text takes notice, that, after the death of their judge, they fell into new crimes, and God, to punish them for it, raised up a more powerful adversary against them, *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, whose strength, besides a numerous army and a valiant general, consisted in an incredible number of iron chariots<sup>1</sup>; whereby he held them in severe subjection twenty years; yet when their cries and repentance had obtained <sup>Deborah</sup> *a promise of a speedy deliverance*, lest they should arrogate to themselves any share in the glory of their future victory, two women are chosen to be the main instruments of it, and *Jael* compleats what *Deborah* had concerted, and *Barak*, at the head of ten thousand men, discomfited *Sisera* and his numerous army, tho' strengthened with nine hundred chariots of iron<sup>2</sup>; and the land of *Israel*, from a dismal solitude<sup>3</sup>, began to resume its former fertility and splendor. We have given an account of this famous action in a former chapter<sup>4</sup>, which gave occasion to that noble song of deliverance, which *Deborah* composed immediately after it, and which procured them a respite of forty years<sup>5</sup>.

- c** THE ungrateful *Israelites*, having by that time forgot that signal deliverance, were plagued with a fresh bondage, which, compared with that under *Jabin*, might be called freedom. Under the last, *Deborah* was allowed to judge *Israel* in the face of the sun, but now they are not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they are forced to seek for amongst the clefts and caverns of the rocks; and, if they find time and convenience to sow, their enemies pour in upon them, and, reap the fruit of their labours<sup>6</sup>. Under this miserable tyranny they were groaning when God did first send a prophet, to convince them how justly they suffered this hard *Midianitish* bondage<sup>7</sup>; after which he made choice of a proper person to undertake their deliverance. *Gideon* was privately thrashing his corn, to save it from becoming a prey either to *Midian* or *Amalek*; when the angel of the Lord saluted him with the title of the valiant saviour of his people; and **d** convinced him by repeated miracles, that *Israel*, whom he now looked upon as forsaken by God, should be speedily and miraculously restored to their wished-for freedom, by his means. *Gideon*, on the one hand, was too well experienced <sup>Gideon.</sup> a warrior, and too well acquainted with the dejected condition of his nation, to <sup>Year of the</sup> think that such a deliverance could be wrought by an arm of flesh; and on the <sup>Flood, 1725.</sup> other, he was so far from expecting such a supernatural assistance, that he seemed <sup>Year before</sup> even to doubt of the truth of all those wonders which God had wrought in favour <sup>CHRIST,</sup> of them<sup>8</sup>. At length, to confirm his wavering faith, he obtained leave of the heavenly messenger to go and fetch a sacrifice, and to offer it at his feet; which he had no sooner done, but, upon the angel's touching it with the end of his staff, a **e** miraculous fire arose out of the rock on which it was laid, and consumed the whole sacrifice; immediately after which, the angel vanished out of his sight. *Gideon* was filled with surprise and dread, at the thoughts of the divine presence which he had beheld, but God was pleased to dissipate his fears; in memory of which, he reared an altar on the place, and called it *Jehovah Shalom*<sup>9</sup>.

ON that very night, the Lord commanded him to begin his heaven-appointed task with the destruction of the altar and grove of *Baal*, the fatal source of *Israel's* defection and punishment; and to expiate their crime by the sacrifice of a bullock of seven years, in the place where they had served that *Midianitish* deity. *Gideon* was not only eager to obey, but knowing the hazard of such an enterprize, should he

<sup>1</sup> Judg. iv. 1. v. 8.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. ver. 18, & seq.    <sup>3</sup> Vid. Ch. v. ver. 6, & 7.    <sup>4</sup> See before, p. 336. a. & (1).    <sup>5</sup> Judg. v. ver. ult.    <sup>6</sup> Ibid. vi. 3, & seq.    <sup>7</sup> Ibid. ver. 11, & seq.    <sup>8</sup> Ver. 13.    <sup>9</sup> Ver. 32.

than any other nation, to strip the *Jerus* of all their weapons of war, whenever they had them in subjection<sup>†</sup>; and if this was the case at present, it is likely that expression means only such rustical instruments as he and his men could lay their hands on. But as the text mentions nothing of any previous

servitude, it is probable that the deliverance, here spoken of, was only from some incursion of the *Philistines*, perhaps in plowing-time, when they thought they might be more easily surprised, but in which they were repulsed with loss, by the vigilance and bravery of their then judge.

<sup>†</sup> Vid. sup. p. 700.



he set about it in the day-time, resolved to finish it that very night, which he accordingly did by the help of ten of his servants, whom he called to the work. This unexpected devastation was no sooner perceived on the next morning, than the whole city came to *Joash's* house, and, in an insolent manner, demanded that he should deliver up his son to be put to death, for his sacrilege against *Baal*; but the grave old man soon made them sensible of their absurd zeal for an impotent deity, which could not defend his altar and honour against his son. It is probable he used some other topics to repress their fury; and, that this is only mentioned, because his son got the surname of *Jerubaal* by it, that is, Let *Baal* look to himself.

In the mean time the *Midianites* and their confederates, whether from the jealousy which this action of *Gideon* might inspire them with, or any other tendency they might observe in the *Israelites* to revolt, began to cover the spacious plain of *Jezreel* with their troops. *Gideon*, on the other hand, had summoned the tribes of *Manasseh*, *Asher*, *Zebulun*, and *Naphtali*, to appear in arms; but whether the sight of so numerous an host, as was preparing against him, had weakened his faith, or that of his troops, he begged for a farther miraculous proof of the divine assistance, which was, that the fleece of wool, which he spread that night on the threshing-floor, might be found on the next morning covered with the dew of heaven, whilst all the ground round about it remained dry. He had no sooner obtained this miracle, and wrung a bowl full of water out of the fleece, but he begged that for a further confirmation of the miracle, and of their faith, the fleece might be the only thing that received no moisture, whilst all the ground round about it was wet. This was also granted at his request; and *Gideon*, thus assured of a compleat victory, led his small army against the enemy, and encamped over-against them. It consisted but of 32,000 men, which were but a poor handful, compared to those confederate forces of *Midian*, *Amalek*, and of the *Arabians*; but God, who designed to take away all occasion, both from the ungrateful *Jews* and their enemies, to attribute the success to their number or valour, commanded *Gideon* to make a proclamation through his army, and to disband all that were faint-hearted; upon which 22,000 of his dastardly troops were immediately dismissed. *Gideon* by this time thought probably that his army was sufficiently reduced; when he was again commanded to lead it to the water side, and there separate those who went down upon their knees to drink, from those who lapped the water out of the hollow of their hand. There were found but 300 of the latter, and God promised him the victory by them (C), and ordered the rest to be sent away. For a further confirmation, *Gideon* was commanded to go into the *Midianitish* camp, attended only by a servant, and there he would be informed what notion his enemies had of him: Upon his coming, he heard one soldier telling a dream to another, of a barley cake tumbling into their camp, and overturning a tent down to the ground, and the other interpreting it of *Gideon's* sword discomfiting the confederate host. *Gideon* delayed not to verify the omen: He returned to his 300 men, commanded them to take every man a horn in one hand, and a pitcher with a light concealed in it in the other, and led them into the enemies camp about the dead of night. Here he divided them into three bands, and sent them to give the alarm at three several quarters, by sounding their horns, breaking their pitchers, and discovering their glaring lights at the signal given, which was crying out, *The sword of the Lord and Gideon*, and which was to be answered by all the rest. The consequence of this stratagem was the total defeat of the confederate

\* Ver. 36, & seq.      † See Ch. vii. 12.

(C) It is not easy to guess, from this different manner of their quenching their thirst, whether the 300 were chosen for any particular virtue which this action did indicate, or for the reverse. Some authors think that the 9700, who kneeled down, gave a token of their courage, in that they were not afraid of the nearness of their enemy, but chose to drink at their ease; whilst the others betrayed their cowardice, by being contented with taking a handful of water running, and that God made choice of them, to make the victory appear more miraculous (4). Others, on the contrary, think that those that were weak and disheartened, those kneel-

ed down, and the courageous and strong took the water up with their hand (5). It is hard to decide which is in the right; but the *Jews* have gone further for a reason why these 300 were preferred; namely, that there was a statue of *Baal* on the other side the water, so that they scrupled to kneel down to drink, lest they should be thought to pay any worship to the idol; whilst the others, more concerned for their ease than for the honour of God, were set aside, as unworthy to have a share in so signal a victory (6). But the reader may chuse whether he will take their word for there being really any such idol in the way.

(4) *See* JOSEPH. *Ant. lib. vi. c. 8. Rabbin. aliq. TOSTAT. & al.*  
A LAR. & al. (6) *Vid. MUNST. in loc. & sup. p. 598, (F).*

(5) *DE LYR. MONTAN. CORN.*

a confederate army †, and *Israel* gaining, with their freedom, an immense quantity of the richest spoil.

*Gideon*, resolving to make the best advantage of this victory, summoned several tribes to pursue after the enemy, and to secure the fords of *Belb-bara* and *Jordan*; and the cowardly 22,000, who dared not look the enemy in the face, began now to take courage, when they saw them flying, and to pursue them one way, whilst himself and his 300 men went after another flying party another way. These last went over *Jordan*, and, by that time *Gideon* and his men were come to *Succoth*, they found themselves so faint and tired, that he was forced to send to demand some refreshment for them out of that city, that he might continue his pursuit after the  
b princes of *Midian*, *Zebab*, and *Zalmunab*; but he had the mortification to be denied by the inhabitants, who sent him word, that it would be time enough for him to exact such a supply of provision, when he brought those two princes prisoners with him. *Gideon* contented himself, for the present, with threatening to punish the insolent *Succothites* in the severest manner, and continued his journey with his men, faint as they were, till he came to *Penuel*, where he again sent the same message, and received the same repulse that he had done at *Succoth*. Whether the desire of revenge, or his hearing that the two princes, he was in pursuit of, were in the neighbourhood of *Korkor* with 15,000 men, the poor remains of an army of 120,000, inspired him with fresh vigour, he stopped not his pace till he was come upon them  
c unawares, and had secured the two princes, and routed the rest of their men.

In the mean time the *Ephraimites* had overtaken and slain *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two other princes of *Midian*, and brought their heads to *Gideon*, as he was returning from *Korkor* with his two royal prisoners; and whether their success had made them arrogant, or whether they envied their judge's glory, they accosted him with an insolent demand, Why he had not summoned their tribe to the war against *Midian*? *Gideon*, instead of repressing their ill-timed arrogance, contented himself at present with extolling their achievement above his own, telling them, that the gleanings of *Ephraim's* laurels did vastly outweigh the vintage of his own tribe\*; and, having pacified them with this soothing answer, went to discharge his resentment against  
d those who had more richly deserved it, the cities of *Succoth* and *Penuel*. Considering the fatigue which he had undergone all that day, and the night before, one would expect that he would have allowed himself some respite, before he went upon so severe an enterprise; but the remembrance of the cruel usage he had received from those two places, and of what he and his men had suffered for want of their assistance, would not allow him to let the sun go down (D), before he had made them suffer the punishment which he had vowed against them. In his way to *Succoth*, he met with a youth of that place, who gave him the names of seventy seven of its chief magistrates and elders; and when he was entered into the city, after having reproved the inhabitants for their brutish insolence, he caused those seventy-seven men to un-  
e dergo a severe correction, as a determent to the rest (E), and at the same time he commanded those of *Penuel* to be all put to the sword, and their tower to be demolished to the ground†. He then examined his two prisoners, *Zebab* and *Zalmunab*, concerning some men whom they had slain at mount *Tabor*, and understanding, by the description they gave of them, that they were his own brethren, he set aside all thoughts of mercy towards them, and put them to death on the spot‡.

† See before, p. 304. \* *Judg.* viii. 1, & seq. † *Ver.* 13. ad 17. ‡ 18, & seq. See before, p. 304. c.

(D) The text is somewhat obscure in this place, so that it is not easy to determine, whether the words, *before the sun* (7), mean, before its going down on that day, or its rising on the next morning. Our version understands it in the latter sense, but the *Jews*, and the generality of *Christian* interpreters, in the first. And indeed it is scarce credible, that *Gideon* and his men could continue a whole day and two nights in action; and if we remember that it was about mid-night when he put the enemies camp to the rout, he had time enough the next day to perform all the rest.

(E) What this punishment was, doth not clearly

appear from the text. The literal sense in the place where he threatens it is, *I will thrash your flesh with thorns of the wilderness*; and where he executes it, it says that *he made them feel the thorns*. The ancient *Jews* think that he caused their naked bodies to be flung among thorny bushes, and to be trampled to death (8). Others think that he caused them to be whipt to death, or to have their flesh torn with thorns. Others, that they were only chastised or scourged with thorns; but this last is scarce probable, if we consider that those of *Penuel*, who were in the same offence, were all put to death.

(7) *Judg.* viii. 13. (8) *Vid. Targ. JONATH. & MUNK. in loc.*

THE *Israelites* being thus delivered from their cruel slavery, and loaden with the spoils of their enemies, began to think they could not shew their gratitude to their brave deliverer, nor secure their new-gotten freedom more effectually, than by offering to settle the supreme authority upon him and his posterity; and *Gideon*, who had threescore and ten sons by several wives, might easily have been tempted to accept it, had he not been so lately convinced, that their greatest security did chiefly depend upon their obedience to their divine protector; he therefore advised them not to put their confidence in their own strength, or in their general's valour, but in God; and to make sure of his protection, by a stricter obedience to his laws. One would hardly think, that a speech so full of modesty, piety, and disinterestedness, should be the prelude to an action, which sullied both it and all his other glories; and yet he had no sooner modestly refused their offer, but he desired them, as an acknowledgment of his late services, to present him with what golden earrings they had gotten from their enemies. His request was readily complied with, and a garment, being spread upon the ground, was presently covered with those ornaments, amounting to 1700 shekels, or 850 ounces of gold, besides collars, chains, and other ornaments of the same metal (F), and some purple and other costly garments, of which they stripped the confederate princes. With these the *Jewish* general caused an ephod (G) to be made, which he set up in his own city *Opbrab*; and the text adds, that it proved a snare both to him, and to his house, because it became the occasion of a new kind of idolatry to the *Israelites*. As for *Gideon*, he returned to his own inheritance, and judged *Israel* forty years; during which, none of their enemies dared to molest them; and as to the *Midianites*, they received so total an overthrow from him, that they never made any attempt against *Israel* from that time. *Gideon* died in a good old age, and was buried with his ancestors (H). As for the *Israelites*, whom he left in a peaceful and flourishing condition, they forgot both God and him in a very little time. They adopted *Baalim*,

Year of the  
Flood, 1763.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1236.

(F) We need not wonder at this great quantity of golden plunder, if we remember that all those eastern nations were fond of such ornaments, and that the *Midianites*, in particular, not only wore them themselves, but decked the necks of their camels with them, of which they brought vast droves into the field (9).

(G) We have already taken notice of two priestly garments, called by that name from the Hebrew *אֶפְרָד* *Aphad*, to tie, because they were tied about with a girdle: The one was a plain linnen vest, such as not only the priests, but even young *Samuel* wore, when he ministered at the altar (10), and *David*, when he marched before the ark (11); the other, which was a much richer one, was peculiar to the high-priest. Some learned men have, indeed, affirmed, though without any foundation, that the *Jewish* kings were allowed to wear them, when they consulted the Lord by *Urim* (12); but this we have confuted elsewhere †, so that there can be no ground for supposing that *Gideon* had this made for the same end, as being head of *Israel*; neither, indeed, could such a garment, how rich soever, have taken up so great a quantity of gold. Some authors, therefore, think it to have been an idol (13); others, only a kind of trophy in memory of that signal victory (14). Some ancient fathers (15), followed by many moderns, believe it to have been some such trophy or monument; and add, that it was made in imitation of the compleat habit of the high-priest, by which he only designed to perpetuate the memory of their miraculous deliverance, without dreaming that the *Israelites* would go a

whoring after it; so that, according to them, he was only the innocent cause of their idolatry, as *Moses* was, when he made the brazen serpent, which came afterwards to be worshipped. We need not observe the disparity between these two, and that *Gideon* did that of his own accord, which *Moses* was commanded to do, and upon a different account: We shall only observe, that the words, and it became a *מִקְשָׁא* *Mokesh*, a snare or stumbling-block to *Gideon* and his family, seems to imply something worse than a monumental trophy, whatever he meant here by the word *Ephod*; concerning which we can have nothing certain. This may be one reason, tho' not the only one, why *Josephus* has carefully omitted it, as well as that judge's severity against the men of *Succoth* and *Penuel* (16).

(H) *Gideon*, being also surnamed *Jerubaal*, is supposed to be the *Jerombal* whom *Sanctioniathon* makes priest of the god *Jao*: But that author's work is now so universally cried down, as a piece of forgery under his name, and as written on purpose to discredit the sacred books of the *Jews*, that we shall lay no other stress upon this conjecture, than that it proves that the author, whoever he was, had got some knowledge of the *Jewish* writings, and did intermix their history with the antiquities and fables of the *Phenicians* (17).

*Jerubaal* is by *David* called *Jerubesheth* (18), because, by that time, *Baal's* name was had in horror by the *Jews*, so that, in all the names that ended with it, they substituted that of *Besheth*, which signifies shame; as *Ish-besheth* for *Ish-baal*, and the like.

(9) *Vid. Judg. vii. 12, & sup. p. 305. 2.* (10) 1 *Sam. ii. 18.* (11) 2 *Sam. vi. 14.* (12) *SPENCER tr. de Urim & Thum. CUMÆ. Rep. Hebr. l. i. c. 14.* † *Sup. p. 532. (C).* (13) *PROCOPI. & al. ap. TOSTAT.* (14) *CAJETAN. N. DELYR. JUN. MUNST.* (15) *AUGUST. THEODORET. & al.* (16) *Vid. Antiq. lib. v. c. 8.* (17) *De Sanction. vid. ANT. VANDAL. DUPIN. Bibliot. Ext. DODWELL Dissertat. FABRIC. Bibl. Græ. CUMBERLAND, & Journal de Trevoux, Jan. 1714. & al.* (18) 2 *Sam. xii. 21.*

- a *Baalim*, and *Baal-berith* (1), and other new gods, and repayed *Gideon's* services with the blackest ingratitude. He had left, besides his other children by his wives, a natural son, whom he had by a concubine<sup>b</sup>; and he it was who succeeded his father by the most horrid treachery, even by the destruction of his father's whole race.

- His name was *Abimelech*: He seems to have been a man of a base and intriguing genius, full of ambition and cruelty. The first step he took, after his father's death, was to go to *Shechem*, where his mother and her kindred dwelt, and to prevail upon them, by their cunning insinuations, to inspire the *Shechemites* with some terrible jealousies against the sons of *Gideon*. He was indeed so far from being able to bribe them with gifts, that he wanted to be assisted by them with money; but he made use of other motives equally prevalent, though, it is likely, promises were not wanting to draw them to his party. What he mostly insisted upon was, whether it were better for *Israel* to have one master or seventy, and whether it were more for the interest of the *Shechemites* to have their city, or that of *Ophrah*, to be the seat of the supreme judge? By these and such like insinuations, he obtained from them a sum of seventy shekels of gold, out of the treasury of *Baal-berith*, with which he hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the wickedest enterprise, and led them directly to *Ophrah*, where having surprised his brethren, the seventy sons of *Gideon*, he murdered them all, except the youngest, upon the spot. This unnatural parricide, which ought to have made him abhorred by all men, but especially by those who had the least grateful remembrance of *Gideon*, did immediately bring all the *Shechemites*, and those of *Millo*, into his interest, who went and proclaimed him king, in some conspicuous part of the plain of *Shechem* (K), in hopes that all the rest of the nation would follow their example.

- In the interim *Jotham*, the only surviving son of *Gideon*, took that time to get upon mount *Gerizzim*, which was near the place of this tumultuous assembly, and being within their hearing, and out of their reach, made use of the following pathetic apologue, to dissuade them from their rash and unjust enterprise<sup>c</sup>: *The trees, once upon a time, assembled to make choice of a king: they offered that dignity to the olive-tree, which answered, that it could by no means divest itself of its oil and fatness, so acceptable to God and men, to reign over them; they then invited the fig-tree, which did also refuse them, on account of its sweetness; the vine, being applied to, preferred her juice, which affords gladness to gods and men, to the empire over them. At length, the*

<sup>b</sup> Judg. viii. ad fin.

<sup>c</sup> Judg. ix. ver. 7. ad 21.

(1) We have already mentioned this deity out of bishop *Cumberland* from *Sanctoniaton*, in some other parts of this work (19); but it will not be amiss to subjoin to what we have observed in the last note, concerning that supposed author, that this place is the only one in scripture, in which the name of *Baal-berith* occurs, which signifies the Lord of the covenant, and that the septuagint, vulgate, and some of the *Jewish* interpreters, render the words not as ours do; they made *Baal-berith* their god, but bound themselves to the service of *Baal* by covenant, or by an oath. It is true, we find, in the very next chapter, mention made of the house or temple of *Baal-berith*, which was in *Shechem* (20), but as every *Baal* had a kind of surname, as *Baal-peor*, *Baal-zebub*, &c. to distinguish the one from the other, or rather, perhaps, the *Baal* of one place from that of another, might not the *Shechemites* surname theirs from the *Berith*, or covenant by which they had bound themselves? And might not the pretended *Sanctoniaton* from thence make him the *Baal-berytos*, to make it appear of *Phœnician* extraction?

For our part, we think the most natural etymology the best; and that *Baal-berith* might signify the god that presided over contracts, covenants, and oaths, and punished the breakers of them. It is certain, that the binding the former by the latter was not only a very ancient custom, but also the

greatest security that could be insisted upon by the parties, which could only be owing to the received notion that the deity, which was so solemnly called as a witness to them, was bound in justice to punish the breach of them. Hence came the *Jupiter the Witness*, or the faithful of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

(K) The original has אלון מוצב אשר בשכם, *Alon Mutzab Asher be Shechem*, the oak of the statue, or pillar that is in the territory of *Shechem*. The *Hebrews*, however, translate *Alon* a plain, instead of an oak, and affirm, that there was some statue or pillar erected in it (20); and we find that there was both an oak and a statue, or monument, and that the latter was erected by *Jotham*, a little before his death, in memory of the new covenant which the *Israelites* had made with God at that place (21); so that it seems to be thus circumstantially recorded, to aggravate the crime of the *Shechemites*, in chusing so remarkable and sacred a spot of ground, to be the scene of their tumultuous assembly, and unlawful election.

As for the house of *Millo*, which joined with the *Shechemites*, it is supposed to have been all the kindred of *Abimelech's* mother, whom *Josephus* calls *Druma* (22), and *Millo* himself is supposed to have been her father. The septuagint and vulgate do render it the city of *Millo*, but we do not read of any city of that name in all the land of *Palestine*.

(19) *Vid. sup. p. 134* (H). 397. b. *U alib.*  
(22) *Ant. l. 5. c. 9.*

(20) *Vid. MunsT. in loc.*

(21) *Josh. xxiv. 20.*

bramble being invited to accept of that dignity, answered, that, if they really meant to make him king over them, they should come and shelter themselves under its shadow; if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon.

HIS design was plainly to insinuate, that the happiness of a private life was so far preferable to the cares that attend on the supreme authority, that the person, who exchanged the one for the other, must either do it from a generous desire of serving his country, or from a base one to enslave it. Some interpreters suppose, that by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, he alluded to *Othniel*, *Deborah*, and *Gideon*, who were with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the dignity of judge, and refused to have it intailed on their posterity<sup>a</sup>; but whether it be so or not, it is plain from his own application, that the bramble alluded to the traitor *Abimelech*, who was so far from being able to protect the *Shechemites*, that he must unavoidably prove the occasion of a bloody war, which, like a consuming fire, would end in their utter ruin: For, added he, *I appeal to you, whether your choice of Abimelech, preferably to any of the sons of Gideon, your late benefactor and deliverer, be either grateful or just; or rather, indeed, whether the murdering of all his children, for the sake of the son of a slave, be not an instance of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude? if you think it is not, I wish you joy of your new king, and him of his new dignity; but if it is, may he prove a curse to Shechem and Millo, and you to him (L).*

AFTER

<sup>a</sup> N. DELYR. & al.

(L) We cannot forbear observing here, that this is the first instance we have of this way of speaking by parables. We do not, indeed, take upon us to attribute the invention of it to the *Hebrews*, because we do not know how far they might have learnt it elsewhere; though, if that were the case, one may justly wonder that *Moses*, who was so well versed in all the learning of his time, and had so much occasion for this excellent way of instructing and reproving his stubborn and rebellious nation, should yet never make use of it in all the forty years of his being their leader. Not that it was not in use by other nations in his time, since he mentions those who record the overthrow of *Sihon*, and of his metropolis, in *Proverbs*, and *Balaam* uttering his prophecies in some such proverbial speeches<sup>\*</sup>. But if we may judge of them at this distance, by the short specimen he has given us of them, they were, if not crude and uncouth, at least vastly inferior in elegance and energy to this of *Jothan*, and others, which were used by the *Jews*, so that these may be justly said at least to have been the improvers, or rather perfecters of this parabolick way. But be that as it will, nothing is more palpable than the vanity of the *Greeks*, who boast themselves the authors of it, when it was in a greater perfection among the *Jews*, before they were civilized from the lowest degree of ignorance and barbarity, than ever they raised it to, after they had arrived to the greatest pitch of polite learning; an evident proof of which we have not only in this speech of *Jothan*, but in that excellent one, by which the prophet *Nathan* made *David* pronounce a severe sentence of condemnation against himself, for a crime, which it would have been dangerous so much as to have mentioned in any other way (23). We find it also frequently used, not by prophets only, but by courtiers, politicians, and soldiers (24) in the old testament, and by our Saviour in the new.

And here we beg leave to vindicate our divine Master from a most unnatural and unjust expression, which not only ours, but most versions make him frequently use, *that he spake to the people in parables, that seeing they might not perceive, and hearing they might not understand, lest they should be converted and be saved*—according to that saying of the pro-

phet †, *He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, lest they should see—and understand and be converted, and I should heal them* (25). The momentousness of the subject will, we hope, atone for the length of the note, since such expressions can hardly be read without horror, or at least without conceiving some very unworthy ideas, both of the Godhead, and of that compassionate Redeemer, who so often bewailed, even with tears, their stupidity and hardness of heart: What part must he be supposed to have acted, who could express so much concern at their unbelief, if his design were to confirm them in it? To what purpose was his three years preaching to them, and his reproving them for their slowness of belief, if his unintelligible way of speaking made it unavoidable to them?

We need not observe here, how contrary this was likewise to the nature and design of parables, which is to reach down to the meanest capacities, by borrowing such examples and expressions, as are best understood by them; at least it is certain, that all those, which our Saviour used, were of this kind, whatever those of the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoreans*, and other philosophers might be. So that it is absurd to suppose that he would have made choice of such a plain and simple way of teaching, if his design had been to have confirmed them in their ignorance; neither need we say how opposite it is to his professed design, of coming into the world to save sinners, that none might perish, but have eternal life, nor of his working so many miracles, to give the greater sanction to his doctrine.

We have already observed, that the writers of the New Testament did constantly quote the septuagint version (26), which had translated that passage of *Isaiab*, and many others of the like nature, in an active sense, which, in the original, implied only a bare permission; and it plainly appears, that both our Saviour and his apostles never understood them in any other sense, from that petition, *lead us not into temptation* (27), and that exposition of St. James, *Let no man say that he is tempted of God, for God tempted no man* (28). We may further observe, that whatever language they spoke, they still intermixed the Hebrew or Syriac phrase with it, so that the Greek of the New Testament is best explained either by itself, or by the Syriac idiom. Now

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. Num. xxi. 27, & seq. xxiii. 7, & seq. (23) 2 Sam. xii. 1, & seq. (24) Ibid. xiv. 1, & seq. 1 Kings xx. 38, & seq. xxii. 19, & alib. † Isai. vi. 9, & alib. (25) Matth. xiii. 13, & seq. Mark iv. 11, & alib. (26) Vid. sup. p. 494. (D). & 515. sub fin. (X). (27) Matt. vi. 10. (28) Jam. i. 13.



- a AFTER so bold and severe a speech, *Jothan* did not think it adviseable to expose himself to *Abimelech's* resentment, but fled to *Beer*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* not far from *Jebus*, or *Jerusalem*, where he continued all the time of his reign, which, according to his prediction, proved both thorny and short-lived; for besides his mortification, in not being acknowledged by any of the tribes, the text says, that God sent an evil spirit, that is, caused a spirit of jealousy to be sown between the *Shechemites* and him, which ended in a full resolution to expiate their folly by his death. But God suffered him to escape for the present, that he might shortly become the instrument of a more severe chastisement against them. *Gaal*, informed of the hatred which they had conceived against their new made king, came to *Shechem*, with a full design to blow it into an open rupture, but *Zebul*, whom *Abimelech* had intrusted with the government of that city, a fit servant for such a master, failed not to acquaint him with it, whilst, in outward appearance, he sided with *Gaal* and his party. At length, after several pickerings on both sides, *Gaal* perceived *Abimelech* marching towards the town, and went out with his men to oppose him, but was repulsed; and, when he would have re-entered into *Shechem*, *Zebul* drove him back. What became of him and his party, the text doth not say, but, upon *Abimelech's* entering the town, the frightened inhabitants retired into the temple of *Baal-berith*, as into a sanctuary, where they were soon made sensible, to their cost, what a god they had preferred to that of *Israel*. *Abimelech* commanded a party of men to follow his steps into the next wood, where every one, after his example, cut down a bough of a tree, and having piled them round the temple and set fire to them, they were all smothered to death, being about a thousand men and women. He then caused the city and tower to be razed to the ground, and to be strewed with salt; and thus was the first part of *Jothan's* prophecy fulfilled, and the fire from the bramble burnt up the cedars of *Lebanon*.

- THE next part followed soon after, and *Abimelech*, flushed with his success, marched against *Thebez*, a city of *Judah*, which had also taken up arms against him, and there met with an ignominious death, where he expected a new conquest. The citizens, repulsed by his victorious troops, retired into a tower, where he thought to have burnt them alive, when a woman flung down a stone, which lighted upon his head, and delivered her people from his fury. *Abimelech* finding death approaching, and being more ashamed of the hand that gave it, than of his own parricides and tyranny, chose rather to die a second death, than to fall by the hands of a woman, and commanded his servant *Zebul* to dispatch him, which he immediately

Now if we seek, from either of these, for the true meaning of the text in question, *that seeing they might not see, &c.* we shall find that the particle which some of the evangelists render by *iva*, and we by *to the end that*, is not only capable of several other senses less opposite to the nature of parables, and the design of the gospel, such as *though*, *so as*, *wherefore*, and the like (29), but even of such a one as is exactly agreeable to it, and that it may and ought properly to be rendered, *because seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not understand*; so that their gross and carnal understanding required the plainest preaching. And if this were the case, we hope any impartial reader will rather think that they used it in this sense, than in that absurd one which the versions give it. The only two particles which both the *Hebrew* and its derivatives have to express *iva*, or *to the end that*, is either *כי*, *Ki*, or *למאן*, *Lemah*; and both do equally signify *because*, *wherefore*, and the like, and nothing but the analogy of the text can fix it; but the translators have often fallen upon the wrong. As to the first, they have rendered it *because*, where it plainly signifies *though*, or *wherefore*, as where it is said that *Eli's sons did not*

*hearken to him, because* [instead of *wherefore*] *it pleased the Lord to slay them* (30), for it were blasphemy to suppose that God did force them to disobedience, that he might destroy them for it. As for the second, it is plain to all that have any knowledge of those tongues, that it signifies as often *because*, as *to the end that*; and here we need not quote the authority of lexicons or parallels, since *St. Matthew* translates it here *ὅτι, because*, where the others render it *iva*, that. To his disciples therefore, whose heart had already been prepared for the more sublime truths of the gospel, *Christ* says, it was given to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to the rest, whose hearts were still gross, carnal, and incapable of them, he spake in parables, that is, as our *Dr. Sam Clarke* observes (31), in such a way as best suited their capacity, was most taking with, and profitable to them, because, as he elsewhere has it (32), parables are examples, or comparisons taken from things known and familiar, and are here put in opposition to mysteries, or truths of a superior nature. The reader may see this point more fully demonstrated by the authors above quoted, and many more (33).

(29) Vid. LE SCENE. *Essay on a new vers. p. ii. ch. 5.* (30) 1 Sam. ii. 25. Vid. de part. Kt. Buxtorf. Lexic. Hebr. NOLD. Concord. part Hebr. WORST. ALSTAD. AMAM. & al. (31) in Mark iv. 33. (32) in Mark iii. (33) Vid. LE SCENE. & *Essay ub. sup.* WHITEY, PELLING.



immediately did<sup>1</sup>. This was the exemplary end of *Abimelech*, whose ambition made him aspire to a dignity, which has justly branded his memory, and sullied the list of the judges; he being the only one that usurped and abused that dignity. It lasted about three years, after which God made choice of a more worthy one to succeed him.

*Tholab, sixth judge.*

*Tholab*, the son of *Pbuab*, the son of *Dodo* (M), of the tribe of *Issachar*. The text mentions nothing particularly of him, except that he dwelt at *Shamir* upon mount *Ephraim*, where he was buried, after he had judged *Israel* twenty-three years<sup>m</sup>.

Year of the Flood, 1793.  
Year before CHRIST, 1206.

He was succeeded by *Jair*, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of *Manasseh* which dwelt on the other side *Jordan*, and possessed a vast territory in the land of *Gilead*, in which were thirty cities, which he gave to his thirty sons; whence they were called *Havoth*, or hamlets of *Jair*<sup>n</sup>. He judged *Israel* twenty-two years, and was buried in the city of *Camon* in the same land. The text adds, as a then mark of their wealth and greatness, that they all rode upon asses colts; which is likewise observed of several others in the same book<sup>o</sup>.

THE ungrateful *Israelites* returned, soon after, to their idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, which brought a fifth thralldom upon them of eighteen years under the *Philistines* and *Ammonites*. Here they had recourse again to prayer, and professions of repentance; but they were bid to go and cry to those deities they had adopted, for deliverance. This answer, and the pressing danger they were in from the *Ammonites*, who had already passed the *Jordan*, and were going to fall upon *Judab* and *Benjamin*<sup>p</sup>, brought them to such a sense of their folly, that they put away all their strange gods, and began to serve the Lord in earnest; upon which God was pleased to give them a promise that they should be speedily delivered. They assembled themselves at *Mizpeh*, to stop the career of the children of *Ammon*; but as God had not now nominated a judge or general, as at other times, they found themselves at a loss for an experienced leader; and not finding one among them, either that would take that charge upon him, or whom they dared to intrust with the command of their army, they were forced to send an invitation to the valiant *Jephthab* to accept of it, and, with it, of the place of judge or general during his life.

*Jephthab.*

*Jephthab* was the son of *Gilead*, but by a concubine, for which reason he was thrust out by his brethren, whom his father had by a lawful wife, and forced to retire into the land of *Tob* (N), where he became chief of a band of fugitives and idle persons, and signalized himself more by his valour than by his honesty; he therefore received their message with some mistrust, and did not accept of their offered dignity till it was confirmed to him by an oath<sup>q</sup>. As soon as he had put himself at their head, he sent an expostulatory message to the *Ammonites*<sup>r</sup>; but finding them stiffly bent upon conquest, rather than parly, he ran over the land of *Gilead* and *Manasseh*; and, having got a sufficient army, marched directly against them. Before he ventured to engage them, either his fear or superstition put a strange expedient into his head, to make sure of the divine assistance: he made a vow, that, if God would but bless him with an entire victory, he would sacrifice to him the first living creature that came out of his house to meet him at his return; and this inconsiderate promise robbed him at once of the glory, and pleasure, of the ensuing action. The *Ammonites* were indeed totally defeated, and

Year of the Flood, 1856.  
Year before CHRIST, 1143.

*His rash vow.*

<sup>1</sup> Judg. ix. per tot.    <sup>m</sup> Ibid. x. 1, 2.    <sup>n</sup> Judg. x. 3. vid. & Num. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14.  
<sup>o</sup> Vid. Judg. v. 12.    <sup>p</sup> Ibid. x. 9.    <sup>q</sup> Ibid. xi. 10.    <sup>r</sup> Vid. sup. p. 295. b.

(M) The *Greek* and *Latin* versions take the word *Dodo*, not as a proper name, but in a grammatical sense, and from דוד *Dod*, uncle, with the *t* affixed, and render it his uncle, meaning *Abimelech's*, mentioned in the beginning of the verse, whence they suppose *Tholab's* father to have been *Gideon's* brother. The *Hebrew*, indeed, will bear them out in it; but there is one difficulty against them, namely, that *Gideon* was of the tribe of *Manasseh*, and *Pbuab* of that of *Issachar*; so that they could at the best be but uterine brothers, nor even so, without

supposing that their mother had married first in one tribe, and then in the other.

(N) This land is on the most northern part of *Manasseh's* lot, on the other side *Jordan*. It is called *Toby*, and its inhabitants *Tobinians*, or *Tubinians*, in the first and second books of the *Maccabees* (34). As for *Jephthab's* brethren driving him out of the inheritance, he could not justly complain of it, because it had passed into a constant law ever since *Abraham's* time, and was founded on the command which God gave him, to cast out the son of the concubine (35).

- a and the *Israelites* laden with their spoil, as we have seen above ; but his daughter, a virgin, and his only child, and, if we may credit the *Jews*, a person of exquisite beauty and virtue, proved the unhappy victim of his rash vow. The welcome news of her father's success had brought her out, at the head of a company of maidens, to congratulate him, with timbrels, and dances, and other expressions of filial joy ; so that she proved the unhappy object upon which he cast his eyes, and which he had vowed to destruction. As soon as he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and disclosed the secret to her with most lively expressions of grief. She heard it with a constancy, which one would hardly have expected in a person of her tender years, and only begged for a respite of two months, during which she would retire with  
 b some of her companions into the mountains, to bewail her virginity, it being esteemed a great misfortune for a daughter of *Israel* to die unmarried. Her request being granted, she absented herself during that short space, and, at the end of it, returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow ; that is, according to the generality of *Jewish* and Christian interpreters<sup>1</sup>, he offered her up for a burnt-offering : from which came that custom mentioned in the text, for the daughters of *Israel* to go yearly to lament *Jephthab's* daughter four days in a year<sup>2</sup> ; or, according to others, he consecrated her to God, and condemned her to perpetual virginity ; so that those yearly visits were payed to her, as compliments of condolence for it, as she was the daughter of an *Israelitish* judge<sup>3</sup> (O).

THIS

<sup>1</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. v. ch. 9. RABBIN. ser. omn. Chald. paraph. JONATH. in loc. JUST. MART. AMBROS. de off. l. iii. c. 12. HIERON. cont. Jovinian, lib. i. & alib. AUGUST. quæst. in judic. 49. CHRYS. homil. 14. ad pop. Antioch. THEODORET. quæst. in judic. 20. SERAR. SALIAN. GENEBRARD. CAJET. & al. mult. vid. & LUD. CAPEL. & D. CALMET. dissertat. de vot. Jeph. <sup>2</sup> Judic. xi. ver. ult. <sup>3</sup> PACHIN. ARR. MONTAN. TREMEL. MUNST. DRUS. GROT. N. DE LYR. & al. in loc. LE SCEN, Essay on a new vers. ch. vii.

(O) It will be scarcely doubted, that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from this ; especially if we remember, that the taking of *Troy* happened soon after the time of *Jephthab*. There is indeed this difference, that some of the wiser heathen authors, who relate it, have introduced the goddess *Diana* interposing herself, to prevent so horrid a sacrifice being offered to her ; whilst the far greater part of the *Jews*, even *Josephus*, *Philo*, and the *Chaldeæ* paraphrast acknowledge *Jephthab* to have been suffered by God, by the high-priest, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, and a dear and dutiful one, the only object of his present comfort and future hopes, in a burnt-offering unto the Lord, who had so often declared his utter abhorrence against all such abominations, and rejected the *Canaanites* upon that very account. Some even add, that her life was sacrificed rather to a punctilio of honour, her father thinking it beneath him to go to the high-priest, to be absolved from his unlawful vow ; and the latter being above doing it, unless he were applied to by him. It seems indeed wonderful, that so many of the ancient fathers should have so implicitly followed the *Jews*, in believing that she was really sacrificed, notwithstanding the apostle to the *Hebrews* ranking *Jephthab* among the faithful *Jewish* worthies. But here it must be remembered, that they had no means of being set right, for want of being acquainted with the original, and consequently of knowing that the text was capable of two different senses, and that the *Jews* had chosen the least reasonable of the two. But what is most surprising of all is, that so many learned interpreters should still adhere to it, since a better understanding of that tongue has opened the way to the other sense, which is most agreeable

both to reason and to the tenor of scripture. However, as what has been urged, on both sides of the question, is too copious, and would swell this note too much, to give our readers even a short abstract of it ; we chuse to refer them to those learned moderns who have wrote on that subject (36), while we content ourselves with justifying the latter sense, as far as the original will bear us out in it. For we doubt not but if we make it appear to be capable of it, our readers will readily absolve the *Hebrew* judge from so horrid and unnatural a sacrifice, under pretence of religion, though contrary to, and plainly forbidden by it, even when the text expressly says, that the spirit of God came upon him about the time when he made this vow (37) ; rather than to fancy, with some of the fathers (38), that God suffered him to offer up his daughter in the strictest sense, to deter men for the future from making any such rash vows. What has misled all the ancient fathers is, that the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgate* render the words of *Jephthab*, *whatsoever cometh forth to meet me*, in the masculine, as if he had said, *whosoever*, or *what person soever*, *cometh forth* ; whereas the original is here undeterminate. Again, they did not know that the particle *vau* may be properly enough taken in the disjunctive sense, *or*, instead of the conjunctive, *and*. This is what some judicious criticks, both *Jews* and Christians, have since clearly shewn to be the right signification, both here and elsewhere (39). So that *Jephthab's* words should be rendered *shall surely be the Lord's, or (not and), I will offer it up for a burnt-offering* ; that is, if it be a human creature, he or she, shall be consecrated to the service of God, as some sort of *Nazarenes* were<sup>4</sup> ; or if a beast, it shall be offered up for a burnt-offering, if it be fit for it, or if not, be exchanged for another that

(36) Vid PACHIN. MONTAN. MUNST. VATABL. DRUS. GROT. CLERIC. DE LYR. MARIAN. CAPEL. MARSHAM. Canon Egypt. sæc ix. § 3. SAUBERT. de sacrific. c. 21. SOBED. de diis German. lib. 2. & al. mult. (37) Judic. xi. 29. (38) Vid. ins. al. CHRYSOST. Homil. ad pop. Antioch. xiv. JUSTIN MART. THEODORET. qu. xx. in Judic. (39) Vide JOS. & DAV. KIMCHI, R. LEVI. BEN. GERM. SOLOM. BEN. MELECH. & au3. Christ. sup. citat. <sup>4</sup> Vide sup. p. 631, 632.

THIS dear-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him from another a quarter, which he had no reason to expect it from. He was scarce returned to his own house, when the turbulent *Epbraimites* surrounded it, and in a tumultuous manner threatened to set it on fire, and to burn him and all he had, for having dared to engage the *Ammonites*, without summoning them to arms. *Jephthab*, who was not of so gentle a disposition as his predecessor *Gideon*, did not think

is so. What confirms this sense of the vow is, 1. That there were but three sorts of creatures that could be fit for a burnt-offering, according to the *Mosaic* law; whereas any other creature might as well chance to come out of his doors, as any of these three. 2. It might chance to be an unclean one, such as a dog, an ass, or a hog; which could not be in any way offered to the Lord, but must be exchanged or redeemed. 3. That human sacrifices of any kind, except what was vowed to extermination of the nations condemned by God to it †, (and these could not be said to be offered up in burnt-offerings) were expressly forbidden (40). And, 4. That there was an express redemption for vows relating to human creatures, and the price of it appointed by God (41). It were therefore absurd to suppose, either that *Jephthab* would have vowed to offer the first creature indifferently that came out of his house, a burnt-offering unto God, without distinction of clean and unclean, fit and unfit; or if he had, that the priest would have suffered him to put it in execution, when the victim vowed proved an unlawful and redeemable one, and would have been an abomination to God, as well as a scandal to all the world. For these plain reasons, we think, with those learned men above quoted, that the words ought rather to have been rendered thus: *Then the spirit of God came upon Jephthab—and he vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house, to meet me when I return in peace,—shall surely be the Lord's, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.—And Jephthab came to Mizpeh to his house, and his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances, and she was his only child.—And when he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and said, Alas, my daughter, thou hast brought me very low, thou art one of those that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back.—And she said unto him, If thou hast opened thy mouth to the Lord, do to me according to thy word—only, let this thing be done for me; let me—bemoan my virginity two months.—And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned to her father, who did with her according to his vow, and she never knew man; that is, she continued a virgin. And it became a statute or custom in Israel that the daughters of Israel came four days in the year לִתְנוּת, *Lethanoth*, to condole or converse with the daughter of Jephthab.—*

Here then *Jephthab's* vow is taken in the first sense, *shall be the Lord's*; that is, the vowed thing, proving to be his only daughter, he consecrated her to the service of God. For this reason it is added, וְהָיָה לַיהוָה לֵאמֹר *Vehi lo yadkab ish*, and, so, she did not know man; that is, from that time to her death. For it would have been superfluous to have added that circumstance, if he had sacrificed her as soon as she came from bemoaning her virginity. As for the verb תָּנָה *Thanab*, which so many versions render to *bemoan*, were it capable of no other

signification, yet would it not imply the bewailing of her death, but her being condemned to perpetual virginity, which was reckoned one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to an *Israelitish* maid. But it is plain that it signifies also to condole, to converse with, to declare, or extol. In this last sense, the reader will find it used in the same book, chap. v. ver. 11. where it is said, that they יִשְׁתְּחוּ *Jistahu* shall rehearse or extol the righteous acts of the Lord. So that here the *Israelitish* maids might go, either to condole her for being secluded from man, or to extol her piety and constancy in ratifying her father's vow.

There are but two things objected against this sense of the text; the first is, that the *Mosaic* law did not allow parents a power to oblige their children to a single life. But, besides that the argument is much stronger against their power of sacrificing them to the flames, we find, that the children, when of age, might consent to the vow; and this seems to be the reason why the text adds, that she readily ratified it (42). But it is plain, moreover, that parents had a very great power, to impose severe and grating laws, not only on their children, but also on their posterity; as when the son of *Rehob* forbid all his descendants the drinking of wine, dwelling in houses, and the like (43). Though were it not so, one could only say, that *Jephthab*, as a judge, stretched his power beyond what he might do as a father, though without such a degree of barbarity, as if he had offered her up in the other sense.

The next thing that is objected is, that the grief, which *Jephthab* expressed at the sight of his daughter, seems to imply some heavier fate, than a bare doom to perpetual virginity. But it ought to be remembered, that he thereby deprived an only child, and a dear one, of the greatest happiness of life; for such was marriage, especially when blessed with children, esteemed in *Israel*; and himself of all hopes of any posterity. Where is then the wonder that he should use such expressions of grief, when his only child was condemned to such a reproachful and uncomfortable life, and himself excluded thereby from the prospect of having the Messiah to come of his seed (44)?

Since then the original is capable of so much fairer, and more natural a sense, it were absurd to prefer the other, which is both contrary to reason, nature, the *Mosaic* law, and the analogy of faith; and has been the source of endless disputes and superfluous inquiries, how far this inhuman sacrifice was, or was not, justifiable, commendable, and pleasing to God; and how far *Jephthab's* barbarous faith entitled him to be ranked among the Hebrew worthies (45). Concerning all which, the reader may consult those ancient fathers above quoted, and several others (46); for whom there is only this to be said, that they had no version, but the *Greek* and *Latin* to steer by, backed with the testimony of the ancient *Jews*. A late commentator (47) however has since endeavoured to vindicate the notion of *Jephthab's*

† *Vid. sup. p. 630. & seq.* (40) *Deut. xii. 31. & alib.* (41) *Levit. xxvii. 1. & seq.* (42) *Judg. xi. 36. vid. & Num. xxx. pass.* (43) *Vide Jerem. xxxv. 6. & seq.* (44) *Vide LA SCENE. & Essay on a new vers. ch. viii. § 9.* (45) *Heb. xi. 32.* (46) *Vide AUGUST. quest. 49. in Judic. HIERON. lib. i. cont. Jovinian. & epist. ad Julian. AMBROS. lib. iii. de offic. c. 12. TH. AQUIN. secund. § 2. qu. 88.* (47) *CALMET. Dissert. de vot. JEPH. comm. in Judic. & Diss. sub voc. Jephth.*

- a think it worth the while to sooth their pride with a flattering speech ; on the contrary, he upbraided them with their baseness, in not answering his summons, and leaving him to bear the brunt of the enemy. These reproaches stung them so to the quick, that they scrupled not, in the height of their resentment, to call the *Gileadites* a pack of spurious fugitives, a kind of mongrels, between *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*. There wanted nothing more to exasperate the *Gileadites*, who were of that half tribe of *Manasseh*, which was seated on the other side of *Jordan*. A bloody fight ensued, in which those of *Ephraim* were discomfited with a great loss, and the *Gileadites*, having seized the fords of *Jordan*, suffered none of those who had escaped from the slaughter to live. Their method was, to examine all
- b that offered to cross that river, whether they were *Ephraimites* ; which was easily done, by making them pronounce the word *SHIBBOLETH*, which signifies an ear of corn, and which those of that tribe were known to pronounce *SIBBOLETH* ; so that as many, as were caught by that snare, were immediately knocked on the head ; and this unhappy contention occasioned the loss of 42,000 *Ephraimites*. As for *Jephthah*, we read no more of him, except that he judged *Israel* six years ; by which is only meant, that part of it which was on the other side of *Jordan* ; and that he was buried in ( one of ) the cities of *Gilead* \*. This has given birth to two *Jewish* fables, very opposite to one another ; the first is, that he was smitten with a sore disease, as a punishment for his impious vow, which rotted all his limbs one after another ; so that there was hardly one city in the land of *Gilead* in which he did not drop one of them. The other is, that the *Gileadites*, in memory of the great deliverance they obtained by him, dissected his body, that every city might have some part, to keep as a monument of it \*.

Year of the  
Flood, 1862.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1137.

- Jephthah* was succeeded by *Ibzan*, whom the *Jewish* rabbies will have to be the same with *Boaz*, who married *Ruth* the *Moabitess* \*, but without any foundation. This was their 10th judge, a native of *Bethlehem* ; but whether that which belonged to the tribe of *Zebulun* †, or that which belonged to that of *Judab*, is not certain. He is only recorded for his numerous posterity, namely, thirty sons and as many daughters, whom he lived to see all married ; so that he had 120 sons and daughters, and sons and daughters in law, besides grand-children. This was looked upon as a great blessing in *Israel*. He judged seven years ‡, and was succeeded by

*Elon*, of the tribe of *Zebulun*, who judged *Israel* ten years §. He was buried in *Elon Ajalon*, in his own tribe, and succeeded by

*Abdon*, who was the son of *Hillel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and native of *Pirathon* in the mount of the *Amalekites* in the same tribe, where he was buried, after having judged *Israel* eight years. He is recorded for his numerous issue, having left behind him forty sons and thirty grandsons, who rode on as many asses colts, after the manner of the great men in *Israel* ¶.

\* Judg. xii. 7.  
Judg. xii. 8.

† Vid. MunsT. in loc.

‡ Judg. xii. 8. & seq.

§ Ruth iv. 8. & seq. Matth. i. 5. vid. MunsT. in

¶ Ibid. ver. 11. Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

*thab's* daughter being really sacrificed according to the latter, and the opinion of the fathers ; though without pretending to justify either the vow, or the execution of it. In order to which, he insists strenuously, 1. that he did not vow the first thing, but the first person that came out of his house. But we have already proved the contrary above ; and it is a wonder, that he, who seems well versed in the *Hebrew*, should not have been sensible of it. He next insists upon an express text in the law concerning vows (48), that whatsoever is vowed unto the Lord of men shall not be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death. But, if this be the purport of that command, there is at once an end of all enquiry, concerning the lawfulness both of *Jephthah's* vow, and of all other human sacrifices. Had our author consulted the learned *Selden* (49), he would have found it fully proved, not only against

*Capellus* and others, that the parents had no such power over their children, but even against the *Jews*, that masters had it not over their slaves ; and that the question in this law is not about things, or men, vowed for burnt offerings, which was absolutely forbidden, but about such as were devoted by *חֵרֶם* *Cherem Anathema*, to utter extermination, of which kind were the inhabitants, and all the plunder of *Jericho* (41), of the *Amalekites*, of the king of *Arad* and his people, of the inhabitants of *Jabesh Gilead* (42), and of the seven nations of *Canaan*. But of this *Cherem* we have had occasion to speak already, and shall dwell no longer upon it †. It is plain, therefore, that these two places are nothing to our author's purpose, and that the whole tenor of the scriptures is against it ; so that we see no reason to depart from the contrary opinion.

(48) *Levit. xxviii. 29.* (49) *De Jur. Nat. & Gent. sec. discipl. Hæb. c. 4. & seq.* (41) *Jeph. vi. pass. & alib.* (42) *Num. xxi. 2. Judg. xxi. 9, 10.* † *Vide sup. p. 630. vide & SELD. ub. sup.*

PATRIC. GROT. LE CLERC. & al. in *Levit. xxviii. 28, 29.*

WE read of no slavery, war, or defection, during the life of these three last a judges; whether it were that the swords of *Gideon* and *Jephthab* had too far weakened their enemies, or that their own valour did both intimidate them, and kept the *Israelites* from running into those idolatries, which were attended with the loss of peace and liberty. The latter seems indeed the most probable, because we find, that, after the death of the last of these, they relapsed, and suffered a heavy yoke of forty years under the *Philistines* c.

Eli.

THIS sixth slavery began about the seventh month after *Eli* joined, in his own person, the dignity of judge to that of high-priest d. He was of the family of *Ithamar*, the younger branch of *Aaron's* house; and the high-priesthood had been translated into it from the elder one of *Eleazar* (P). It is indeed surprising, that the people should have continued so long free from defection during the lives of their lay judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of an high-priest. But *Eli* is particularly recorded for his indolence and remissness, especially towards his two sons, whom he suffered to run into the greatest excesses of debauchery and irreligion, to the great scandal of all *Israel* e. However, he was the only ruler the *Israelites* had during this long thralldom; and seems to have been chosen by God, as the properest judge for them at that time; for, as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the fittest to withdraw their usual confidence in an arm of flesh, and to make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the severity of their thralldom had brought them to a better sense, God sent them a deliverer, who was altogether wonderful from his conception to his death.

Samson.

Year of the  
Flood, 1838  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1161.

HE was the miraculous son of old age and barrenness. His birth and prowess had been foretold by an angel, first to his mother, then to *Manoah* his father, a native of *Zorab* in the tribe of *Dan*, with a strict charge to the mother, that she should abstain both from wine and strong drink, and from all unclean meats, during her pregnancy; and that no razor should come on the child's head all his life, because he was to be a *Nazarite* from his birth. *Samson*, for that was the name which his parents gave him (Q), began to give some early marks of extraordinary courage and strength; and the text says, that the spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of the *Dannites*, between *Zorab* and *Eshthol* f, the place of his abode.

How he plagued the *Philistines* during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, shorn and bereaved of his strength and eyes, become the object of their scorn and revenge, and how, after near a year's miserable servitude, he buried, with himself, all the *Philistine* nobles, under the ruins of a magnificent structure; we have seen in the history

e Judg. xiii. 1. d Vid UssER. Ann. sub A. M. 2848. and the chronolog. index at the end of our Bibles. Year before Christ 1256. e 1 Sam. ii. 12. & seq. f Judg. xiii. pass.

(P) This thralldom is computed by the chronologers cited above, not to have ended till seven months after *Eli's* death, when the ark was brought back from the land of the *Philistines*.

We have already spoken in another place † of this translation of the high-priesthood, from the elder to the younger branch of *Aaron's* family. We need only take notice here, that though we find no mention of any other high-priest of the elder branch from *Joshua* to *Samson*, that is, during 300 years, except *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar*; yet the book of the *Chronicles* mentions (43) three others, namely, *Abishua*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*; called by *Josephus* (44), *Abiezer*, *Boccejas*, and *Ozier*. It is uncertain how long any of them lived; but by the dignity being transferred to *Eli*, about the year before CHRIST 1156, it is reasonably supposed to have passed from *Uzzi* to him, rather than from his son *Merajoth*.

(Q) It is not easy to dive into the etymon of this name; that which comes nearest to it is still

somewhat forced, being derived from שמש *Shemesh* the Sun, and the feminine Syriac pronoun ʾan their, their Sun, which, as some pretend, prognosticated the rising of the Hebrews, and setting of the *Philistines* (45). Others derive it from the Chaldees שמש *Shamsh* in piel, which signifies to minister or serve, as the sun doth, to all the world. *Josephus* says, that *Samson* signifies robust (46); by which it is plain, he knew nothing of Hebrew, or its derivatives. However, we have observed more than once, that there is little credit to be given to etymologies, especially when they are so far fetched as this is, that it is not worth a further enquiry.

Our archbishop *Usher* places *Samson's* birth in the second year of their thralldom, and gives this substantial reason for it, that he is said to have avenged the *Israelites* twenty years (47), and that he can scarcely be supposed to have entered into this office before the 18th year of his age (48).

† See before, p. 634. a, b. & not. (S). (43) 1 Chron. vi. 4, 5. & 50. (44) Ant. lib. 5. c. ult. (45) Vid. vocabul. Hebr. & St. PHILIP. in vit. Samson. (46) ANT. lib. 5. c. 10. (47) Judg. xv. ver. ult. (48) Vid. UssER. sub A. M. 2849.



- a history of that nation †. The text adds, that he destroyed a greater number of his enemies by his death, than he had done in his life-time; and that his friends and relations, hearing of it, came and fetched his body away, and buried it in the sepulchre of his ancestors \* (R).

- THOUGH this extraordinary slaughter of the *Philistine* nobility did not put an end to their slavery, yet it inspired the *Israelites* with fresh courage to attempt the regaining their liberty. But their horrid wickedness proved an invincible obstacle to their success. *Eli*, their judge, was almost an hundred years old <sup>a</sup>; and his two sons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, who acted under him, took the advantage of his extreme weakness, to commit the greatest abominations. The scripture brands them with <sup>Hophni and Phinehas.</sup> some of the vilest characters; such as, that they were *sons of Belial*; that *they knew not the Lord*; that they committed such infamous irregularities in the service of the <sup>Year of the Flood, 1834.</sup> *tabernacle*, as caused the people to abhor the offering of the Lord; that they debauched <sup>Year before CHRIST, 1165.</sup> the women that assembled at the door of the *tabernacle*, and that their crimes were very great <sup>1</sup>: by all which one may easily guess to what excess of wickedness a people, so natural prone to it, must have run, under such profligate governors. *Eli* was not ignorant of all this; and yet, instead of inflicting some exemplary punishment upon his sons, or at least of discarding them from their office, and bestowing it upon persons of more zeal and integrity, he contented himself with giving them a gentle reproof; so gentle, indeed, that he seems not to have had the courage to tell them that their actions were vile and abominable, but only that they were not good <sup>b</sup>. No wonder then if such an expostulation made so little impression on those two profligate young men (S).

THIS remissness, in a high-priest and a judge, was so displeasing to God, that he sent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to assure him, that the high-priesthood should be taken from his house; that his two sons should be cut off in one day; and that the survivors of his family should pine away with utmost poverty and misery <sup>1</sup>. This heavy sentence was again confirmed by God to young *Samuel* in a vision, and by him related unto *Eli*.

- Samuel* was the child of age and barrenness, obtained by the prayers of his mother, dedicated to God by a solemn vow, and entered into his service at the age of three years <sup>a</sup>. As he grew up, he was appointed to minister to *Eli* in the holy functions, girded with a linnen ephod, and to open and shut the doors of the *tabernacle*. One morning, before break of day, as he lay in his bed near unto *Eli's* chamber, he heard himself called, and ran to him, supposing it had been he that had called him. *Eli* bad him return to his bed this time, and the next; but, upon his coming the third time, he began to think that there was something extraordinary in that voice, and directed young *Samuel* what answer to make, if he should be called again, as he was accordingly soon after. It was then

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 348. & seq.    <sup>b</sup> Judg. xvi. 30, 31.    <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 15.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ii. 12 & seq.  
<sup>e</sup> Ibid. ver. 24.    <sup>f</sup> Ibid. ver. 27 ad fin.    <sup>g</sup> 1 Sam. i, ii, & iii. pass.

(R) *Josephus* places the history of *Ruth* after the death of *Samson* (49), contrary to the greater part of the *Jerus* (50), who think *Boaz* to have been the same with *Ibzan* the 10th judge of *Israel*, as we hinted above, because he was of *Bethlehem*, and that there is some conformity in their names. But they are both palpably out of all chronology. Some of our chronologers place it in the time of *Deborah* (51); others, under *Gideon*; but the most probable opinion is, that which places it in the time of *Samgar*, the 3d judge, about 120 years after *Josua* (52).

As for the book itself, it is plain, it was not written before *David's* time, because he is named in the genealogy of *Boaz* (53), though the story appears to have happened in the time of some one of the judges, by the very first verse of it.

(S) Were we to follow the sense of our own and some other versions, we should be apt to attribute their incorrigibleness to what is said in the 25th verse of the 2d chapter, *that they hearkened not to the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them*. Would not any one be apt to conclude from thence, that it was with design to destroy them, that God thrust them headlong into this disobedience? We therefore beg leave here to remind our readers, that the conjunction *כי* *Ki*, which is rendered *because*, doth often signify, and ought, both here and in several other places (54.) to have been translated *wherefore*, or *though*; so that the sense will be, *they did not hearken to their father, wherefore it pleased the Lord to slay them*; or, *they hearkened not—though the Lord threatened to slay them for their disobedience* (55).

(49) *Ant. lib. 5.*    (50) *Targ. in Ruth. Talm. Hieros. RR. SALL. KIMCHI. LEVI. Ben David. ABR. ZACCUT. & al.*    (51) *TOSTAT. TREMEL. DE LYR. GENEBR. & al.*    (52) *USSER.*    (53) *Ruth, ch. ult. ver. ult.*    (54) *Int. al. Gen. viii. 21. Jerem. vii. 10. Ps. lxxviii. 19.*    (55) *Vid. BUXTORF. Lexic. Hebr. NOLD. concord. part Hebr. AMAM. Grammat. Hebr. ALSTED. VORST. LE SCAM. & al.*



Year of the  
Flood, 1858.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1141.



then that God revealed to him the heavy judgments he had denounced against *Eli's* house. *Samuel* was fearful of disclosing the dreadful purport of the vision, till strictly charged and adjured to it by him, after which he became known from the one end of the kingdom to the other, to be a prophet of the Lord, and to be established judge in *Israel* in *Eli's* stead \* (T).

NOT long after this, the *Israelites*, being repulsed in an attempt against the *Philistines*, with the loss of 4000 men, took it into their heads to bring the ark of God into their camp, in hopes, at least, that it would strike a terror into their enemies, and inspire the people with more than ordinary courage; but the consequence of this wild project was, that they lost both the battle and the ark †, and the two sons of *Eli* that bare it, their lives all in one day. The old priest, who waited with impatience to hear of the success of the battle, had seated himself on a bench in the high-way to *Shiloh*, being under the greatest concern for the ark of God; and, as soon as he heard the news of its being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and, falling backward from his seat, broke his neck and died. His daughter in law likewise, *Phinehas's* wife, being then near her time, fell in travel upon receiving all these dreadful news, and testified the excess of her grief by calling the child she was delivered of *I-chabod*, to signify that the glory of *Israel* was departed, and expired immediately after °. *Phinehas* left another son named *Abitub*, who is supposed to have succeeded his grand-father *Eli* in the high-priest's office, because we find his son *Abiath* in that dignity in *Saul's* time †; from whom it passed to *Abimelech* his brother, who was killed by that jealous prince ‡, and from him to his son *Abiathar*, who was the last of *Eli's* race that enjoyed it. But as to the government, it was given by God to *Samuel*, a man of uncommon zeal and courage, and fit to reduce the *Israelites* from their abominable defection and idolatry. This was, indeed, what he applied himself to with good success, being feared and revered by all *Israel*, who knew him to be the chosen prophet of God, and that none of his words fell to the ground.

WHAT betided the ark of the covenant, and those that kept it captive; and its being sent back, we have already seen \*. Its wonderful and unexpected return to *Bethshemesh* caused an universal joy in all the people, who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feast their eyes with the sight of it, it being then the time of harvest. The field where it stopped had in it a large stone, upon which the priests and levites offered up the two milch-kine, that brought it, for a burnt-offering. This was accompanied with several others, which the inhabitants of the

\* 1 Sam. iii. 1. & seq.  
† Ibid. xxii. 16, & seq.

† See before, p. 350. b. c.  
\* Before, p. 351, 352.

\* 1 Sam. 12. to the end.

† Ibid. xiv. 3.

(T) *Samuel* was of the tribe of *Levi*, of the branch of *Kobath*; but because he exercised several priestly functions, such as anointing of *Saul* and *David*, offering up sacrifices even out of the tabernacle, his wearing a linnen ephod, and being named by the *Psalms*, with *Moses* and *Aaron*, the priests of the Lord (56); some ancient fathers have thought him to have been of the race of *Aaron*, and to have performed the function of high-priest after the death of *Eli* and his two sons (57). *Josephus* seems to hint something like it, when he says, that *Saul* knew him to be *Samuel*, when he appeared to the witch of *Endor* in a priestly vest (58), though he calls his father a plain *Levite*, where he speaks of his birth (59); but it appears from the *Chronicles*, that he was of the branch of *Kobath*, the second son of *Levi* (60), and as for his wearing an ephod, *David* did the same (61), and *Gideon*, *Manoah*, *Saul*, *Elijah*, and others, who were neither priests nor levites, have sacrificed upon particular occasions; and some prophets, and even their disciples, have anointed kings (62). As to the passage in the *Psalms*, he is only mentioned there among them that call upon the Lord; by which may be meant, either

the *Levites* in general, whose office it was; or else, as is more likely, from the next verse, among them that called to God effectually, so as to be heard by him, as *Moses* and *Aaron* did; but who did officiate in the high-priest's function after *Eli's* death, is neither easy nor of moment to guess, but more probably one of the *Aaronic* race than a *Levite*.

One expression, however, in the threatening message of the prophet to *Eli*, would make one think that some person of the elder branch was chosen to the high-priesthood, even in his life-time, either by reason of his inability, being grown almost blind with age, or for his remissness, or both. The words are, and thou shalt see an enemy in my habitation, in all that wealth God shall give *Israel* (63); where it is to be observed, that the word 73 *Yzar*, which we render an enemy, doth signify a rival; and is used in that sense in the very beginning of this book (64). Now it is plain, that this rival could be no other than some head of the elder branch of *Eleazar*, from whom the priesthood had been transferred to him; but we will not affirm any thing further about it.

(56) *Pf. xcix. 6.* (57) *AUGUST. in Pf. xcvi. cont. Faust. & alib. CHRYSOST. AMBR. & al. vid. MENDEZ. in 1 Reg. ii.* (58) *Ant. lib. vi. c. 15.* (59) *Ibid. lib. vi. c. 11.* (60) *1 Chron. vi. 22, & seq.* (61) *2 Sam. vi. 14.* (62) *Vid. int. al. 2 Kings ix. 1, & seq.* (63) *1 Sam. iii. 32.* (64) *Ibid. i. 6.*

- a the place sacrificed there ; after which, the ark and trespass-offering were deposited upon the same stone. But their joy was soon after unhappily turned into mourning, through the irreverence of the *Bethshemeshites*, whom an imprudent curiosity inticed to look into the sacred symbol of the divine presence, and for which fifty thousand and seventy men were punished with immediate death (V). This terrible slaughter struck such terror into them, that they sent to the inhabitants of *Kirjath-jearim*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Bethshemesh*, and in the tribe of *Judab*, desiring that they would fetch the ark away from them ; which they accordingly did, and placed it in the house of one *Abinadab*, which stood on the highest part of the city, where it continued till *David's* time, that is, about seventy years, and consecrated
- b his son *Eleazar* to be the keeper of it (W).

It may indeed be justly wondered why the ark was not either sent back to *Shiloh*, where the tabernacle and its sacred utensils stood, or that these were not at least brought to *Kirjath-jearim*. But whatever be the reason of this irregularity, *Samuel*, who acted by this time both as prophet and judge, took occasion from the people's assembling in great multitudes before the ark, to lament their not yet recovered liberty ; to persuade them to put away *Astharoth* and the other strange deities from among them, and to serve the Lord alone ; upon which condition only, he could promise them a speedy deliverance from the *Philistine* yoke. The people readily complied, and afterwards assembled themselves at *Mizpeh* according to his appointment, where they fasted and prayed, and expressed all the tokens of a lively repentance. This unusual meeting gave an umbrage to the *Philistines*, who immediately took up arms, and came up against them ; but *Samuel*, having offered up a sucking lamb for a burnt-offering, did by his prayers obtain such a storm of thunder and lightning, as quite discomfited their enemies, whom the *Israelites* pursued with a great slaughter unto *Beth-car*. In memory of this signal victory, *Samuel* caused a great stone to be erected between *Mizpeh* and *Sen*, which he called *Eben-ezer*, or the stone of help ; and, from that time to *Samuel's* death, the *Philistines* were so far from making any further attempt against *Israel*, that they suffered them to recover all the cities and fortresses which had been taken from them, from *Ekron* even unto *Gath*, and the territories about them †. At the same time the *Israelites* were at peace with the *Amorites*, so that the land enjoyed a profound peace all the time of *Samuel's* government ; whilst he, to make it easier to the people, left *Ramah*, his usual residence and the place of his nativity, once a year to take a circuit round *Bethel*, *Gilgal*, and *Mizpeh*, to administer judgment ; and then returned to his own city, where he had built an altar unto God, and whither the people might resort unto him at all other times \* (X).

Year of the Flood, 1120.  
Year before CHRIST, 1879.

\* 1 Sam. vi. p. tot.

† Sup. ibid.

\* 1 Sam. vii. to the end.

(V) This is what ours, and most other versions, make the original to say ; for which reason we have not dared to depart from it, though we own, with the learned *Bocbart*, that we can neither conceive how there could be such a multitude of people in a village on the borders of *Judra*, nor how it could be consistent with the goodness of God, to make such a slaughter of those men, who came with joy to receive the ark, supposing such a number could really have all looked into it.

But we beg leave to observe here, that the original is capable of a two-fold sense, besides this in our version, both which do greatly lessen that number, and remove the difficulty. The first is that of *Bocbart*, above-mentioned (65), who shews, that it ought to have been rendered fifty men of a thousand, instead of fifty thousand, that is, in all, seventy ; because, as he observes rightly after *St. Jerom* (66), it is not usual in the *Hebrew* to make the thousands go before the inferior numbers when they make up a total sum, but they constantly begin with the lesser number, and end with the greater. *Josephus* has took it in the same sense (67), and reckons but seventy slain.

The other sense is, that there were slain seventy men *בָּעָם*, *Babam*, of the common people, and *חֲמִישִׁים אֶלֶף*, *Chamishim aleph ib*, fifty of the heads, or captains of the people ; for the word *אלף* signifies also a leader, or captain. This seems to have been the opinion of *Junius*, though he has retracted it since, or *Tremellius* for him, to adhere to the vulgar one, though without giving any reason for his so doing (68). In memory of the mourning which their death caused among the people, the stone, or rock, upon which the ark rested, when they looked into it, was called *אֶבֶן אֵבֶל* *Eben Abel*, the stone of mourning.

(W) Some have fancied that this *Abinadab* was of the race of *Aaron*, or at least a *Levite*, though without any visible grounds, or indeed, any necessity ; since he was to be but a bare keeper of the ark, and that, perhaps, no longer than till some proper priests and *Levites* were sent for from *Shiloh* to minister before it.

(X) It appears from thence, that *Samuel* left *Shiloh* soon after the death of *Eli*, and the taking of the ark, and that he never returned thither, at least to dwell. It is indeed probable, that the ark being

(65) *Phaleg. sub Bethshemesh, vid. & Lx Scen. Essay on a new vers. part 2. ch. 6. § 4.*

(66) in

*Hebdom. Dan.* (67) *Ant. l. vi. c. 2.* (68) *Vide Trem. in loc.*

By that time *Samuel* had judged *Israel* twenty years, with great integrity and <sup>a</sup> applause, he had the mortification to hear that his two sons, *Joel* and *Abiah*, whom he had, in his latter days, made judges at *Beersheba* (Y), did not follow their father's steps, but suffered themselves to be bribed to pervert judgment; upon which account, he saw himself surrounded by the elders of *Israel*, who desired him, that he would appoint to them a king, who might be a judge over them, and that they might be like other nations, since his sons were not worthy to succeed him in his office. Such a proposal could not but be highly displeasing to him, who plainly foresaw the danger of such horrid ingratitude, and that, by casting off the government of God over them, they would make themselves unworthy of his protection. He expostulated with them, he upbraided them with their ingratitude, <sup>b</sup> and forewarned them of their danger, and, among other dissuaves, he laid before them all the mischiefs and grievances they were likely to suffer from a king, in the most lively terms. In a word, he omitted nothing that could possibly divert them from their design; but all to no purpose, till God commanded him to hearken to them, and to set such a king over them, as he should direct. Whereupon *Samuel*, having promised to comply with their demand, dismissed them for the present; and *Saul* was soon after appointed by God to be the first king of *Israel*.

## S E C T. VII.

*The History of the Jews, under their Monarchical Government.*

<sup>c</sup> *SAUL* was the son of *Kish*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*; he was a very comely youth, well-shaped, and taller by the head and shoulders than the common size. He had been sent with a servant, about the time of the *Israelites* defection, to seek after some strayed asses; and, after three days useless search, his man advised him to go to *Ramah*, near unto which they were then come, and enquire of the prophet *Samuel*, what he should do next. *Samuel*, who knew him to be the person appointed by God to the regal dignity, and was then going to bless <sup>d</sup> a sacrifice which was held in that city, took that opportunity to introduce him to the feast, where he set him in the highest place, and distinguished him from all the other guests, by a particular dish of meat set before him above the rest. He detained him all that night, and, on the morrow early, he called him up to receive his directions, and accompanied him some part of the way; and having commanded his servant to go on before <sup>e</sup>, he poured the oyl upon his head, and saluted him king of *Israel*. *Saul* behaved, during all this ceremony, with extraordinary modesty, alledging the smallness of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for so high a dignity; but the prophet assured him, that he should find himself endowed with such a superior portion of God's spirit, as would give him a new heart, and quite new disposition, so that he would shortly feel himself quite another man. He then gave him some further directions relating to the occasion of his journey, and his return home, and, taking his leave of him for that time, left him to overtake his servant. Among other things that *Samuel* told him should befall him in his way home, one was, that he would be met by a company of prophets, and that he would then receive the spirit of prophecy, and prophesy with them. This, as well as the rest, came to pass accordingly, and the surprise with which those of his acquaintance beheld it, occasioned that saying, which pass afterwards

*Saul, first king of Israel.*

Year of the Flood, 1904.  
Year before CHRIST, 1095.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ch. viii. 1, & seq.    <sup>b</sup> Ch. ix. p. tot.

being removed from thence, all kind of religious ceremonies had ceased there; for which reason it is said, that he built an altar at *Ramah*, the place of his residence, that the people might resort to him, either for judgment, or to offer sacrifices to God. This thing, however, was far from being according to the *Mosaic* law; but it seemed a case of necessity, because the ark being at one place, and the tabernacle in another, neither of them could be properly resorted to for sacrificing, or any other part of public worship.

(Y) This *Samuel* had probably done, either to try how they would behave themselves in that important post, or perhaps for the convenience of those who lived at too great a distance from *Ramah*; *Beersheba* being at one extremity of *Israel*, as *Dan* was on the other. *Josephus* adds, that he appointed the eldest to keep his residence at *Bethel*, and the other at *Beersheba*, and ordered them to take a yearly circuit at proper places, so as that each should have one half of *Israel* to his share (69); but the text says nothing of it.

(69) *Ant. l. vii. c. 3.*

a afterwards into a proverb, *Is Saul also among the prophets* \* ! Soon after this *Samuel* called all the heads of *Israel* to *Mizpeb*, and caused them to present themselves by their tribes before the Lord ; and as they passed in their order, that of *Benjamin* was taken ; then were the families of it called, and that of *Matri* was taken, and next to that the son of *Kish* †.

WHILST this was a doing, *Saul*, who knew where the lot would fall, had hid himself so well among some household lumber, that they could not find him, till they were directed to him by the Lord ; and as soon as he was brought out, *Samuel* presented him to the people as the person whom God had chosen to be their head, and immediately the air rang with the people's shouts, *Long live the king*. Here

b *Samuel*, who, at their first tumultuous meeting, had forewarned them of all that a king might do in the plenitude of his power, and what they had to fear from him, did now think it necessary to inform him, before the assembly, of what he ought to do, and what to avoid. He therefore read to them the laws which had been prescribed before, by God himself to *Moses* : laws which were equally levelled against tyranny and anarchy ; and to which he perhaps added some others, as he was a prophet ; because it is added, that he caused them to be written, and deposited by the ark ‡, where those, we read in *Deuteronomy* concerning the duty of a king, had been before laid up by *Moses*. *Saul* being thus proclaimed and anointed king of *Israel*, *Samuel* dismissed the assembly, and the new king returned to his house in *Gibeab*, whither a number of brave honest men of *Israel* followed him ; whilst another company of loose fellows, who despised his youth and comeliness, and thought him unfit for such a government, refused to acknowledge him, or to bring him any presents, as the rest did. Samuel's speech to the people.

But it was not long before he had an occasion to give them an earnest of his courage, and to let them see how well he could use his new authority. The inhabitants of *Jabesh Gilead* were straitly besieged by the *Ammonites*, and upon the brink of losing not only their liberty, but their right eye, as a lasting reproach to the whole nation ; when, having obtained a respite of seven days from the *Ammonitish* king, they sent an account of their dismal state to the elders of *Israel*. *Saul* was

d then in the fields with his cattle, when these heavy tidings came, and, at his return, found the people all in tears, and being informed of the occasion of it, he immediately took a yoke of oxen, and caused them to be hewed in pieces, and dispatched with utmost speed through all the tribes, with this threatening message, that whosoever refused to follow him to the relief of their brethren of *Jabesh Gilead*, his cattle should undergo the same fate. The people, alarmed with these news, did immediately repair to *Bezek*, to the number of three hundred thousand, besides thirty thousand of the tribe of *Judah* ; and *Saul* having sent the besieged word, that he would come to their rescue by the next morning, marched all that night ; and, as soon as he came near the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and fell upon them by break of day with such fury, that they were forced to raise the siege, and fly with the utmost precipitation, and a very considerable loss \*. The people, elevated with this signal victory, were for putting to death all that had refused to acknowledge *Saul* for their king ; but he generously withstood it, alledging that it was not fit to stain the beginning of his reign with the slaughter of their brethren, after God had wrought so great a salvation in *Israel*. This moderate answer pleased the people still more, and *Samuel*, who had accompanied him to the battle, invited now the people to *Gilgal*, there to confirm the kingdom unto *Saul* by an universal consent, since he had shewed himself so worthy of it. This was accordingly done, and the ceremony was accompanied with joy and acclamations, and with peace-offerings, Saul's first exploit.

f which were there offered unto the Lord †.

BEFORE *Samuel* dismissed this numerous assembly, he took that opportunity to justify his conduct, during the whole time of his administration, as judge. This was indeed a proper time, because his authority being devolved upon *Saul*, who was then present, could be no longer a check to any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any such they had against him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuse him openly before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injustice, or oppression against any of them, that he might now make them restitution before he died ; and he had the satisfaction

\* x. 11.    † Ver. 21.    ‡ Ver 25.    § Vid. sup. p. 295. d.    ¶ Ch. xi. p. tot.

satisfaction of being answered, by the general voice, that he had neither wronged <sup>a</sup> nor oppressed them in any case. He was not content with this ample testimony, but made them take God to witness that they spoke from their heart, which they readily did. *Samuel* seems to have had a double design in this expostulation, besides that of clearing his own character; the first was to shew young *Saul* a pattern to copy after, and the other, to make the people sensible of their ingratitude to God, in desiring to be governed in a different way than he had hitherto appointed, and that, unless they proved more obedient for the future, their new form of government would be of little benefit to them, since neither that, nor any other, could preserve them from their enemies, without the divine blessing, which, if they forfeited by their obstinate wickedness, would bring infallible ruin upon their king <sup>b</sup> and themselves. To convince them of this, he recapitulated to them all the grievous thraldoms which their idolatry and disobedience had drawn upon them, since their being seated in that land; and the many signal deliverances which God had wrought for them upon their repentance, without the help of a king; and to add a still greater weight to his words, and to assure them that they did not proceed from any resentment for their having been so pressing for a king, even in his life-time; but because God was highly displeased at it; he reminded them that it was then the time of harvest, when the air is generally serene, and free from clouds and stormy rains (Z); but he told them that he would by his prayers obtain such an extraordinary storm of thunder and rain, as should convince them <sup>c</sup> that God had been highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He did so accordingly, and the people were frightened into a confession of their wickedness, and of this particular aggravation of it, their asking him for a king. They desired him that he would use his prayers to avert the impending storm and danger; which he readily complied with, and then assured them that he would continue his good offices to them as long as he lived, and that if they and their king did but continue steadfast in their obedience to God, instead of confiding in their vain and deceitful idols, every thing would go well with them; but that, if they relapsed, both he and they must expect to feel the effects of the divine displeasure <sup>d</sup>.

Jonathan surprises the garrison of Geba.

ALL these things were transacted in the first year of *Saul's* reign; on the next <sup>d</sup> he dismissed his numerous army, thinking perhaps, that his late victory had sufficiently secured him from any attempt against *Israel*; and reserved to himself only three thousand men, two thousand of whom he put into the garrisons of *Michmash* and *Bethel*, and the other thousand he left at *Gibeab* of *Benjamin*, under his son *Jonathan*. But this young prince, willing perhaps to achieve something worthy the son and successor of *Saul*, went and smote a *Philistine* garrison at *Geba*; the news of which, having alarmed that nation, obliged his father to blow the trumpet, and to let *Israel* know that the *Philistines* were coming against them with a numerous host. They had indeed 30,000 chariots (A), and 6000 horsemen, besides an innumerable multitude of foot, with which they came and encamped against <sup>e</sup> *Michmash*, eastward of *Beth-Aven*. The sight of so vast an army injected an universal terror in *Israel*, inasmuch that, forgetting their late victory, and the valour which their new-made king had shewn upon that occasion, a great part of that dastardly people hid themselves in caves, dens, saw-pits, or any lurking holes; whilst another part fled to the other side *Jordan* for safety, leaving their country open to their enemies frequent and destructive incursions, and their king to make the best of the pusillanimous remains of the people that stuck close unto him. One misfortune however attended them, which may, in some measure, excuse

<sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. xii. p. tot.

(Z) This *Samuel* justly calls *the great thing which the Lord would do before their eyes* (70); and the people could not but esteem it such, because that country was observed to be entirely free from such stormy weather all the time of harvest, and to have the former and latter rain before and after it; but whether this was really miraculous, or whether the prophet, by some way or other, foresaw it gathering, it answered his purpose, and wrought the desired effect upon that incredulous and head-

strong people, and prevented their applauding their choice of a kingly government, or attributing their late or any future victory to that extraordinary piece of politicks.

(A) Concerning this prodigious number of chariots, we have already given our opinion in the history of that people, to which we refer the reader, where he will also see an account of the whole success of this war, with the reflection of a late learned critick upon it †.

(70) 1 Sam. xii. 16:

† Vide sup. p. 352. (I).



- a excuse their defection, which was, that the *Philistines* had taken care to strip them of all kinds of weapons, and even of the instruments with which they used to sharpen their rural tools, lest they should use them instead of arms. They had neither smith nor forge, and so naked were they at this time, that there was neither sword nor spear, but those which *Saul* and his son had<sup>a</sup>; when he came to muster his little army (B). *Saul*, however, continued with them at *Gilgal*, expecting *Samuel's* coming according to his appointment; but after he had waited seven whole days, and found that *Samuel* neither came nor sent, and that his little army was almost dwindled away to a small handful, resolved, nevertheless, to make a brave resistance, in case he should be attacked by the enemy; and afraid lest he should be surprized
- b by them, before he had implored the protection of God in the usual way of sacrifices; he ventured, on the seventh day, to offer up some peace-offerings and a burnt-offering. He had scarce made an end of sacrificing, when *Samuel* came, and blamed him highly for what he had done (C). *Saul* excused himself upon the pressing necessity he was in; but whether the prophet took it as a presage of his future disobedience and want of faith, and designed only to intimidate and forewarn him, or whether his rejection had been already revealed to him; he told him, that he had *Saul reprov'd* done a very foolish action, and that his disobedience to God's command would by *Samuel* cause the kingdom to be transferred from him to a more worthy and faithful person. As soon as *Samuel* was departed from him, to go to *Gibeon*, or valley of *Benjamin*,
- c *Saul* and his son followed him thither, with his little army, consisting only of six hundred unarmed men. There they beheld, with sorrow, the *Philistines*, who were still encamped in *Michmasb*, making a three-fold incursion in *Israel*, and committing great depredations; one detachment towards *Opbrab*, another towards *Beth-boron*, and the third towards the valley of *Zeboim*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Ch. xiii. 19, & seq.<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. tot.

(B) The rest of this small body were armed, as one may reasonably suppose, with such weapons as they could make without the smith's help, such as slings, flails, clubs, staves, wooden prongs, staves hardened in the fire, and other rural tools; the first of these, the slings, in which they were very expert, they might all use at the first onset, and the others, when they came to closer engagement.

(C) It is not easy to divine what *Saul's* crime was, which drew upon him such a severe sentence from the prophet. The *Jews*, indeed, accuse him, 1. Of not having waited the full time for him, and 2. Of having presumed to infringe upon the priestly office, by offering up sacrifices to God with his unhallowed hands (71). *Josephus* seems to say much the same thing, though not in plain terms; but he adds, that *Saul* had sent for *Samuel* to advise with him, who sent him word back, that he should continue where he was, and get sacrifices in readiness against he came to him; which would be at the end of seven days, when he would come and offer them up unto God.—*Saul*, adds he, waited out his time, but most unhappily failed in another article of his commission, for the prophet, he found, delayed his coming, and his men perpetually deserting him, so that he offered up the sacrifice without waiting any longer for *Samuel* (72). As for the first of these, his not waiting the whole time, it appears of too small a nature, considering the strait he was in through the constant desertion of his army, to have deserved a total rejection; and as to the last, it is scarcely probable, because he had the high-priest *Abiath* with him to perform that office for him, or to have hindered him from doing it, if he had gone about it. Some authors think (73), therefore, that there is a transposition of chapters, and that the crime, for which he was rejected, was his not destroying the king of *Amalek*, and all his plunder,

according to God's command, the story of which we have in the next chapter, wherein *Samuel* reproves him in the most severe terms, for his disobedience, and tells him plainly, that the Lord had rejected him from being king (74); but it is more likely, that, in the former of these places, the prophet only threatens him with what he must expect, unless he took more heed of what God commanded him. For it is plain, that *Saul* was so far from being absolutely rejected, that he not only was blessed with a great and almost miraculous victory, immediately after *Samuel* had left him, but that he was likewise very successful against several other nations, and, above all, received that fresh command from the same prophet, to fight and destroy the *Amalekites*, with a promise of victory. As for what is said, that the Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart, and—shall command him to be head over his people (75); those, who are acquainted with the genius of the original, know that it may as well be taken in the future tense, the Lord shall seek, and so on; however, as to the words of the prophet, the Lord would have established thy kingdom upon *Israel* for ever; it is plain they cannot be understood in a literal sense, because the scepter was promised to the tribe of *Judah*, and to no other (76), and accordingly was soon after given to *David*, who was of that tribe.

Upon the whole, therefore, we think that *Saul* was only threatened here by the prophet, for having acted foolishly; but, in the chapter following, he is absolutely rejected for his disobedience, in sparing *Agag*, and the best of the plunder, contrary to God's express command; for which reason, *Samuel* charges him not with bare folly, but with downright rebellion, which he there compares to idolatry and witchcraft (77).

(71) Vide MUNS. in loc. (72) *Ast. l. vi. c. 7.* (73) Vide TREMEL. in loc. (74) 1 Sam. xv. 16, & seq. (75) Ibid. ch. viii. 14. (76) Gen. xlix. 10. (77) 1 Sam. xv. 23.



THEY were in this dismal situation, when *Jonathán*, moved by some divine impulse, ventured, unknown to his father or to any one but his armour-bearer, who accompanied him, to climb up on his hands and feet through a couple of cragged rocks, and to fall upon one of the enemy's out-guards, where he killed twenty of their men, and put the rest to flight, who ran into the camp and spread such a pannic terror through the host, that it was easily perceived by *Saul* and his men; who, finding that *Jonathán* was missing, easily guessed him to be the author of it. *Saul* had with him the ark of God, and *Abiath* the high-priest, the great grandson of *Eli*, and was going to desire him to enquire of the Lord whether he should fall on the enemy, when the noise and confusion increased so far, as to assure him that they were put to the rout. He bid then *Abiath* to hold his hand, and with his few men fell on the flying *Philistines*, his army still increasing, as well from a number of *Hebrew* captives, who took that opportunity to turn tail to their oppressors, as from a greater number of those, who, observing from their lurking-holes, the success of their brethren, came and joined themselves to their king.

Defeats the  
Philistines

THIS victory, great as it was \*, might have been more compleat, had not *Saul* unadvisedly adjured his army not to stop their pursuit to take some convenient refreshment. This rash curse was like to have had several fatal consequences, for besides that it hindered his weary soldiers, from making so great a slaughter of the enemy, as they might have done, and put too speedy an end to their pursuit; by that time it came to be evening, they were so famished, that they fell greedily upon the spoil, and would have eaten some of the cattle with the blood, had not the king timely prevented it. But what was like to have proved worse than all the rest was, that *Jonathán*, knowing nothing of his father's imprecation, and being quite spent with that day's toil, had refreshed himself with a little honey which he met in his way, so that, when his transgression came to be found out by *Urim*, *Saul* would infallibly have condemned him to die, had not the whole army opposed it with one consent, and sworn that not a hair of his head should be hurt, in consideration of the signal deliverance, which he had been the chief cause of. After this, *Saul* returned home, and put himself in a condition of pursuing his conquest, not only against the *Philistines*, but also against the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and the kings of *Zobab* and *Amalek*. His head general was *Abner*, the son of his uncle *Ner*; he had also two sons besides the brave *Jonathán*, and, next to that of his army, his care was to have a guard about him, made up of the valiantest and stoutest men he could find in his dominions †.

and Amale-  
kites.

THE sacred history gives us no particular account of any of these wars, that against *Amalek* excepted, of which we have spoken in its proper place ‡; neither is it easy to guess at what periods of *Saul's* reign any of them happened. All that we can know is, that he reigned forty years §; that he was a valiant and successful prince, continually at war with some neighbouring state or other; and that he very much curbed the strength of all his enemies round about. So that, had he not been unmindful of God's command with respect to the king of *Amalek*, and the plunder of his subjects, he might, in all likelihood, have reigned all his life without a rival ¶. But here he acted very unlike himself, not only in disregarding the divine *anathema* which had been pronounced against that nation ever since their coming out of *Egypt* \*\*, and the prophet's charge in pursuance of it †, but likewise in that poor pretence he made to *Samuel*, that he had fulfilled his command, when every thing about him shewed him, that he had acted quite contrary to it ‡; and next to this, in meanly excusing his fault, by throwing one part of it upon the people's zeal to sacrifice the best of the cattle to the Lord †, and part, upon his own fear of restraining them from it ‡. No wonder then if *Samuel* could not, without some indignation, hear a king of *Israel* betray so much meanness of soul, to palliate an unjustifiable action; nor at the severity with which he reproves him for it, when he was authorised by God to denounce unto him the loss of his kingdom.

THIS

\* See, before p. 353. b.    † 1 Sam. xiv. pass.    ‡ See, before p. 320. d.    § Acts xiii. 21.    ¶ See what has been said in the last note.    \*\* Exod. xvii. 14.    † 1 Sam. xv. 1, & seq.    ‡ Ibid. ver. 15. 14. & 20.    ‡ Ver. 15.    ‡ Ver. 24. 30, & seq. to the end.

- a THIS sentence, in which his crime was painted in the deepest colours, made a deep impression upon *Saul*: he owned the charge, and begged of him, for decency sake, and to prevent a defection of the people, that he would still shew some regard to him, and accompany him, whilst he went and paid his adoration to God; which the prophet complied with; and afterwards, having caused the proud *Amalekitish* king to be put to death (D), whose destroying sword had bereaved so many mothers of their children, he returned to *Ramah*, the place of his abode; and, from that time, he never came more to *Saul*, but continued mourning for him \* till he was reprov'd for it by God, and commanded to go to *Bethlehem*, and anoint one of the sons of *Jesse* in his room.
- b *Samuel* was forced to colour his journey with the pretence of offering up a *David* a-sacrifice there; and accordingly took a young heifer with him, both to avoid <sup>anointed king.</sup> giving any suspicion to the jealous king, and to disperse the fears of the elders of *Bethlehem* at his unexpected arrival. As soon as he came to *Jesse's* house, he ordered all his sons to pass before him in order, and when he beheld the eldest of them, whom the history shews to have been a man of valour, he presently supposed him to be the person chosen to be *Saul's* successor; but God did soon let him see that he judged quite otherwise, by rejecting him, as he did also the other six in their turns. *Samuel*, being surpris'd at it, asked their father, whether these were all the sons he had? who answered, that he had one more, a stripling,
- c who was then keeping his sheep, and was the youngest of all. He was bid to send for him; and, as soon as *David* came in, *Samuel* was ordered to anoint him in the presence of his brethren; and from that minute the spirit of the Lord came upon him (E). *Samuel* then made a feast to *Jesse's* family, and to the elders of the city, and returned to *Ramah*, and *David* to his flocks.
- NOT long after this, the spirit of the Lord having forsaken *Saul*, he began to feel himself tormented by an evil one, or by a deep melancholy; to dispel which, he was advis'd to get young *David* to play on the harp before him, who by this time had gained the reputation, not only of an expert musician, but of a <sup>relieves Saul's</sup> sober, discreet, and valiant youth. He was sent for accordingly, and the ruddiness <sup>melancholy.</sup> of his complexion, and comeliness of his person, joined with the sweetness of his musick, won *Saul's* heart so far, that he made him his armour-bearer, and obtained of his father that he might still continue near his person. Whenever, therefore, *Saul's* distemper came upon him, *David* was ordered to divert him with his musick, which never failed to give him ease †; after which he returned home, and went about his usual occupation. At least it appears by the sequel ‡, that he stay'd at *Bethlehem* during *Saul's* lucid intervals, one of which seems to have been so long, that, when he came back to court, neither *Saul*, nor *Abner* his general, could tell who he was, as we read in the very next chapter § (F).

Saul

\* Ch. xvi. pass.

† Ibid.

• Ib. xvii. 15.

‡ Ib. ver. 55. to the end.

(D) The text says, that *Samuel* himself put him to death (78); but the *Hebrew* idiom imports no more than his commanding it to be done. And, indeed, besides that, *Samuel* is not recorded to have been a sword's man, he was then too old to perform such an execution. An ancient author (79) tells us, that *Agag* having been reprieved, at his desire, till the next morning, his wife, who came to see him that night, conceived by him that very *Amalekite*, who did afterwards kill *Saul*, as a just punishment for his sparing that monarch's life; but it is plain that *Saul* was not so much as wounded, till he fell upon his own sword and killed himself, as we shall see in its proper place; and that the young *Amalekite*, who brought the news of his death to *David*, did only pretend that he had killed him, in hopes to ingratiate himself to him, though it fell out otherwise.

(E) It is hardly to be supposed, that *Samuel* did then explain the whole mystery of his anointing of *David*; which might have had some fatal consequence, had it come to *Saul's* ears: But as it was

usual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, it is more likely, that he left them to suppose the former; which they might naturally enough do, both because *David* was but a stripling, not much above fifteen years of age, and too smug and tender to be taken for a promising warrior; and because the spirit of the Lord is said to have come upon him, as it used to do upon the prophets, after they were anointed. *Josephus* says, that *Samuel* only whisper'd the secret into *David's* and his father's ear, and conceal'd it from the rest. And, indeed, had his brethren known, or even suspected, that he had been anointed to the regal dignity, though we dare not say how far their envy might have induced some of them to have betrayed the secret to *Saul*, it is scarce credible they would have us'd him with such roughness and ill manners as they did, when their father sent him to them to *Saul's* camp (80).

(F) This circumstance has given interpreters some difficulty to reconcile: Some have thought this interval to have been so long, that *David* was quite

(78) Ibid. ver. 33. (79) PHIL. BIEL. *vid. St. Phil. Monard. Hebr. in vit. Saul.* (80) Sam. xvii. 28.

Defeat of Goliath.

Year of the Flood, 1936.  
Year before CHRIST, 1063.

Jonathan's friendship to David.

Saul and his army were then incamped by the valley of *Elab*, in order to make a head against the *Philistines*, who had by this time recovered themselves from their defeat, and had perhaps also taken fresh courage at the news of Saul's distemper. They had pitched their camp at *Ephex-dammim* over-against them, which place was between *Shoboth* and *Azekab* in the tribe of *Judab*. A valley parted the two armies, which had contented themselves with looking upon one another, without striking a blow, during the space of forty days, saving the daily challenges of the vapouring *Goliath*. But that, which had chilled the hearts of all the *Israelites*, did work a contrary effect upon young *David*, who was just arrived into the camp, being sent thither by old *Jesse* with provisions for his three eldest brothers, who were then in Saul's army. As soon as he heard the news of this gigantick champion's having defied the army of the God of *Israel*, he drew a sure omen from it, that God would deliver him into his hands; and though Saul's promising his daughter, as a reward to the man that should slay him, had not been able to induce one *Israelite* to engage him, during that whole time, yet was not this young shepherd at all discouraged from offering himself to the combat. At his first presenting himself to the king, all that beheld him did indeed judge him altogether unequal to such an exploit; but he gave them such proofs both of his valour and conduct, but especially of his faith in God, that Saul ordered him to be armed cap-a-pe with his own armour. But *David* was soon forced to put it off, not being able to stir himself under the weight of it; and, with no other weapon than a sling and a few pebble stones in his shepherd's pouch, sallied forth against this mighty enemy; and, in few minutes after, brought his head and sword, and laid it at the feet of Saul, who had by that time so far forgot him, that he was forced to inform him afresh that he was *David*, the youngest son of *Jesse*.

WHAT effect this victory had over the amazed *Philistines*, we need not repeat here †. But *David's* behaviour wrought so much on the generous *Jonathan*, Saul's eldest son, that it gave birth to the most intimate friendship between them, inso-much that the text says, their souls were knit together\*; and *David* elsewhere tells us, that it exceeded by far the love of women\*. But it soon after made a much different impression upon Saul, though at first he seemed charmed with his conduct, and gave him a considerable post in his army. What inspired that prince with the first sentiments of jealousy against him, was the indiscretion of a company of women, who came to meet them at their return from the battle, with vocal and instrumental musick, and in their songs compared *David* to him, and said, that Saul had killed his thousands, and *David* his ten thousands; which made him complain that they would give him the kingdom next. From that time he looked upon him as a dangerous enemy, and himself unsafe till he had cut him off

\* Sam. xvii. p. tot.

† See before, p. 353. & seq.

\* Ibid. xviii. 1.

\* Ibid. p. tot.

quite altered, his beard grown, features and shape become more manly, so that he might not be easily known again (81). Some think that Saul, not having seen him, but when he was in his melancholy moods, and as it were out of his senses, could retain no idea of him (82). But this is by no means probable, because Saul is said to have loved him exceedingly, when he was recovered from his paroxysms. Some others, and among them *Junius*, think, that there is here also a transposition of chapters, and that *David* had killed *Goliath* some time before he was sent for to play before Saul, because he is recommended to him as a man of valour, as well as a musician (83). But we can by no means come into that notion upon such slight grounds. *David* might have acquired the character of a valiant youth upon some other account, particularly, for rescuing some of his flock out of the jaws of wild beasts (84). And as to his being forgot at court, it may be easily accounted for, if to the growth of his shape, beard, &c. mentioned under the first head, we add, that, when he played

before Saul, he appeared in a dress suitable, and that he was now in his plain shepherd's habit, and just come from a journey; so that the king and his court, who had seen such variety of faces since his departure, might not easily call him to mind.

As for the wonderful effects which his musick had upon Saul, we need not have recourse to miracles to account for it, as some commentators have done (85), who think that he joined some psalms or prayers with the melody of his harp, which were a kind of exorcism against the evil spirit that troubled him. Every one may be sensible of the power of good musick upon a melancholy person; which we take to be Saul's case. And as for its being called an evil spirit sent from the Lord, we take it to mean no more, than that God suffered him to fall into that dismal distemper, as a punishment for his disobedience. And this is so far from being our particular opinion, that it is at present the most received, and, as we think, the most agreeable to the genius of the original (86).

(81) TORNEL. CAJET. & al. (82) THEODORET. PROCOF. in loc. (83) Vid. JUN. & TREMEL. in loc. (84) 1 Sam. xvii. 34. & seq. (85) DE LYR. TOSTAT. FERRAR. CORNEL. A LAPID & al. (86) Vid. GROT. CAJETAN. GENEER. LE CLERC. & al. mult.

a off. His disease increased his fear of him, or rather seemed to be wholly turned into jealousy, of which *David* became the sole object, and often narrowly escaped becoming the victim of it: for even on the very day after this noble exploit, whilst *David* was endeavouring to ease his present fit, he threw a javelin at him with such force, that it stuck against the wall. He attempted the same a second time, but *David* escaped them both. David hated by Saul.

At length, *Saul* observing how well *David* behaved, and was beloved by all the people, though he dreaded him the more for it, he saw himself under a necessity of acting more closely against him, by raising him to a higher post, and exposing him to fresh dangers, in hopes to see him fall by the hand of the enemy. Narrowly escapes his fury.

b He promised him, at the same time, his eldest daughter, as a reward of his next victory; but *David* had the mortification to see her given to another presently after. The next trap *Saul* laid for him was, to get some of his servants to tell him, that the king, who designed in earnest to give him his second daughter, would accept of 100 *Philistines* forekins instead of a dowry. But here *David* came off again victorious, and brought him double that number; so that *Saul*, having no pretence left to excuse himself from his promise, gave him *Michal* in marriage, whose sincere affection, joined to that of her brother *Jonathan*, proved afterwards very serviceable to him, by defeating their father's bloody attempts against his life, even at the hazard of their own. *David* had again gained a signal victory over the *Philistines*, and was scarce returned to court, before he was in danger of being stuck to the wall with another javelin. This made him retire to his own house, whither *Saul* pursued him, causing the house to be beset by some of his servants, where he would have been infallibly murdered by the next morning, had not his faithful wife contrived his escape, by conveying him privily out at a window, in the dead of night, resolved to give her husband time to go far enough before he was pursued, and at any rate to bear the brunt of her father's resentment, rather than be wanting in conjugal affection. When therefore the men came on the next morning to kill him, she sent them away, and told them, that he was very ill, and confined to his bed, shewing them at the same time the figure of a man, which she had conveyed into it, and covered up with bed-cloaths, to prevent discovery (G). As soon as *Saul* heard of his being sick, he sent back the men, with orders to bring him alive, in his bed, that he might have the pleasure of stabbing him with his own hand; and it was then that *Michal's* stratagem, being discovered, so exasperated her angry father, that she was forced to make him believe that it was to save her own life, that she had consented to it.

*David*, thus happily escaped, went to *Ramah* to acquaint *Samuel* with the Flee to Sam. unwelcome news; and both of them went down to *Nejoth*, which was not far from *Ramah*, and where was a school of prophets. It was not long before *Saul* heard of it, who sent immediately some messengers to fetch him. But they were no sooner come within sight of *Samuel* and the prophets, than they fell a prophesying likewise, and so returned without him. He sent others a second and a third time, with the same success, and at length resolved to go himself; and, when he came, he prophesied likewise, till he came to the place, and there he cast off his cloaths, and laid down uncovered (H) all that day and night, and gave thereby an opportunity to *David* to get off, and to have a private interview

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xix. pass.

(G) *Josephus* gives a more refined account of this stratagem, and carefully avoids the teraphim mentioned in the text: but we have already confuted that subtle evasion in another place (87), and we need no fresh proofs here of the author's partiality to his nation.

(H) The words in the original say, that he lay naked; but it were absurd to understand it in a literal sense, God having strictly forbidden all such

indecencies (88), in opposition to the heathen priests, who were not ashamed to appear naked at some of their feasts (89). It is more than probable, therefore, that the words mean no more than the casting off that loose upper garment which they used to throw over them when they went abroad, and having nothing upon him but the tunic that was next the skin. Which manner of speaking, was also common to the *Greeks* and *Latins* (90).

(87) *Vide sup. p. 443.* (88) *Exod. xx. ver. ult. & alib.* (89) *Vide TIT. LIV. & al. de Lupercal. &c.* <sup>2</sup> *Vide sup. p. 707.* (H) *Vide GIBERT. CUPER. Observat. lib. 1. cap. 7. ANT. BARREMAN. Dial. de poet. & proph. FULLER. Miscel. Theol. HEINS. GROT. HAMMOND, LE CLERC, LE SCENE. Essay on a new ver. pt. ii. c. 9. § 1.*

with *Jonatban*, wherein they swore to each other a perpetual friendship. In this interview *David* obtained likewise a promise from him, that he would excuse him to his father, on the two following days, which were the feast of the new moon, and in which he was to have sat at the king's table, when he should be observed to be missing, and to let him know whether he resented his absence, or was satisfied with the excuse. Accordingly, *Saul* missed him on the very first day, but imputed it to some accidental pollution, which made him unfit to appear; but when he saw him not on the next day, and was told by *Jonatban*, that he had begged leave to go to a feast which was held in his family at *Bethlehem*, *Saul* was so enraged, that he upbraided him in the bitterest terms with pusillanimous treachery; alledging, that he must never expect to sit on his throne, whilst *David* lived, and therefore ordered him to be immediately fetched to him. Here *Jonatban* ventured to plead for him, but he also narrowly escaped being killed by his father. Seeing then that his friend's death was resolved, he went to the stone *Ezel*, a place appointed by them, and, at a signal given, *David* came out to him, and being fully informed how dangerous it was for him to stay any longer within the reach of his implacable enemy, they took a melancholy farewell of one another, and *David* hastened to the land of *Nob*, where *Abimelech*, the then high-priest, had his residence.

*David flees to Abimelech.*

*David* was forced to dispel the surprise the high-priest was in, at his unexpected arrival, with a pretence of being sent by the king, upon some private business of importance; but having observed there one *Doeg* an *Edomite*, and one of *Saul's* shepherds, by whom he foresaw he should certainly be betrayed, if he made any stay, he told *Abimelech* that his business was urgent, and begged that he would give him some refreshment for himself and the young men that were with him. There was then none but the shew-bread that came off the holy table, which the priests alone were allowed to eat; but *David*, being afraid to stay the baking of some of the common sort, prevailed upon him to overlook that scruple, assuring him, that both he and they were free from carnal defilement, and had been absent from their wives above three days. As soon as they had refreshed themselves, *David* asked him whether he could not furnish him with some swords, or spears; and was answered, that there was no weapon there but the sword which he took from *Goliath*, which he desired might be brought to him; and, having girt it on, he took his leave of the high-priest, and fled to *Achish* king of *Gath*. He made but a short stay with that prince; for his servants, who had not forgot what had been so lately sung by the *Israelitish* women, that *Saul* had slain his thousands, and *David* his ten thousands, did not fail to remind him of it; which when *David* understood, the fear he was in of *Achish* made him resolve, if possible, to change his hatred either into pity or contempt. His stratagem succeeded according to his wish, and he acted the madman so well, that *Achish*, thinking him to be really so, was glad to be rid of him; and *David* went and hid himself in the cave of *Adullam*.

*Saul butchers all the priests and inhabitants of Nob.*

In the mean time *Saul*, vexed at his heart to find that he was gone out of his reach, was storming at *Jonatban*, and at his own servants, as if they had all conspired with the son of *Jesse* against him; when *Doeg*, the *Edomite*, came and acquainted him with what had passed at *Nob*, and how *Abimelech* had furnished *David* with provisions and weapons, and had enquired of the Lord for him. This news put him into such a rage, that, without giving himself leave to consider how far that high-priest might be ignorant of this unhappy difference between *David* and him, as it is plain from the text he really was; he ordered him and all his kindred to be brought immediately to him; and after many bitter invectives against them, for having leagued themselves with his treacherous son-in-law, as he expressed it, he swore they should all be put to death. *Abimelech* strove in vain to convince him, that they were all really ignorant of *David's* having any sinister design, whose behaviour had always been so commendable and upright, that they really believed him to have been sent upon some important design by him. The exasperated king would give no credit to them, but ordered his servants that stood about him to cut them all in pieces; and, when he observed that they expressed an uncommon reluctance against staining their hands with the blood of so many helpless priests, he commanded *Doeg* to perform that cruel office, which he immediately



- a diately did. *Saul*, not contented to see fourscore and five innocent persons butchered at his feet, ordered a detachment to go and put the whole city of *Nob* to the sword, men, women, children, and cattle; and this was also executed with such barbarous speed, that none but *Abiathar*, one of *Abimelech's* sons, had the good fortune to escape. He went immediately to *David*, and acquainted him with the dismal news; which was no more, he told him, than he foresaw would happen, when he observed the *Edomites* *Doeg* there. He said all he could to comfort him, and desired him to share his fortune; promising, that, as soon as *Abiathar* escapes to David. he was in a condition, he would raise him to the high-priesthood; till when, he would be his safeguard, as long as he was able to defend his own life.
- b AMONG those, who followed *David*, were his father, mother, brethren, and other relations, with the prophet *Gad*, who were probably forced to fly to him for shelter from *Saul's* fury. Besides these, there joined themselves to him multitudes of debtors, and distressed and discontented persons, to the number of 400. But the prophet *Gad* having told him, that it was no longer safe for him to abide in that place, he took his parents into the land of *Moab*, and left them under the protection of the king, whilst his affairs continued in that desperate condition †; and himself and his men went into the forest of *Hareth* in the land of *Judab*. However, he stayed no longer there than he rescued the city of *Keilah* from the *Philistines*; for he heard soon after, that *Saul*, thinking himself sure of him there,
- c was coming against him with all speed; and being afraid lest the inhabitants of that place should deliver him into his hands, and having had his fears confirmed by the high-priest, he removed from thence into the wilderness of *Ziph*, with his own men, who were by this time increased to 600. Whilst he was lurking about the rocks and caves of this place, *Jonathan* heard of it, and came to see him there. The design of this dangerous interview was to make still surer of *David's* Jonathan's interview with David. friendship, and to obtain a promise from him, that when he had gained the kingdom from his father, which he frankly told him he was well assured he would, himself might be the next in dignity to him; and that, in case he died before that time, *David* should shew the same friendly regard to his children, as he had done to him. This covenant was ratified with a fresh oath on both sides,
- d and *Jonathan* returned to his own house.
- NOT long after this, *Saul* was informed by the *Ziphites*, that *David* lay concealed in their neighbourhood; and was so transported with joy at the news, that he could not forbear blessing them, as the only people that shewed any compassion for him. He desired that they would go and watch him as narrowly as they could; for he told them that he was a subtle enemy, and assured them, that himself would come, with sufficient force, to fetch him out of his lurking-holes. But *David*, having got some intelligence of it, was by that time removed to the wilderness of *Maon*, on the south of the plain of *Jessimon*. *Saul* was soon
- e told of it, and pursued him thither, and pitched over-against him, with a design to surround him; but, as he was about it, news was brought him, that the *Philistines* had made a fresh incursion into the land, so that he was forced to go back to put a stop to their progress \*; leaving his enemy to recover himself of his fright, and to provide for his own safety. In memory of this deliverance, *David* called the rock where he then was, *Sela Hammalekoth*, or, *the rock of divisions*; and, presently after, removed with his little army to *Engedi*, and concealed himself among the strong holds of that place †. Here *Saul*, who had soon drove away the *Philistines*, found him out again, and came against him with 3000 men; but, whilst he was in search of him, an urgent occasion obliged him to retire, for decency
- f sake, into the cave where *David* lay concealed (1). *David* was immediately surrounded

† See before, p. 290. d.

\* Ibid. p. 355. c.

† 1 Sam. xxiii. pass.

(1) עין גדי *Hen gadi*, signifies the fountain of wild goats, and the city of that name was so called, from the multitude of goats and sheep which were kept in the rocky parts that were in the neighbourhood of it. These abounded with sheep-cotts, and caverns, into which the cattle used to shelter themselves during the heat of the day. It was into one of them that providence seems to have conducted *Saul*, to give *David* an opportunity, both of clearing himself from any treacherous design against him,

and to give an instance of the greatest generosity that is to be met with in history, though at the hazard of becoming the victim of his men's resentment, for refusing the only opportunity of riding himself of his enemy, and putting himself in a condition of rewarding their services; for which he had all the cause in the world to fear, either being forsaken, or, perhaps, even betrayed by them into *Saul's* hands.



David's gene-  
reality to Saul.

surrounded by his men, who told him that this was now the time in which God had promised to deliver his enemy into his hand, and that he had it now in his power to put a final end, with one blow, to this unnatural war, and to free himself and them from all their misery. *David* made as if he had listened to their advice, and, without telling them what he designed to do, rose up, and stole softly near *Saul*, and cut off the skirt of his robe (K), and gave him thereby an opportunity of escaping alive, whilst he appeased his men's resentment, with representing to them, how heinous a crime it was to stretch forth an hand against their lawful prince, and the Lord's anointed. He expressed even an uncommon remorse at that which he had done, esteeming it an indignity, or, at least, a want of respect to the regal dignity; though he meant no more by it, than to give his father an irrefragable proof of his innocency and filial duty<sup>7</sup>. As soon, therefore, as *Saul* was gone out of the cave, he called after him in the tenderest manner, begged of him not to entertain such unworthy suspicions of him, nor to listen to the whispers of flandering tongues, since he had now given him so signal a proof, how much his heart abhorred the crimes for which he was so unjustly persecuted. This humble and affecting speech, backed with the infallible testimony of the piece of his robe, melted *Saul* into tears of tenderness and sorrow: he acknowledged his son's superior virtue and merit in sparing his life, and, in the conclusion, owned that he alone was worthy to sit on the throne of *Israel*, which, he told him, he was now satisfied he would shortly do; and therefore, as a further proof of his unexampled generosity and filial affection, he desired him to swear to him, that he would not revenge the father's injuries upon any of his children, but that he would shew the same pity to the one, as he had now done to the other. *David* did readily give him that satisfaction, and, after mutual embraces, *Saul* returned to *Gibeath*, and *David* and his men to their strong hold<sup>8</sup> (L).

*Samuel's*  
death.

Year of the  
Flood, 1940.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1059.

ABOUT this time the good old prophet *Samuel* died<sup>9</sup>, in the 97th or 98th year of his age, greatly lamented by all true *Israelites*, and was buried at *Ramah* in his own house, or rather perhaps in his garden. He had judged *Israel* twenty years, from *Eli's* death, and had lived about forty-eight more, from his anointing *Saul* to the regal dignity. As for *David*, whether he had any intelligence of *Saul's* relapse, or whether his own fear suggested it to him, he removed further from the neighbourhood of *Engedi* towards the wilderness of *Paran*, near to *Maon* or *Carmel*, which was also in the tribe of *Judah*. It seems that *David* kept his men under such strict discipline, that instead of plundering the neighbouring places, as was generally done by such fugitives, they were rather a safe-guard to them, so that it was usual for them to expect some refreshments from the inhabitants, as a gratification for their watchfulness and forbearance. Here then *David*, according to custom, sent a civil message to a wealthy *Carmelite* named *Nabal*, who was then making a feast to his sheep-shearers, and desired him to send him and his men some portion of his good cheer; but the man, who was rightly called *Nabal*, being naturally proud and brutish, sent them away with a churlish answer, that he had something else to do with his provision, than to send it to such a company of vagabonds. *David*, who could not but resent such ingratitude, was just upon the point of making some dreadful havock in *Nabal's* family, but, by good fortune, his prudent wife, hearing of it, made such haste to bring him an elegant supply of refreshment, that

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxiv. ver. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. pass.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxv. 1, & seq.

(K) The text says, that *David* and his men har-  
boured in the sides of the cave (91); or, as the  
original imports, in crags and holes of it, so that  
*Saul*, coming into it from the broad day-light, could  
not perceive them; whilst they, who had been  
there some time, might easily discover him, and  
know who he was, from his first entering into the  
place; so that it was easy for *David* to cut off a  
piece of his robe unperceived, especially if we  
suppose it to have been the skirt of his upper gar-  
ment, which, it is likely, they used to throw by,  
at a small distance, upon such occasions.

(L) It appears by this speech of *Saul*, that he  
had, by that time, some certain knowledge that

*David* was the person whom God had chosen to be  
king in his stead, and perhaps also of his having  
been anointed by *Samuel*. So then his crime was  
not the bare persecuting of an innocent person, or  
hunting after a flea, as *David* words it (92), but  
an impious desire of frustrating the design of pro-  
vidence by cutting him off, in order to secure the  
crown to his own posterity. It was therefore  
natural for him to intreat him for the safety of his  
own children, when he saw into what dangers his  
preposterous folly brought him, and that nothing  
but *David's* virtue could secure them from total  
excision.

(91) 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

(92) Ibid. ver. 14.

- a that she prevented all further mischief, and *David* was so charmed with her prudent and modest behaviour, that he conceived a real affection for her. *Abigail* returned to her husband, and on the next day, when sleep had dissipated the fumes of his wine, acquainted him with the danger which his brutishness was like to have brought upon him; and, as he was of too base a nature to think *David* generous enough to forgive him, the dread which then seized him did, in few days, break his heart, which as soon as *David* heard of, he sent for her and married her. As for *Michol*, *Saul's* daughter, she had been given to another, during his exile<sup>b</sup>.
- b He was forced soon after to retire from *Maon*, into the desert of *Ziph*, and the *Ziphites* failed not to acquaint *Saul* with it; who, having by that time forgot all that passed at their last interview, came out against him with 3000 chosen men, and gave him a fresh opportunity of evidencing his innocence. The two armies were encamped, the one by the side of the hills of *Hachilah*, and the other, in the wilderness overagainst him. *David* therefore sent out some spies, to know whether *Saul* was come in person, and being informed that he was, he took *Abishai* with him, and came in the dead of the night into *Saul's* camp, where they found them all fast asleep; *Saul* in his tent, with his spear stuck into the ground by his bolster, and *Abner* his general, with the rest of his officers, encamped round his tent. *Abishai* began then to insist strenuously, that providence had brought his enemy once more into his hand as a victim to the slaughter, and that, if he missed so fair an opportunity of sticking him to the ground with his own spear, he might in vain bewail his folly; but *David* soon stopped his hand, and contented himself with carrying away his spear, and the pitcher of water that lay under his head, which he did unperceived of any of *Saul's* men, God having thrown them all, as the text expresses it, into a deep sleep<sup>c</sup>; and soon after reached his own camp. Early on the next morning, he got up on the top of a hill overagainst them, and, having called *Saul's* general to him, he rebuked him sharply for being so negligent of his master's person, as to suffer his spear and cruse to be taken away by those, who might with the same ease have taken away his life. *Saul*, who was soon apprised of it, came out, and, in the mildest terms, acknowledged himself indebted a second time for his life, to his generous, though much injured son-in-law. *David* had then a fair occasion to upbraid him with his injustice and cruelty, which he did; however, with expressions full of duty and humility: he represented unto him how much beneath a king of *Israel* it was, to hunt after a poor harmless flea or a partridge, who meant not the least harm against him, and begged of him to desist from persecuting a man to death, who was not only innocent, but who shewed such a tender regard for his life, when it was in his power. *Saul* could not resist so strong an evidence of his son's superior virtue, which he must have admired even in an enemy. But though he shewed, at that juncture, all the tokens of remorse, acknowledged his folly and injustice, and promised never to seek his life any more, yet *David* had so little reason to trust to such forced repentance, that, as soon as they were parted, though with seeming tokens of the sincerest love and friendship, he resolved to go far enough out of his reach<sup>d</sup>. He retired therefore once more to *Achish* king of *Gath*, designing to abide with him till providence should give a better turn to his affairs. The hospitable reception he met with from that prince has been seen before<sup>†</sup>; but here, though he found so generous a friend and protector, yet an unexpected misfortune befel him from another quarter, which was like to have proved as fatal to him, as if he had fallen into his enemy's hand.
- c A second instance of David's mercy to him.
- d Retires to Gath.

- f DURING his abode at *Ziklag*, the place which the *Gathish* king had allotted him, which was a year and four months, there repaired unto him some of *Saul's* kindred, and multitudes of valiant men and commanders out of the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judab*, and some from that of *Gad*, which ventured to pass the *Jordan* to come to him, even at the time when it overflowed its banks (M), besides

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. tot.

<sup>c</sup> Ch. xxvii. 12;

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. tot.

<sup>†</sup> Vid. sup. 355. d.

(M) The book of *Chronicles* observes of these *Gadites*, that they could handle the shield and the buckler, that their faces were as stern as those of

lions, and that they were as swift of foot as the wild roes (93). The same author takes notice, that, when *David* saw such numbers of the *Benjaminites*,

(93) 1 *Chron.* xii. 8.

Ziklag plundered and burnt.

besides some of the tribe of *Manasseh* \*. With these he used to make incursions <sup>a</sup> into the countries of the *Geshurites*, *Gerzites*, and *Amalekites* (N), unknown to the king \*, who was made to believe that he made them into the land of *Judab* ; and this gained him such confidence, that he had taken him and his army to go with him against *Saul* † ; but, whilst they were gone, the *Amalekites* came and took *Ziklag* and burnt it, and carried away all their women, children, cattle, and all the plunder of the place. When therefore they were returned from the *Philistine* camp, from which they had been dismissed by the jealous princes of that nation, and found what a terrible destruction had been made of their city, they filled the air with their cries. Their destroying men, women, and children, in all their former incursions, gave them no room to doubt that their own had undergone the same <sup>b</sup> fate ; so that their grief and despair rose to such a height, that *David* was like to have become the victim of it. The men began to talk of stoning him, as the cause of this mischief ; when he, still confiding in God, called *Abiathar* to consult the Lord for him, whether he had best pursue after that troop ; and, upon his being answered that he should do it with success, he took 600 men with him, overtook and destroyed the *Amalekitish* band, and recovered all that had been taken from them, as we have seen elsewhere †.

Saul's wretched condition at this time.

AFTER this signal deliverance *David's* affairs began to take a better turn, and the death of *Saul*, which happened immediately after, not only rid him of an inveterate enemy, the cause of all these troubles, but opened a fair and easy way <sup>c</sup> to the crown, at least, over his own tribe. The particulars of this signal defeat, which cost *Saul* and his three sons their lives, and among them the brave and generous *Jonathan*, need not be repeated here \*\*. One or two circumstances however preceded it, with relation to that unhappy monarch, which made his condition so deplorable and desperate, that we could not with justice omit them.

Consults the witch of Endor.

He saw himself on the eve of being attacked by a powerful army, whilst a great number of his own, especially the chiefs, were gone over to *David*, and perhaps, he had also intelligence of his being come with the *Philistines* against him : he had killed all the priests except *Abiathar*, who was also fled to *David*, so that he could not consult the Lord by *Urim* : *Samuel* was dead, and not a prophet left to advise <sup>d</sup> him. In this streight, he would gladly have sought for counsel from witches or wizards, but he had long ago banished them all out of his dominions. At length, with much enquiring, they found him out a woman at *Endor*, who had a familiar spirit, to whom he went disguised in the night ; and, having promised her secrecy, prevailed upon her to raise him up *Samuel*. She did so accordingly ; but when she saw him appear, either in a different manner than she had been used to (O), or

\* See 1 Chron. xii. 1. 15, & seq. b. & c.

\* See before, p. 355.

† Ch. xxviii. 2.

† See before, p. 321.

ites, especially of *Saul's* kindred, come to him, he was apprehensive they came with a design to surprise and carry him off. It seems, even by what he said to them, that, in such a case, he was not able to oppose them with his six hundred men. For, says he, if you are come with a friendly design to succour me, my heart shall be knit with yours ; but, if your intent be to betray me to my enemies, I leave it to God to punish you for your treachery (94). But they soon dispelled his fears, by assuring him that they were intirely in his interest, and resolved to share his fortune, and to be under his command.

As to the time of *David's* abode at *Ziklag*, though we have followed our English version, and archbishop *Usher*, the original says only, that he continued there ימים וארבעה חדשים days and four months, which some think to imply some days above, rather than a year and, four months ; because *David* came thither after *Samuel's* death, and left it immediately after that of *Saul*, and they reckon but seven months between the death of those two persons (95).

(N) We beg leave to observe here against those who condemn *David* as guilty of a great breach of hospitality, that none of these three nations were *Philistines*. The two former were the remains of the old *Canaanites* (96) and the *Amalekites*, the descendants of *Esau* (97), and all the three under the divine anathema. Notwithstanding which, *David* might think it proper to tell the king, that he made his inroads into the land of *Israel*, that he might think himself the more sure of him ; and this is the very reason assigned in the text, for his using that pretence (98).

(O) It is not easy to say, whether her fright proceeded from the extraordinariness of the apparition, or from the fear she was in, that *Saul* had only set her to work that he might have occasion to punish her for it. The latter seems the most probable, by what she said to him in her fright ; and yet it is not impossible, that she was also surprised at the strangeness of the sight. The text does not say how she came to know the king by it ; and the notion of the Jews, that the spirit, which

(94) 1 Chron. xii. 17. (95) Vid. sup. p. 321. (I). 2 Sam. i. 1, & 7. & MUNT. in Sam. xxvii. sub. (6). (96) Vid. Josh. xii. 5. & xvi. 3. (97) Vid. sup. p. 317. (98) 1 Sam. xxvii. ult.

- a or in such a manner as gave her to understand, that it was *Saul* himself that had set her on work; she gave a shriek, and complained that she had been imposed upon. *Saul* bid her go on, assuring her she should be safe, and asked what she had seen; she answered, Gods, angels, or judges (for the word may signify any of these) ascending out of the earth. She described one, who was an old man covered with a mantle, whom *Saul* understood to be *Samuel*, and to whom he bowed himself to the ground. Here the apparition, or, as the text expresses it, *Samuel*, asked him the reason why he had disturbed and called him up; and *Saul* owned to him, that the distress he was in from the *Philistine* army, being destitute of counsel from God, had obliged him to take that way to obtain his advice
- b what he should do under those difficulties. But *Samuel* answered *Why dost thou ask my advice, seeing thy disobedience to God's commands has alienated him from thee, and tears to him. that thy kingdom is given to David?* And now, continued the vision, *the Lord is going to give up the Israelites into the hands of their enemies, and thou and thy sons shall be with me to-morrow* (P). At these last words the frightened king, who had eaten nothing

which she raised by enchantment, used to rise out of the earth with their heels uppermost, and that *Samuel* came up upon his feet, by which she knew that it was *Saul* that wanted to consult him (99), is altogether ludicrous; but if it was the real apparition of that prophet that she saw, as we shall at least make it probable in the next note, that it was, she might easily suppose that he would not have appeared in that extraordinary manner to any but to the king of *Israel*. For as to the notion that it was all done by *legerdemain* and *ventriloquy* on the woman's part, and by strength of fancy and fear on *Saul's*, we cannot by any means come into it, and shall give our reasons for dissenting from it, in its proper place.

(P) There is hardly a passage in the Old Testament that has been more canvassed and tortured, by authors of all ages, than this we are upon; and, when a man has read them all, he will be forced to own, that there are difficulties in whatever sense he takes the history of *Samuel's* apparition. We have therefore taken that which seems the most natural and obvious, and shall now give our reasons for preferring it to the rest.

First then, as to the notion of its being performed by *ventriloquy*, juggle, or confederacy; besides that, it doth too great a violence to the text, and would be a kind of burlesque upon its author; it is not likely that a woman, cunning enough to carry on a trade of this nature, would have been so impolitic as to give *Saul* such a dreadful answer; though we should grant that she was so well acquainted with the bad circumstances of that prince, that she might foresee that it was likely to prove the case; such people are rather apt to flatter those that consult them, and the fear she was in, when she knew *Saul*, would no doubt have put her upon this, rather than upon the former. Add to this, that such a terrible denunciation would only have proved the most effectual means of putting *Saul* upon any expedient to avoid it, whether by flight, or by any other way, rather than by engaging the enemy.

This last argument is equally strong against those who think that the devil took the shape, and acted the part of *Samuel*, unless we could suppose him so well acquainted with futurity, that he was sure *Saul* would rush into his own destruction, notwithstanding he was so signally forewarned of it. Again, though we grant that he might foresee, that the enemy would be too strong for *Saul* and his army, yet he could neither be sure that he would engage them, especially after such a dreadful dissuasive, nor if he did, that he would certainly be killed, he and his three sons. The *Israelites* had won many a more unlikely victory, and, at the worst, they might have escaped by flight. We need not observe farther, how

unnatural and absurd it is to suppose, that the inspired writer would have expressed himself as he doth, and have introduced the deceased prophet as raised from the dead, and speaking to *Saul*, if the devil had been the sole actor in his shape; neither do we think it at all probable that the devil, if it had been he that spoke to *Saul*, would have played the saint so far, as to reprove him for his wickedness and disobedience, but especially for making use of an art to raise him up, which he must have been too fond of, to discountenance in such a severe manner.

It is indeed urged here, that there were two falsities in this pretended prophecy, which none therefore but either the father of lyes, or a juggling old woman, could be the author of. The first is, that the vision says to *Saul*, *Thou and thy sons shall be with me*—Now say they, *Saul* died like a reprobate by his own hands, and could not be where *Samuel* was, in the mansions of the blessed. But who doth not see that it meant no more than *thou shalt be dead, or in the other world as I now am*. The other is, that the vision says *to-morrow*, whereas the battle was not fought on the next day, but a day or two after. But though this be granted it doth not follow that the word מחר *Mahar* doth positively imply here *that very next day following*; it doth often signify *shortly*, and sometimes *hereafter*, in process of time; as when *Moses* says, *when thy children shall ask thee, Mahar, hereafter, what meaneth such a ceremony or festival*, and so on—We shall for once dispense with mentioning the numerous authors of these two last opinions, to avoid filling up near a whole page with quotations.

Upon the whole then, we think, with the far greater number of authors, ancient and modern, that it was really *Samuel* that appeared to the woman, and foretold *Saul's* death, and *Israel's* defeat. This appears likewise to have been the opinion of the ancient *Jews*, from what we read in the book of *Ecclesiasticus* (100), where it is said, that *after his death he [Samuel] prophesied, and shewed the king his end; that he lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people*. This, we have already observed, is the most obvious and natural sense of the text. We can see but two objections that can be made against it, and though we have premised at the beginning of this note, that every opinion hath its difficulties, yet we hope we shall lessen these so far, that they will appear inconsiderable, in comparison of those we have urged against the other two.

The first objection is, that it were absurd to suppose that the devil has so much power over the souls of the dead, especially of the saints, as to make them appear visibly, at the desire of a conjurer: to which it may be answered, that there is

no

(99) *Vid. MURST. in loc.*(100) *Ecclesiasticus. xlvii. ult.*

Saul's defeat  
and death.

Year of the  
Flood, 1944.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1055.

David's mourn-  
ing for Saul  
and Jonathan.

nothing all that day, fainted away and fell flat on the ground, and remained a speechless for some time. His men, at length, came and raised him up, and the old woman besought him, in the humblest terms, that he would take some sustenance before he went away, which after long importunity he consented to. She then went and dressed a fattened calf, and set it before them, and as soon as they had refreshed themselves they went their way, and reached their army before break of day<sup>a</sup>. A dreadful battle soon ensued, which fulfilled all that had been foretold to Saul, whose fear of being taken alive, and ill used by his enemies, rather than the wounds he received from them (Q), made him rush upon his own sword, to put an end to his unfortunate life. Here the victorious *Philistines* could not forbear venting their resentment on his dead body, and those of his sons; they mangled<sup>b</sup> and hung them up upon the walls of *Bethshan*; which, being near the field of battle, had been probably abandoned by the inhabitants, as many others were after this defeat. But the grateful *Jabeshites*, remembering how Saul had saved them formerly from losing their eyes and liberty, did soon after send some of their bravest men to rescue them; which was no sooner done, than they gave them an honourable burial, and kept a seven day's fast in memory of their deaths<sup>c</sup>.

David had been returned from the slaughter of the plunderers of *Ziklag* about two or three days, when he received the news of Saul's and Jonathan's death by an *Amalekite*, who also brought him Saul's crown and bracelets. How glad<sup>c</sup> soever David might be to hear of his enemy's death, yet that of his beloved Jonathan touched him to the heart, and the great defeat of the *Israelites* caused a general mourning and fasting in his whole army. As for the messenger, he, having unadvisedly pretended to have given Saul his last wound, at his desire, was ordered to immediate death, for having lifted up his hand against the Lord's anointed. David did greatly mourn the unhappy fate of the father and son, and their deaths inspired his poetic genius with one of the finest elegies that ever were penned, which he caused to be transmitted to future ages<sup>d</sup>.

As soon as they had done mourning for Saul, he consulted the Lord which way he should steer his course next; and, being commanded to remove to *Hebron*,<sup>d</sup> he

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xxviii. pass.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 4. See before, p. 356.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Sam. i. p. tot.

no necessity for supposing here any such extraordinary power in the devil, but rather that God did cause Samuel to appear to Saul, to reprove him for his former, and for this last sin in particular, of seeking for help from wizards, contrary to his express commands; and to bring him thereby, if possible, to such a sense of his faults, as might prevent his making such a desperate exit; and that all this happened contrary to the woman's expectation, who could not be ignorant that it was above the power of her art to evocate the souls of the blessed, and wanted only to impose one of her familiar spirits upon him, and to supply the rest by policy. It is therefore no wonder that she was so terribly surprised, when, instead of one of her imps, she beheld the real apparition of that venerable prophet.

But here it will be objected again, that it is very improbable that God, who had refused to answer Saul, either by *Urim* or by prophets, should now do it, at least seemingly, by the ministry of a wicked woman. But here it must be observed; 1. That the text doth not imply, that the Lord refused to answer him by *Urim* or by prophets, but that he had not the means of consulting by them; for how could he consult by *Urim*, when the high-priest was with David in the *Philistine* army? 2. Were it true that God had refused to answer him in the ordinary ways of *Urim* and the like, yet it doth not follow that he might not do it in an extraordinary one, in order to make the greater impression upon him, who had all along been but too regardless of God's commands, when communicated to him by the prophet. He might likewise be suffered to

seek for counsel from a witch, to make him sensible what degree of impiety he had brought himself into; and God sending Samuel to reprove him for it, was a signal way of discountenancing such a wicked and forbidden practice.

However, we do not pretend to remove all difficulties that can be raised against this opinion, but only to shew, that it is attended with fewer, and less, than the other two. For this reason we shall carry our enquiry no farther; whether it were the real soul of Samuel, or an angel assuming his shape: whether Saul saw, or only heard him speak; and many others, concerning which, we should lose ourselves in a labyrinth almost as dark and intricate, as those do, who suppose that two such remarkable events, as the death of Saul and his two sons, and the total defeat of the *Israelitish* army, could be foretold so positively and exactly, either by a juggling woman, or by the devil, or indeed by any but an omniscient power.

(Q) Notwithstanding what has been said elsewhere †, of Saul's receiving several wounds before he fell upon his sword, for want of attending more to the original than to ours and other versions; we beg leave to observe here, that in this place and in the *Chronicles*, where the account of Saul's death is repeated, the root of the verb is חָלַל *Challal*, which signifies to be in dread, in pangs, and alludes to the travail of a woman, וַיָּחַל *Uchall*, and not חָלַל *Challal*, to wound. So that it doth not appear, that he was at all wounded, but only in the extremity of fear, when he saw himself so thick beset with enemies, that there was no way to escape (1).

† Sup. p. 356. c.

(1) Vid. *Chald. paraphr.* MUSET. & al. in loc.



a he brought thither his two wives, his relations, and army. Here he was again anointed king over *Judab* by those of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; whilst *Abner*, *Saul's* general, took his son *Ish-bosheth*, who was then forty years old, and proclaimed him king of *Israel* at *Mabanaim*. Thus was the kingdom divided between these two, each enjoying his own share quietly, without molesting the other, during the space of two years (R), the tribe of *Judab* cleaving to *David*, and the rest, at least for the most part, to *Ish-bosheth*. The first popular thing *Ish-bosheth* *David* did after this, was to send a message of thanks to the inhabitants of *Jabesh-gilead*, for the regard they had paid to the bodies of the deceased king and his sons. After which, he married *Maakab*, the daughter of *Talmai*, king of *Geshur* <sup>1</sup>, by whom he had afterwards *Abshalom* and *Thamar* <sup>2</sup>. But we cannot think, with our learned *Usher*, that he contracted an affinity with that prince to strengthen himself against his rival \*; that being expressly forbid by the law of *Moses*. It is more probable, that he took her prisoner, in one of his excursions against that country, as we shall shew in a following note. At the end of two years, *Abner*, having repassed the *Jordan* with his army, came and incamped on one side of the pool of *Gibeon*; and *Joab*, the son of *Zeruiah*, *David's* general, came and incamped over-against him on the other side.

HITHERTO there had passed no hostilities, nor any war been declared between the two monarchs; so that, their subjects on both sides being all *Israelites*, there was a necessity of making some kind of hostile overture, which might bring on an engagement; the two generals, therefore, bethought themselves of the following strange one. They agreed to send twelve brave men out of each army, to meet in a proper place between them, under pretence of performing some warlike exercise; but they were no sooner come within reach of one another, than each man took his antagonist by the head, and sheathed his sword in his body; so that they were all killed upon the spot. In memory of this bloody feat, the place was called *Helkath Hazzurim*, the field of the strong men. There needed no more to set the two armies on fighting, and a dreadful battle immediately ensued, in which *Abner's* army was totally routed, and himself forced to fly for his life. *Joab* had two brave brothers with him, one of whom, named *Azabel*, was exceeding swift of foot, and he pursued after him with uncommon speed, with a design to take him prisoner. *Abner* was soon aware of it, and, in turning about, advised him once and again to desist from his pursuit, and to content himself with a prisoner of less note; but, *Azabel* still persisting, *Abner* was forced to run him through the body with the hinder part of his spear. The sight of his dead body caused such a general stop in the flying remains of his army, that he was forced to cause it to be removed out of the road, and covered with a garment, that his men might have time to shun *Joab's* victorious host, who were following close at their heels. The pursuit lasted till sun-set, by which time they were got as far as the hill of *Ammah*, within sight of *Giath*, along the wilderness of *Gibeon*. Here the *Benjaminites* rallied themselves again under *Abner*, and posted themselves on the rising of the hill, resolved to make a stout defence; but their general, who was weary of fighting, called to *Joab*, and desired him to put a stop to the slaughter of his brethren, whose destruction could not but cause bitterness in the end. *Joab* hearkened to him, and caused the trumpet to sound a retreat; after which, *Abner* and his men took the way of *Mabanaim*, and *Joab* returned to *Hebron*. There were but nineteen men killed on *David's* side, besides *Azabel*, but *Benjamin* lost 360. *Azabel's* body was carried to *Bethlehem*, and buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors <sup>3</sup>; and from that time *David* grew stronger every day, and *Ish-bosheth* weaker and weaker; but the war between those two did not end but with the death of the latter, which happened shortly after.

IN

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 3.<sup>1</sup> Ib. ch. xiii. 1.

\* Annal. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. ii. pass.

(R) At least this seems to be the sense of those words, and *Ish-bosheth* reigned two years (2); for it is plain he reigned much longer, but not peaceably. Much the same was said of the beginning of *Saul's*

reign (3). *Abner* also might think it proper to take him to *Mabanaim*, which was beyond *Jordan*, that, being free from the *Philistines*, he might have time to recruit his shattered army.

(2) 2 Sam. ii. 10.

(3) 1 Sam. xiii. 1. *Usher*, Ann. p. 35.



*Ishboetheth de-  
served by Ab-  
ner.*

IN the mean time, *Abner*, who had used all his endeavours to strengthen his master's party, did set such value upon his own services, that he made no scruple to have a criminal intercourse with one of *Saul's* concubines, named *Rizpah*; and, when he was reprimanded for it by *Ish-bosebeth* (S), he resented it so highly, that he swore that he would from that minute become a friend to *David*, and bring all the tribes under his obedience. He delayed not to make his words good, by sending messengers privately, first to *David*, and then to the elders of *Israel*, to contrive a revolt; after which, he found out the following pretence for going to *David* unsuspected. That monarch had sent to *Ish-bosebeth*, to desire of him to send him his wife *Michal*, whom *Saul*, during his exile, had married to another; and *Abner*, having obtained an order from him to demand her of her husband, took upon him to convey her safe to *David*. Whether *Ish-bosebeth* had any suspicion of him, or not, yet his circumstances were so tottering, that he dared not refuse him any thing; so *Abner* went, accompanied with twenty men, and presented *Michal* to *David*, and was graciously received by him. But, as he was returning home, *Joab*, unknown to *David*, sent for him back to *Hebron*, under some friendly pretence, and killed him as soon as he was come to the gate of the city, under pretence indeed of revenging his brother *Azabel's* death; but much more likely, to rid himself of so powerful a rival. As soon as *David* heard of it, he protested his innocence of that bloody deed, and vented his resentment in imprecations against the author of it; after which, he caused *Abner* to be decently buried, and accompanied his corpse to the grave with all the tokens of sorrow and respect<sup>a</sup>. However, as he knew himself as yet too weak to disoblige *Joab*, whose power among the people might easily have turned the scale against him, he was forced to suppress his grief and resentment for the treacherous murder of so considerable a person.

*Murdered by  
Baana and Re-  
chab.*

*Ish-bosebeth* did soon hear of his death; and, as he had been the main support of his kingdom, both he and his men began to fear, that *David* would soon be too strong for him. This inspired two of his captains, brethren, of the family of the *Beerothites*, *Baana* and *Rechab*, to conspire against his life, in hopes of recommending themselves to *David* by it. They took the opportunity of the heat of the day, when he was lain down on his bed, to come into his house, under pretence of fetching their allowance of corn; and to enter into his chamber, where they barbarously murdered him; and, having cut off his head, fled away with it, unperceived, to *Hebron*, and presented it to *David*, congratulating him upon the death of his competitor. It was hardly to be expected that *David*, who had punished the young *Amalekite* with death, for barely pretending to have killed *Saul*, could forbear expressing a much greater horror at this more inhuman regicide, and to inflict a suitable punishment upon the authors of it, whatever advantage his affairs might reap from it. Accordingly, he commanded them to be immediately put to death, and their hands and feet to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of *Hebron*. As for the head of *Ish-bosebeth*, he caused it to be buried in the sepulchre of *Abner*, which was also in the same city<sup>b</sup>.

*David reigns  
over all the  
12 tribes.*

*David* by this time had reigned over *Judah* in *Hebron* about seven years and half; and, when the rest of the tribes heard of *Ish-bosebeth's* death, they assembled themselves, and came to anoint him king over all *Israel*, and to pay their homage to him. These are reckoned, in another place<sup>c</sup>, to have amounted to the number of 32,000 men and upwards, all ready armed, and expert warriors, out of all the twelve tribes, except part of that of *Benjamin*, which did still stick to the house of *Saul*. *David* received them with joy, and feasted them at *Hebron* during three days; all that time, not only his own and the neighbouring tribes, but even some of the more distant ones, pouring in plenty of provisions upon them<sup>d</sup>.

ON

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. iii. p. tot. See before, p. 698. b. <sup>c</sup> Ch. iv. pass. <sup>d</sup> Comp. 1 Chron. xii. 23, & seq. with xi. 1, 2, & seq. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xii. ult.

(S) It appears, by the sequel of the Jewish history, that it was a very high crime, amounting to no less than treason, to marry a king's widow (4); much more must it have been so, to debauch her, as *Abner* did *Rizpah*. So that *Ish-bosebeth*, notwith-

standing his obligations to that general, could not well avoid resenting such an affront being offered to the royal dignity, as came little short of an attempt upon his crown.

(4) Vide 1 Kings ii. 13, & seq.

a ON the next year, *David* went and besieged *Jerusalem*, a place of such strength, that it had stood out till that time against the united force of *Judah* and *Simeon*. Here *Joab* shewed so much bravery and conduct, that he was made head general of *Israel*: He beat the *Jebusites* that defended it, and carried the fortrefs of *Sion*, or *Zion*, by assault †, which *David* made his residence from that time. He enlarged and fortified it from *Millo* inward round about, and called it *the city of David*, whilst *Joab* rebuilt the rest of the city, surrounded it with a strong wall; and from that time it became the metropolis of *Judea*.

b BUT it was impossible for him to carry on such a work, without alarming the jealous *Philistines*, who could not be ignorant, either of the strength of his army, or of h's now reigning over all *Israel* without a competitor. They came, therefore, so suddenly upon him, that they took *Betlehem*, and put a garrison into it, before he could make any resistance, whilst he was forced to retire to the cave of *Adullam* for present safety. It was here, that, having expressed a longing desire for some of the water of the well of *Betlehem*, three of his chief worthies ventured through the enemy's host, which was encamped along the valley of *Rephaim*, and fetched him some water from thence. However, when they brought it to him, he chose rather to spill it upon the ground than to drink it, seeing, as he said, they had procured it at the hazard of their lives. He then enquired of the Lord, whether he should fall upon the *Philistines*; and, having received a favourable answer, he discomfited c them so effectually, both at this time, and upon a second attempt of theirs, that they were never more able to make head against him, or any of his successors. *David* finding himself thus strengthened, his army numerous and well disciplined, under the conduct of more than thirty worthies, who had all signalized themselves by some extraordinary exploits, and his enemies so thoroughly weakened, made a firm alliance with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, by whom he was furnished with cedars and other woods, and with expert workmen, to build him a palace in his own city. He likewise increased the number of his wives and concubines, by whom he had a considerable number of children born at *Jerusalem*, besides those that were born to him in *Hebron* (T); all which did not a little contribute to his grandeur as well as d happiness.

SUCH a series of successes, and the universal peace which then reigned through the whole kingdom, inspired that pious prince with the highest sentiments of gratitude and religion, and with a desire of making his city the center, as it were, of God's worship, by transporting the sacred ark thither, which had continued almost fifty years at *Kirjath-jearim* (V), and placing it in one of the best apartments of his new palace. He consulted the elders and chiefs of *Israel* upon it, and, being answered with the universal approbation of the assembly, he dispatched messengers through

\* 2 Sam. v. 8. † Chr. xi. 6. ‡ See before, p. 336. d. § Comp. 2 Sam. v. 9. & 1 Chron. xi. 7. & seq. ¶ Ibid. xiv. 9. & seq. \*\* Ibid. xi. 17. & seq. \*\*\* Ibid. xiv. 10. & seq. See before, p. 337. b.

(T) *David* is recorded to have had six wives in *Hebron*, besides *Saul's* daughter, who was then with another husband. He is said to have had a son by every one of the six former; by which is hardly meant, that he had but one by each, but that the text mentions only their first-born (5). As for *Maachab*, the daughter of the king of *Geshur*, the *Jews* affirm, that *David* had taken her captive, and forced her to embrace the *Jewish* religion; because it was forbid by the law of *Moses* to contract any affinity with the heathens. Either of these is far from improbable, because we read of his making some excursions against the *Geshurites*, during his abode at *Ziklag* (6); but nothing of his contracting such a forbidden affinity with their king. Neither, indeed, is it likely, that so zealous a man, as *David* was, would have married her before she had renounced her idolatry. But as to what they add, of his forcing her to turn *Jew* against her will, and that the ill hap of her two children, *Absalom* and *Tamar*, the former of whom turned rebel against

his father, and the latter was ravished by *David's* eldest son, was inflicted on him as a punishment for that violence (7), we dare not warrant any thing about it.

How many wives and concubines he took, after he came from *Hebron*, the text doth not say, but mentions only that he had ten sons by them; by which the *Talmudists* gather, that he had sixteen in all, besides *Michal*, who, being barren, was to be excepted out of that number. Hence they have passed it into a law, that a king ought to have no more wives than eighteen (8); and they believe, that all *Solomon's* miscarriages were owing to his venturing to exceed that number †.

(V) Archbishop *Usher* reckons that it was on the first sabbatical year that it was brought from *Gilgal* to *Shiloh*, and that it was likewise upon such another year that it was removed from *Kirjath-jearim*, to the city of *David*; and that the 68th psalm was sung by the people who accompanied this solemn procession (9).

(5) 2 Sam. iii. 2. & seq. (6) 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8. (7) Vide MURRAY. 2 Sam. iii. sub not. 6. (8) Vide *Præc. Negat.* cccxii. † Vide sup. p. 667. (R). (9) *An.* p. 36.

through the whole kingdom to invite all the priests and levites, and as many of the people as were so disposed, to come to the solemnity. The ark was accordingly set upon a new cart, and brought from *Aminadab's* house to *Jerusalem*, accompanied by *David* and his court, by multitudes of priests and levites, who sang and played upon various instruments, and by a numerous concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom. But their joy was suspended by an accident, which filled the king and assembly with wonder and fear. The ark was come to *Nachon's* threshing-floor (W), when the oxen that drew it, starting at something, were like to have over-set the cart; to prevent which, *Uzzab*, one of *Aminadab's* sons, who drove it, clapped his hand upon the ark in a surprise, and was for his presumption smitten with immediate death (X). *David* could not forbear expressing a more than ordinary grief at this severity; he called the place *Perez Uzzab*, that is, the breach or punishment of *Uzzab*, and resolved to have the ark deposited in the house of *Obededom*, the son of *Jeduthun*\*, surnamed the *Gilbite*, probably, because he was a native of *Gath-rimmon*, a city allotted to the tribe of *Levi*†, where it continued about three months. *David* finding, soon after, that God had blessed that *Levite* in an extraordinary manner, ever since the ark had been under his roof, and being desirous to procure a share of those divine blessings, caused it to be brought to his own house. However, he took care to have it performed in a more regular manner, by preparing a sumptuous tabernacle for it, by assembling the priests, and causing them to bear it according to God's command, by offering sacrifices at every six paces (Y), and by shewing an uncommon joy upon that solemn occasion. For he put on a linen ephod, and danced before the ark at the sound of a great number of instruments, infomuch that *Michal*, who saw the procession through a window, could not forbear despising and reflecting upon him, for acting, as she thought, so far beneath a king of *Israel*. As soon as the ark was deposited in the tabernacle, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace-offerings; and, having feasted the great concourse of people who came to the city, he dismissed them to their own homes‡.

His zeal.

\* 1 Chron. xvi.

† See Josh. xxi. 24, 25.

‡ 2 Sam. vi. p. tot.

(W) Though we have followed our version, it seems to us more probable, that the word נָחֹן *Nachon*, or *Nakon*, is rather a participle than a proper name, and signifies ready fitted, or proper, because we find that *David* stopped at proper distances to offer sacrifices; and this seems to be one of them; and perhaps also it might be either the killing of the victims, or something relating to those sacrifices, that made the oxen to start. There was, moreover, a very great irregularity in placing the ark upon a cart; which, according to the law of *Moses*, ought to have been carried by the priests upon their shoulders. This accident, therefore, made him so sensible of his error, that the author of the book of the *Chronicles* observes, that he acknowledged it to the priests at the next removal of the ark, and caused them to bear it upon their shoulders to his house (10).

(X) This sudden and severe punishment upon *Uzzab* for his indiscreet zeal, which *David* himself could not forbear being much surprised and displeased at (11), has given so much offence to some interpreters, that they have sought for a quite different sense of the words, in order to make his crime greater than is commonly apprehended. It is true, that the original runs literally thus, and *Uzzab* *sent and seized the ark, for the cattle flock*. From which they would conclude, that he rather offered some indignity to it, than endeavoured to prevent its falling. But, besides that this is contrary to all the ancient versions, and to the book of the *Chronicles*, where this fact is more clearly related, it is certain, that, if that had been the case, *David* would have expressed his resentment against him, and not against God for punishing him. *Uzzab*, being a *Levite*, ought to have remembered, that it was

forbid, under pain of death (12), to any but to the priests, to touch the ark; and even these were only to touch the staves by which it was carried, which for that reason were never to be taken from it. It may also be, that *Uzzab* was the contriver of this new way of carrying the ark upon a cart, instead of the priests shoulders. However, if his punishment should still seem too severe, one may suppose, that God suffered it to be so, in order to inspire the people with a greater respect and awe for that sacred symbol of his presence, than they were naturally inclined to.

(Y) This we take to be the meaning of the text here (13), though it only says, that, when the bearers had proceeded six steps, he offered a bullock, &c. But some think that, *Uzzab* having been struck dead within six yards of his own house, *David* caused these sacrifices to be made at the first six steps of the priests, to intreat the Lord to be more favourable this time (14). But we find in the *Chronicles*\*, that they repeated the same sacrifices when they came near *David's* house, in thankfulness that God had helped the *Levites* to bring the ark to the place appointed for it, without any accident.

It may be wondered at, that *David* chose to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, instead of leading for that which *Moses* had caused to be made in the wilderness. It may be indeed reasonably supposed, that the precincture of his palace was not capacious enough for the latter, and this probably is the reason why it continued still, with the altar and all its other sacred utensils, at *Gibron*, till *Solomon*, having built his temple, caused them to be brought and deposited in it, as we shall see in its proper place†.

(10) 1 Chron. xv. 11. & seq. (11) 2 Sam. 6. 2 Sam. vi. ver. 13. (14) Vide MURNET. in loc. hamikdash.

(12) Vide Num. iv. pass. & ver. 15. (13) \* 1 Chron. xv. 26. † Vide Maimon. Hil.

- a THE ark being thus fixed in this new repository, the next care was to appoint the classes of priests and *Levites* to officiate before it, according to their several functions. He also chose a number of singers, and players upon musical instruments, to celebrate the praises of God in their turns, to set such psalms and hymns as he, or any other inspired person, composed, in order to have them sung upon festivals and other solemn occasions. The author of the *Chronicles* has preserved us one of them, in words at length, which that monarch composed as an eucharistical canticle, and delivered to the musicians, to be sung upon the removal of the ark to his house<sup>a</sup>; and which may be justly esteemed one of the sublimest pieces of poetry extant, whether for its elegance, or for the strain of piety and gratitude that runs through the whole.

- b Soon after this, he sent for the prophet *Nathan*, to consult with him about the building of a temple to the Lord, telling him, that he could not, with any ease, dwell in a sumptuous palace, whilst the ark was only under a tabernacle. The prophet applauded his pious design, not doubting but God would ratify and prosper it; but God, who appeared to him that night, directed him to go to the king, and to tell him, that, though his intentions were highly acceptable to him, yet, forasmuch as he had so often defiled his hands with blood, he did not think him a proper person for such a work, but that he would raise him up a son and successor (Z), whose reign he would bless with a profound peace, and him with extraordinary wisdom, affluence, and prosperity, and that he should build him a temple. He added, that it was upon him that he would settle the throne of *Israel* unto the end, and prosper him and his successors, in proportion to their obedience to him; and that even the most stubborn disobedience should not bring upon them a total dereliction, but only such fatherly chastisements as might bring them to a filial repentance. *David*, full of the sense of all these gracious promises, went and prostrated himself before the Lord, and, in the humblest and most pathetick terms, acknowledged his extreme unworthiness of all these promised mercies, and his reliance on his omnipotent goodness for the fulfilling of them in his own good time<sup>b</sup>.

- d FROM that time, he applied part of his care in making preparations for that sumptuous building, and in laying up for it immense quantities of gold, silver, copper, precious stones, wood, and other materials. For in those successful wars which he had against the *Philistines*<sup>c</sup>, *Moabites*<sup>d</sup>, *Amalekites*<sup>e</sup>, the kings of *Zobab*, *Syria*<sup>f</sup>, and *Edom*<sup>g</sup>; of which the best account has been given in their several histories that could be got out of the sacred records; he got such a prodigious quantity of the richest spoil, part of which he never failed to dedicate to this design, that the wealth which he left his son at his death is almost beyond belief. His œconomy was not inferior to his success; he found that the keeping of a numerous army would either exhaust his treasury too much, or cause too great a share of his subjects lands to lie uncultivated; to prevent which, he appointed twelve bands, each of 24,000 men, with proper officers over them, to serve each their respective months in the year; after which, they were dismissed to their own private affairs during the other eleven months. He likewise appointed twelve expert persons over his finances (A), under *Ashmaveib* and *Adoram*; and judges in

<sup>a</sup> 1 Chron. xvi. pass. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. vii. pass. 1 Chron. xvii. pass. & alib. <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 357.  
<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 290. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 321. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 382. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 314. See 2 Sam. viii. pass.

(Z) From the words in the text, the seed or son that shall proceed out of thy bowels (15), the Jews infer, that the crown could devolve neither to *Amnon*, *Abshalom*, *Adonijah*, nor to any of those sons that were born before this promise (16); but as the future is often used for the perfect tense, according to the genius of the original, the argument is no way conclusive, unless we throw into the scale the objection which is urged against the father, being equally strong against those sons, who, being all warriors, had, no doubt, embued their hands in blood; from which *Solomon* was to be altogether

free. This exception is not indeed mentioned in the book of *Kings*, but we find it urged in the book of *Chronicles*, as an argument why God did not think *David* pure enough to erect so sacred an edifice to him (17).

(A) These are supposed to have been of two kinds, either such as were exacted from his subjects, or those that accrued from his own hereditary lands or conquered dominions. Each kind of tribute, whether paid in money, grain, or other produce, were collected by their particular officers (18).

(15) 2 Sam. vii. 12. (16) *Vid.* MURST. JUN. & al. in loc.

(17) 1 Chr. xxii. 8. xxviii. 3.

(18) Ibid. xxvii. 25, & seq. 2 Sam. xx. 24, & seq.

in every tribe, to administer justice to the people; besides those of his great a council, who had the affairs of the religion and state under their care; the former under the two high-priests, *Zadok* the son of *Abitub*, and *Abimelech* the son of *Abiatbar* (B); and the latter under proper officers, among which *Joab* was general of the army; *Jehoshaphat* was chief secretary, *Serajab* recorder, *Benajab* over the *Cherethites* and *Peletbites* (C); whilst some of the king's sons were set over all these officers b (D).

Gratitude to  
Jonathan's  
son.

BUT neither the cares of state, nor his uncommon prosperity, could make him forget his affectionate engagements to his late generous friend *Jonathan*. He sought out his only son *Mephibosheth*, who was lame of his feet, and under the care of one of *Saul's* servants named *Ziba*; he sent for him to court, and, after he b had shewed him all possible tokens of friendship and tenderness, he caused all the lands of his royal grandfather to be restored to him, commanding *Ziba* to improve them to the best advantage for his master, and appointed him a table in his own palace, and among his own sons; which bound that young prince to his interest to the day of his death c.

HIS gratitude to the king of the *Ammonites* did not meet with the same returns: *Nabash*, from whom *David* had received some signal favours, being dead, he sent a congratulatory embassy to *Hanun* his son, with offers of renewing their ancient friendship; but that weak prince, unjustly suspecting the ambassadors were come upon some baser design, treated them in a most shameful manner, and sent them away †. This affront, however, turned to *David's* advantage;

b See 1 Chron. xxvii. pass.

c 2 Sam. ix. pass.

† See before, p. 296. a. b.

(B) We have already taken notice that these two were, the one, namely, *Zadok*, of the eldest, and *Abimelech* of the youngest branch of *Aaron's* family, and that the high-priesthood had often shifted from the one to the other †; but that one of each branch should exercise the pontifical function, at the same time, is what is not to be met with either before or since. It is probable that *Saul*, after he had killed all the priests in *Nob*, except *Abiatbar* who fled to *David*, might set up *Zadok* to officiate in that dignity in *Israel*, as *Eleazar* did in *Judah*, and that, when *David* came to be king of all the twelve tribes, he did not think fit to deprive either of their office, but suffered them both to continue in it; but whether alternately or subordinately, whether the one at *Gibeon*, where the tabernacle stood, and the other at *Jerusalem*, where the ark was; or lastly, whether the one in the tribe of *Judah*, and the other over the other tribes, we will not venture to determine. Certain it is, that they are still mentioned together upon several other occasions (19) till the beginning of *Solomon's* reign, when *Zadok's* competitor was divested of his dignity, for having gone over to the party of *Adonijah* (20).

(C) It is not easy to guess who these were. The *Chaldee* paraphrast renders these words by archers and slingers; and the *Rabbies* understand by them, absurdly enough, some the *Urim* and *Thummim* and others the grand *Sanhedrin*, deriving the first word from *כרת* *Carth*, to break short, as if they had been *כרתים* *Carthim* men that broke their sentences short, or spoke succinctly and with authority, and the other from *פלא* *Phela*, wonderful (21); and, if we have no better helps, we may remain in the dark long enough. But we have already observed elsewhere, that the *Cherethites* were *Philistines* \*, and we shall now give some further proofs of it.

When the *Amalekites* had burnt *Ziklag*, and *David*, in pursuit of them, met with an *Egyptian*; that youth informed him that they had made an incursion into the south of the *Cherethites*, and so on (22); from which it is plain, that they must

have been either *Philistines*, or some people that dwelt among them, as the *Geshurites* did; unless we will suppose with *Tremellius*, that they were a colony of *Israelites* that took possession of that country, after the *Philistines* had been driven out of it, which we see no grounds for admitting. For we find the prophet *Ezekiel* joining the *Cherethites* and *Philistines* together, either as synonymous, or at least cohabiters, in these words, *Behold I will stretch out mine hand against the Philistines, and cut off the Cherethim, and destroy the remnant of the sea-coast* (23). Another prophet expresses himself much after the same manner, *Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, the nation of the Cherethites, the Lord is against you, O Canaan the land of the Philistines* (24). Thus far concerning the *Cherethites*.

As for the *Peletbites*, we meet with nothing concerning them, except their being joined with them in this place, and in some chapters after, where they are both mentioned as accompanying *David* when he fled from his son *Abshalom* (25). But whether these two people were captives of war, auxiliary troops, or a kind of life-guard, we will not venture to determine.

(D) The text says here, that they were *כוהנים* *Cobanim*, which properly signifies *Priests*, but which our version doth rightly render *Chief Rulers* and *Princes*, in the margin, according to a parallel text in the *Chronicles*, where they are said to have been *המלך ליהויה* *The chief about the king*. And it is plain that in several other places, particularly those quoted in the margin (26), the word is generally taken in that sense. Several learned *Jews* indeed, to extol the piety of *David*, understand by *Cobanim* here the disciples of the priests, from which they would infer, that that pious monarch caused his sons to be educated under them (27). If that were true, it is certain that some of them did not much credit their masters; but the text says nothing of it; on the contrary, the author of the first book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that *Jonathan*, *David's* uncle, a person of consummate wisdom, was the person who was intrusted with that important business (28).

† Vid. sup. p. 634. b. c. 5 (S). (19) Vid. int. al. 2 Sam. xv. 24, 29. xix. 11, 12. 2 Sam. alib. (20) 1 King. i. 7, 8. ii. 35, 2 Sam. alib. (21) Vid. MÜNST. in loc. \* Vid. sup. p. 344. (1). (22) 1 Sam. xxx. 14. (23) Ch. xxv. 16. (24) Zeph. ii. 5. (25) 2 Sam. xv. 18. (26) Gen. xli. 45. xlvii. 22. Exod. ii. 16, iii. 1. Job xii. 19. 2 Sam. alib. (27) Vid. MÜNST. in loc. (28) Ch. xxvii. 32.



- a advantage; *Joab* was sent to revenge it at the head of a powerful army, and that victorious general gained a compleat victory against the *Ammonites* and their confederates, and returned to *Jerusalem*. The *Syrians*, however, one of those confederates, came again the next year with a fresh army: *Shoback*, general of *Hadadazer*, or *Hadarezer*, king of *Syria Zobe*, who was at their head, came and incamped at *Helam*; but *David* made such speed over *Jordan* with a powerful army, and gave him such an overthrow, that they were glad to clap up a peace with him, and to become his tributaries. The *Ammonites* were likewise so weakened by these defeats, that they would have been glad to have remained quiet; but *David* was too exasperated and too successful against them, not to pursue his victory to the utmost, by sending *Joab* to invade their country, which that general did with that valour and severity, as reduced them to the lowest ebb †.

- WHILST *Joab* was taken up with the siege of the *Metropolis* of the unfortunate children of *Ammon*, a place of such strength that it held out two years against him; *David*, wholly relying on his valour and conduct, was solacing himself at home, and became unfortunately enamoured with a beautiful woman, whom he had, from his terrace, observed washing herself one evening in her garden. Upon enquiring who she was, he was informed that she was the daughter and wife of two of his bravest captains, *Eliam* and *Uriab* (E), who were then with *Joab* at the siege; but his passion proved too violent to admit of any check from reason or religion, or even of a delay. The fruit of their unlawful commerce was her sudden pregnancy, and the danger she was in, of being put to death for it, according to the law of *Moses*. The king bethought himself of an expedient to prevent the latter, by sending for her husband from the siege, under pretence indeed of informing himself how it was carried on, but in reality, in hopes of his spending a night or two with her; but whether *Uriab* had any suspicion of the wrong done to him, or whether, indeed, he thought it beneath the bravery of a captain to go and solace himself at home, whilst his general and fellow-soldiers were exposed to the fatigues of a siege; he made this last his excuse for not going home to his wife, and contented himself with lying at the gate of the palace, with the rest of the king's guard. The king, thus disappointed, resolved to try him a second time; he made him eat at his table, and, at supper, plied him so well with wine, that he did not doubt but he would, in that merry humour, have gone home to his wife; but *Uriab*, drunk as he was, spent that night also with the guards; and the king, who by this time could not but suspect, that he had some more private reason for absenting himself from home, resolved to sacrifice his life to that of his faithless wife. Accordingly, on the next morning, he dispatched him with a letter to *Joab*, wherein he ordered that general, who was the fittest person for such a bloody deed, to expose that brave officer to some imminent danger, and to leave him to the fury of the besieged; This was accordingly done; and *David*, having received the news of his death, sent and acquainted *Bath-Sheba* with it, who put herself in mourning for him, and was soon after sheltered from danger, by being married to the king †. We have seen, elsewhere, the success of this long siege, and the hard fate of the conquered *Ammonites* \*: all we need to add here is, that what is said there of their monarch's crown, that it weighed a talent of gold, that is, upwards of 113 pounds, is rather to be understood of its worth than its weight, that is, that the gold and precious stones, with which it was adorned, was equal in worth to a talent of gold (F) †.

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† 2 Sam. x. pass. See before, p. 296, & seq.  
 † 2 Sam. xii. 30.

\* 2 Sam. xi. pass. \* See before, p. 297. b. c.

(E) At least, we find one *Eliam* in the number of *David's* worthies, who was the son of *Ahitophel* (29), and is supposed to have been her father. If so, it is no wonder that consanguine politician did so easily join in the son's conspiracy, to revenge the affront done to his family by the father †. As for her husband, he is surnamed the *Hittite*, probably, because he is of that nation, and a proselyte to the *Jewish* religion, tho' some will have it, that he is so called, only because he was either born or had dwelt amongst them, or upon some warlike exploit he had

achieved against them (30). *Josephus* neither mentions this as a surname, or as that of his nation, but only says that he was *Joab's* armour-bearer (31).

(F) It were indeed absurd to understand it otherwise, for what man could bear such a weight, tho' we should even understand it of the common talent of 60 pounds, as *Kimchi* doth. Some *Jews*, and others, do indeed fancy, that it was only hung over the monarch's head, like the top of a canopy (32); but this is contrary to the plain meaning of the original, which did not want words to have expressed

(29) 2 Sam. xxii. 34. † 2 Sam. xv. 12, & seq. vid. & *Hæbr. Comment. in loc.* (30) Vide *BERUYER*.  
 MUNST. JUN. & al. (31) *Ant. l. 7. c. 7.* (32) Vide *MUNST. in loc.*



Nathan's parabolical speech to David.

IN the interim God, highly provoked with *David* for two such heinous crimes, made choice of the prophet *Nathan* to go and denounce his severe judgments against him, at the time when that monarch, insensible of his guilt, was hugging in his arms the fruit of his adultery. The prophet, who knew his generous and upright heart, in any case wherein this new and criminal passion was not concerned, accosted him with a parable of a wealthy man who had spared his own numerous flocks, and seized upon an only favourite lamb of a poor neighbour, to feast an hungry guest. He dressed his story with such aggravating circumstances, that the king in anger pronounced sentence of death against the person who had been guilty of such an unnatural violence. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, than *Nathan* made him sensible that he had pronounced it against himself, by telling him, with a prophetic boldness, that he was the guilty person, and much more guilty than that in the parable, in that he had not only defiled the bed of a faithful captain, but had murdered him by an enemy's sword, that he might take the adulterers into his bosom. He then recapitulated to him all the aggravations of his double crime; particularly his ingratitude to his divine protector and benefactor, and the occasion he had given to his enemies to blaspheme (G). He concluded with denouncing the effects of the divine resentment against him, that *Uriah's* murder would prove an endless source of bloodshed in his own posterity, and that his adultery, how private soever, should be expiated by the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by those of his own family, and in the face of the sun.

His repentance.

Solomon born.

THIS terrible sentence brought *David* to such a deep sense of his guilt, that his heart, too full of it, could only say *I have sinned against the Lord*; but the sincere remorse, with which it was uttered, obtained an immediate alleviation of the punishment. However, the unhappy son of *Bath-sheba* was doomed to death, and *David* tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him, by prayers and tears, by fasting, sackcloth, lying on the ground, and other marks of repentance. As for the other part of the sentence, which related to his wives, it was soon after fulfilled by his unnatural son *Abshalom*, as we shall see anon. The child being dead, according to the saying of the prophet, *David* comforted his new wife for the loss of it, soon after which she found herself pregnant, and he called the son that she then bore to him *Solomon*, a name significative of his future peaceful reign, to which *Nathan* added that of *Jedidiah*, or beloved of the Lord<sup>a</sup>, such as he proved indeed, at least during the former part of his glorious and successful reign.

Ammon's incest.

BUT it proved far otherwise with the remainder of that of his father, who, what hopes soever he might have conceived, from the birth and promised glory of this new son, and from his victory over the *Ammonites*, that his repentance had happily disarmed the divine anger; never ceased feeling some of the severest and most sensible strokes of it, to the last periods of his life: not indeed from his enemies without, from whom it doth not appear that he received the least molestation, but from those of his own family, even from his own children. *Ammon*, his eldest son, was scarcely eighteen years of age, when he layed the foundation of all the domestic troubles of his too indulgent father, by an unnatural incest with one of his own sisters. *David* had had two children by *Maacab*, the princess of *Gesbur*, *Abshalom*, and *Tamar*<sup>a</sup>, whose beauty became the unhappy cause of this unlawful passion. *Ammon* was observed to pine away secretly, ashamed to discover the cause

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xii. pass.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ch. xiii. 3.

expressed that circumstance, had it been fact. But we shall have occasion in the next note, to shew that the word מִשְׁכָּל *Miskal*, doth often signify the value, though properly and generally the weight, of a thing (33).

(G) This expression of the prophet inclines us to think, that *David* had not been able so to conceal his crime, but that it had taken wind among the neighbouring nations, who could not forbear reflecting upon the God of *Israel*, for favouring a monarch who could be guilty of such horrid crimes, as themselves, perhaps, were strangers to.

*David*, however, was so sensibly touched with his guilt, that he ceased not composing of psalms, full of the strongest expressions of humility and repentance. Some of them seem even to intimate, that God had smitten him with some very grievous and painful disease, as a punishment for his sin (34); but it is possible that they may be altogether allegorical and significative only of his excessive grief and remorse for it. Among his other penitential compositions, the 51<sup>st</sup> is supposed to have been writ immediately after *Nathan's* severe reproof.

(33) Vide BOCHART. HIEROZ. p. 1. LE SCENE & Essay on a new vers. pt. 2. Ch. ii. § 6. (34) Vide int. al. Ps. vi. 38. pass. lxxvii. 3, & seq. lxxxviii. pass. cii. 3, & seq. & alib. pass.

- a cause of his trouble, when a near relation, *Jonadab*, the son of *Shimeah*, *David's* brother, having pumped the fatal secret out, not only encouraged him, but furnished him with means to perpetrate the deed. According to his hellish advice, *Ammon*, pretending that his disease had now confined him to his bed, obtained an order from his father, that *Tamar* should come to him, and make him some kind of confectionary meat, to please his palled appetite; which that innocent princess readily complied with. She was scarcely entered with it into his bed-chamber before he, having previously sent all his attendants far enough, laid hold on her, and, in spite of all her prayers and remonstrances, ravished her. His lust thus satisfied, he conceived such a disgust against her, that, not being able to bear her presence any longer, and finding a just and modest reluctance in her to withdraw in that deplorable condition, his barbarity rose to such a height, that he violently caused her to be turned out of his house by some of his servants. Her grief and confusion were now become too great to suffer her to think how to avoid exposing herself; so that, forgetting every thing but her present misfortune, she only sought how to express her sense of it by the most lively tokens; by tearing her virgin robes, covering her head with dust, by walking with her arms over her head, and filling the air with her cries. In this manner she went to *Abfalom's* house, who being her brother, both by father and mother, was the properest person to procure her a redress, if any could be had. That prince, who was naturally haughty and revengeful, could not but feel the deepest resentment against so barbarous a violence; however, as the revenge he meditated against the ravisher was of too deep a nature to be presently executed, he contented himself with desiring his disconsolate sister to alleviate, or at least to conceal her grief, seeing it was a brother who was the cause of it; and to spend the remainder of her days in solitude with him; which she did accordingly; whilst he, young as he was, did so well conceal his resentment, that *Ammon* had not the least suspicion of it. When the news of this villainous action came to *David's* ears, he was exceedingly troubled at it, but that was all; *Ammon* was his eldest son, and he could not prevail upon himself to inflict any other punishment on him, than that of his displeasure.
- d THIS remissness did but add fuel to *Abfalom's* hatred; though he did not find a proper opportunity for his design till two years after; by which time *Ammon's* crime might be supposed to be forgot. The better to conceal his revenge, he invited his father and all his brothers to a sheep-shearing feast, which he was to make at *Baal-bazar*. He easily excused the king, who declined going, from a principle of œconomy, because he had only invited him out of formality, and to avoid suspicion; but he insisted, in particular, upon his brother *Ammon's* favouring him with his presence with the rest of his brethren, and easily obtained his consent. When they were come to the place, he received them with an air, which shewed nothing less than his murdering intention; but, as soon as he observed that wine
- e had raised their mirth to the desired pitch, he gave a signal to a number of his servants, whom he had appointed for the deed, and who immediately fell upon *Ammon* and stabbed him to death; whilst the rest of the king's sons expecting, perhaps, their turns would be next, made all possible haste to get to their mules, and rode away to *Jerusalem*. Before they could reach it, word had been brought to the king, that *Abfalom* had caused all his brethren to be assassinated. One may easily imagine how he received the dreadful news; he rent his cloaths, cast himself down upon the ground, and abandoned himself to the most violent expressions of grief. The servants that were about him endeavoured to bear a part in this tragic scene, and stood round him with their cloaths rent. *Jonadab* only, the infamous instrument of *Ammon's* incest, did rightly guess, that he alone had proved the victim of *Abfalom's* revenge. He acquainted the king with his thoughts, which were soon after confirmed by the arrival of the rest of the young princes, who, with tears in their eyes, told him all that had happened. It was a melancholy meeting on all hands; the king mourned for some time the loss of his eldest son, whilst his murderer, not expecting the same remissness from him, went and sheltered himself under the protection of his grandfather, the king of *Geshur*, where he continued three whole years.

*Ammon murdered by Abfalom.*

Joab's stratagem to have Absalom recalled.

By that time, *Joab* observing that the king expressed less grief for his dead son, than uneasiness for his absent one, did reasonably conclude, that, if he could work upon him to recal him by any stratagem that could but save his honour, it would be an acceptable service to them both. To compass this, he instructed a notable woman, whom he had sent for from *Tekoab*, a place not far from *Jerusalem*, to address herself to the king under the personage of a distressed widow, just on the brink of being bereaved of the only son she had left, who was in danger of being put to death for having killed his brother in a fray, by which there would be a signal end of her husband's name and family. The story bore indeed no parallel with that of *Absalom*; perhaps, the politick *Joab* had contrived it so, to prevent the king's suspecting it to be a designed thing. However, she told it with such pathetick expressions of grief, that *David*, moved with compassion, gave her his royal word, that her surviving son should be sheltered from all future prosecution. He had scarce bound it with an oath, when, according to her instructions, she took the liberty, though in the humblest terms, to represent to him the wrong he did himself, by suffering his son to continue longer in his banishment, seeing that could by no means recal the dead, whose life, once gone, was like water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gathered up again. The king, who by this time perceived the woman's drift, failed not to conclude, that *Joab* was at the bottom of it; he taxed the woman with it, and she, in the modestest terms, acknowledged it, adding, that the king was as an angel of God, from whom it was impossible to conceal any thing. *Joab*, who was present all this while, took this opportunity of falling prostrate before him, seemingly to beg pardon for his stratagem, but really to lay hold on his promise in favour of *Absalom*; and *David*, as willing to grant, as he was to ask, did immediately order him to be fetched from his banishment, but with this condition, that he should not approach the king's person, but retire to his own house; which was complied with accordingly, for he did not see the king for two whole years after his return (H). But being tired at length with living so long in disgrace, and having sent in vain for *Joab*, once and again, to come to him, he found no other way of bringing him, but causing some of his adjacent corn to be set on fire. *Joab* soon came to him at the news of this unexpected treatment; and, after some passionate expostulations on both sides, it was agreed, that the king should be applied to in favour of his son, which was soon after successfully done by that politic general.

Absalom reconciled to his father.

THIS reconciliation could not but convince *Absalom* of his father's extraordinary fondness for him; but that ungrateful prince sought only how to make the most unnatural advantage of it. He immediately procured a sumptuous equipage of chariots, horses, and running-footmen, to attract the eyes of the people; and by an affected popularity, and seeming compassion for those who came to the king for justice, and the difficulty of obtaining it from him, it was not long before he gained also their hearts, and persuaded them, that they would be much happier under

<sup>a</sup> Ch. xiv. p. tot.

(H) The text doth here take notice of his excessive and insinuating beauty, which did so captivate the hearts of the people to him, that it inspired him with the first sentiments of his unnatural rebellion.

One circumstance it mentions, relating to the yearly polling of his hair; which, taken in a literal sense, will appear incredible, it being said to have amounted to 200 shekels after the king's weight, that is, at least, to three pounds two ounces; but to double that weight, according to some, who make the king's *shekel* to have been equal to that of the sanctuary, that is, to half an ounce *avertu-pois*. Such a monstrous quantity of hair, were any head able to bear the weight of it, would rather disfigure, than be an ornament to it; we think it therefore more probable, that the word, שֵׁשֶׁל *Shakal*, is here to be understood of the value, and not of

the weight of it; that is, that it was worth 200 *shekels*, whether half or quarters of ounces of silver. Not that we will suppose that *Absalom* sold them, though even that is not impossible (35), but that, whether he gave it to his servants, as a perquisite, or to some favourite woman, it was reckoned worth that sum. Some Jewish doctors do tell us, that his hair, being exceeding long and fair, was in great request among the great women in *Jerusalem*, to adorn their heads with (36).

There is another difficulty in this place (37), where mention is made of *Absalom's* three sons, and of one daughter, named *Thamar*; whereas it is said, in another place (38), that he reared up a pillar in the king's dale, to perpetuate his name, because he had no male issue. All that can be supposed is, that they died in that short interval, though no mention is made of their death.

[35] *Vid. Le Scène. & Eff. on a new vers. pt. ii. ct. 2. § 7. xiv. 27.* (36) *Ibid. cb. xviii. 18.*

[36] *Id. ibid.*

[37] 2 *Sam.*

- a under his government. This he continued doing some years (I), after which, <sup>And rebels</sup> finding himself strong enough to break out into an open rebellion, and being <sup>against him.</sup> perhaps afraid lest his artifices should at length give the king some suspicion of his perfidious design, he obtained leave of his too easy father, to go and perform a pretended vow in *Hebron*, where he had appointed the chief of his party to meet him; whilst others, who were dispersed through the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king, as soon as they heard the signal given by the sound of the trumpet. He took, among others, 200 men from *Jerusalem*, who, being altogether ignorant of his design, served only to conceal it the more. At his coming to *Hebron*, he sent for *Ahitophel* (K) from *Giloh*, his native place; and the defection b of that great politician, who had been one of *David's* chief counsellors, did not contribute a little to increase the number of conspirators. *David* was then at *Jerusalem*, when news were brought to him of his son's rebellion; and being afraid either of being surprised in it, or of being the cause, perhaps, of its inhabitants being put to the sword, he left his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, and made what haste he could out of the city. As soon as he came to the next convenient place, he made a halt, to take, a melancholy view of the handful of men which followed him; and, having observed the *Gherethites* and *Pelethites* to be of that number, whom we before observed to have been strangers, he addressed himself to *Ittai*, who was probably their commander, and told him, that he did not expect c that they, who were so lately come into his service, should share in his adverse fortune, and advised him to return home with his men, since it was not in his power now to reward their fidelity. But that brave officer answered him with an oath, that he would never forsake him, whatever might be the success of his affairs, as long as he was able to draw a sword in his defence. The king, who could not but admire so faithful a zeal in a stranger, desired him to pass before him over the brook *Kidron*, whilst the rest of his followers, and the people that came to see this sorrowful sight, shed plenty of tears, to see the distress into which their monarch was driven by his unnatural son.

- Among those that followed the king, were the high-priests, *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, d at the head of a number of *Levites*, who had brought the ark of God with them. *David*, however, did not think fit that they should follow him, but commanded them to bear the ark back to *Jerusalem*, whence they might send him intelligence of all that passed there, by their two sons *Abimas* and *Jonathan*, and assist him with their counsel, as they were seers; that is, as they had the gift of prophecy; whilst he went and concealed himself in some of the plains of the wilderness, resolved to submit to whatever God should decree concerning him. As soon as the priests were departed, *David* received the melancholy news, that *Ahitophel* was gone over to his son; upon which, he prayed earnestly to God, to confound whatever counsel that old statesman should give to the conspirators; and went up e soon after, he and his small troop, the ascent of mount *Olivet*, accompanied by his wives and children, and some people that followed him from *Jerusalem*. The march was mournful beyond expression; the king, bathed in tears, went up with his head covered, and his feet bare (L), whilst his sorrowful retinue expressed their deep concern for him, by the liveliest expressions of real grief. When they were come to the top of it, and had offered up their prayers to God, providence sent him an old friend named *Hushai*, who came with his cloaths rent, and ashes upon his head, resolved to share in his misfortunes. *David*, though satisfied of his fidelity, did not think fit, however, to take him into his retinue, but rather begged of him to join himself to that of his rebellious son, where he might do him

(I) The text says forty years (39), but the learned *Usher* has shewed, that it can be only meant from *David's* being first anointed by *Samuel*, and not from his reconciliation to *Abshalom*; for this rebellion happened about four years after it (40). That prelate observes, that it was before or about *Whitsuntide*, by the new fruits and parched corn, which *Barzillai* brought to *David* in his flight (41).

We may likewise observe here, that *Abshalom* is the first who introduced the use of horses in *Israel*; till then the kings used to ride on mules, and the

greatest nobles upon asses, as we have seen in the history of the judges.

(K) We have taken notice, in a late note, of the supposed reason of his defection, namely, his near relation to *Bathsheba*, and his resentment for the injury done to her by *David*, which he did not think sufficiently recompensed by his marrying her (42).

(L) This we have shewed elsewhere was a token of the deepest mourning, and in this guise they used to accompany their nearest relations to the grave (43).

(39) 2 Sam. xvi. 7. (40) Ann. p. 37. (41) Ch. xviii. 28. (42) See not. E. (43) *Id. sup.* p. 696.

Year of the  
Flood, 1976.  
Year before  
CHRIST,  
1023.



him much greater service, by thwarting the counsels of *Ahitophel*, and by informing him, by means of the two high-priests, of every thing that was resolved among the rebels. *Hushai* readily accepted the office, and acquitted himself of it with such faithful zeal, that he proved one main instrument of their overthrow <sup>a</sup>.

IN the mean time, whilst the sorrowful monarch was on his march, *Ziba*, the treacherous servant of *Mephibosheth*, brought him some necessary refreshments; and, being asked where his master was, told him, that he was then at *Jerusalem*, where he expected to be shortly restored to the throne of *Israel*. An accident, that followed upon the heels of this false report, helped to convince *David* of *Mephibosheth's* ingratitude. He was scarce come as far as *Baburim*, a village not very far distant from that metropolis, when he was met by one of *Saul's* family, named *Shimei*, who had the boldness to throw volleys of stones at him, accompanied with the bitterest curses and imprecations, for being the author of *Saul's* misfortunes, notwithstanding *David* was, at that time, surrounded by his guards and all his friends. This unexpected indignity did so enrage some of his captains, that they offered to go and smite off his head; but *David* restrained them, by putting them in mind of his more unnatural son, who fought a tender father's life, whilst this *Benjaminite* expressed no more than a natural concern for *Saul's* house; adding that if his curses came from God, as he knew not but they did, patience and resignation would more effectually avert them, than such a bloody resentment. However, the thoughts of his having a double enemy now to strive against, and that *Mephibosheth* had caused a new revolt against him; touched him so to the quick, that he gave all his lands away to his faithless servant, which was all that the wretch fought for by this false accusation.

His advice to  
Absalom.

BY this time *Absalom* and *Ahitophel* were come to *Jerusalem*, that city not daring to make any resistance to that hitherto successful prince; and here it was that *Hushai* came to congratulate and offer his services to him. *Absalom*, who knew him to have been a very faithful friend to his father, expressed some surprise at first, at this unexpected change; but was answered by that politic gentleman, that he thought it high time to abandon the father's interest, when providence had so openly declared for the son, who was, moreover, invited to the crown by the universal acclamations of the people; so that he had now no more to do but to serve him with the same fidelity, that he had done his father. Such a soothing speech could not but please the proud young prince, who admitted him in the number of his counsellors, without the least suspicion; and reposed such confidence in him, that he soon after preferred his advice to that of *Ahitophel*, and lost thereby the fairest opportunity of securing the victory and his father's crown to himself. As soon as they were well settled in the king's palace, a council was called, in which *Ahitophel* advised the prince to rear up a pavilion on the top of the house, and to go and lie with his father's concubines in the face of the sun. This, as we observed before, being esteemed the greatest indignity that could be offered to a crowned head, that hellish politician told him, was the most effectual means to make his men fight desperately for him, because they would then look upon the breach as irreconcilable. It could not be expected that *Absalom*, who had already been guilty of fratricide, and of rebellion against his own father, should scruple to add adultery and incest to his other crimes: he readily complied with the advice, and thereby fulfilled one part of *Nathan's* prophecy against his adulterous father <sup>r</sup>.

His next coun-  
sel defeated by  
Hushai.

THE next thing which *Ahitophel* proposed to the rebellious prince was, that he might be sent at the head of 12,000 chosen men, to fall upon *David's* little army, whilst they were still weary with their flight; assuring him, that as soon as the king was taken off, which himself engaged to do, all the people would gladly come over to him as one man, and a quick end be put to the war. This counsel was approved both by *Absalom* and all the elders of *Israel*; but, as it was given in *Hushai's* absence, the prince resolved to have his advice upon it, and *Hushai* being informed of it, and wisely foreseeing, that, if it were followed, *David* must be inevitably lost, omitted nothing to dissuade him from it. He told the council, that *David* and his officers were men of too great valour and experience, to suffer themselves to be thus surprised: that, for aught he knew, they had fortified themselves by that time in some caverns, or among the rocks, whence they



a they would fall out, like a bear bereaved of her whelps, and fall upon them with such desperate fury, that it would be impossible for them to stand the shock: that if they should be unhappily beaten back in this first enterprise, the fame of *David's* value would quickly spread, and magnify his victory to such a degree, as would inject an universal terror into all their army, and give the exasperated king the fairest opportunity of quashing the conspiracy. For these reasons, he said, he thought it dangerous to undertake any thing against him, till *Abisalom* had wholly disheartened his men, by calling together all *Israel* from *Dan* to *Beerseba*, and pouring his troops so thick upon them, that neither means nor hopes might be left to escape. Thus, added he, if they be hid among the rocks, we shall easily

b hunt or starve them out; and if they be retired into some strong city, our army will be able to pull it and them with ropes into the next river, till there is neither man nor stone left to oppose us. This swollen and affected speech could hardly have failed being suspected, had not providence suffered both the young prince and the council to be blinded with it. *Abisalom* was the only person who perceived the drift and consequence of it; so that, vexed at the heart to see *Hushai's* advice preferred to his own, and that *David*, by gaining so much time, would in all probability recover his kingdom, ordered his ass to be saddled, and rode away with all speed to his house, where, having settled his family affairs in the best manner he could, he went and hanged himself (M).

*He goes and hangs himself.*

c *Hushai*, in the mean time, failed not to inform the high-priests with what had past, and of the danger the king and his men would be in, if they did not cross the *Jordan* that very night. These immediately dispatched a maid-servant to their sons, *Abimaz* and *Jonatban*, who lay concealed for that purpose at *En Rogel*, with orders, that they should go immediately and inform *David* of it. At this time the avenues of *Jerusalem* were so narrowly watched that they were observed by a youth, who gave immediate notice of it to *Abisalom*. It was not long, before they were closely pursued, and forced to hide themselves at *Baburim*, where a kind woman concealed them in a well, by spreading a cloth over it with some pounded corn, as if she had been drying it in the sun. The messengers having lost scent

d of them, returned to *Jerusalem*, whilst the two young priests hastened to *David's* camp, where they informed him of all that had been transacted at *Abisalom's* court. *David* lost no time, but crossed the *Jordan*, with his little army, in the dead of the night, and on the next morning, when he came to *Mabanaïm*, and had taken a review of them, he found that they were all safely got thither with him. As soon as the news of his arrival had reached that neighbourhood, several of his friends came thither to him, with a timely supply of provision for himself and his men, with tents, couches, and other necessary utensils. Among these were *Sboba*, the son of *Nabab*, an *Ammonite*; *Macbir* of *Lodebar*, with whom young *Mephibosheth* had been brought up\*; and old *Barzillai* of *Rogelim*, a wealthy *Gileadite* (N).

e On the other hand, *Abisalom* hearing that his father was removed to this place, came against him with an army, under the command of *Amasa*, and incamped in the land of *Gilead*†.

*David goes over Jordan.*

*David*, having refreshed himself and his troops, and supplied the vacancy of those officers who were gone over to *Abisalom*, divided his army into three bodies, under the command of *Joab* and his two brothers, resolving to appear in person against his rebellious son; but the people strenuously opposed it, alledging, that his life was of too great a consequence, to be hazarded at a time, when his enemy would prefer his single death before the defeat of his whole army. The king acquiesced to them, and stayed at *Mabanaïm* with a small reinforcement; and whilst

\* See Chap. ix. 4.

† xvii. per tot.

(M) The text adds, that he was buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors; for the only difference which the *Jews* made between those that died a natural or a violent death, was, that the latter, whether they died by their own hands, or by that of justice, were not buried till some time after sunset (44), and in a place a-part †.

(N) These provisions were wheat, barley, flour, parched corn, several sorts of pulse, honey, butter, cheese, with some small cattle. There might be also several other sorts, though not mentioned in the text, such as bread, wine, dried raisins, and figs, and some others, which, we read, were brought to *David* at other times, by *Abigail* and *Ziba* (45).

(44) Vid. JOSEPH. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 14. & sup. p. 698. c.  
(45) 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

† Vid. sup. p. 673, & seq.



whilst the rest of his men marched out before him, under their respective officers, <sup>a</sup> he failed not to give them a strict charge to be very tender of *Abfalom's* life. A fierce battle was soon after fought in the forest of *Ephraim*, wherein the rebel army was discomfited with the loss of 20,000 men, who were killed on the spot, besides a great number of others, who perished in the wood, and in their flight: *Abfalom* himself, mounted upon a mule, was forced to fly from a party of *David's* men towards the wood, where the bough of a thick oak, having taken hold of his bushy hair, the mule running with full speed, left him suspended between heaven and earth. *Joab* being informed of this accident, by a soldier, stayed only to reprove him for not having dispatched him, and went himself to the place, and run three darts through his body; after which, he caused the trumpet to <sup>b</sup> sound a retreat, to prevent a further effusion of blood. *Abfalom's* body was taken down, and flung into a large pit, and covered with a heap of stones; and the rest of the rebels were no sooner informed of his death, than they fled every man to his home. All this while the king stayed at the gate of *Mahanaim*, impatient to hear the success of the action; but in his heart, more solicitous for the life of his unnatural son, than for that of his friends, or even for his own; inasmuch, that when he received the news of his death, not able to suppress his tears, he was forced to withdraw himself to the apartment over the gate, to hide his extreme weakness, and give a full vent to his grief<sup>c</sup>.

*Abfalom hung  
by his hair,  
and killed by  
Joab.*

*David's un-  
timely grief  
for him*

THIS untimely sorrow of the king did so damp the joy of his whole army, <sup>c</sup> that they retired into the city, more like cowardly runaways, than like victorious soldiers. *Joab* easily foresaw the consequence of it, and that it was like to cause a general defection; and as he was naturally bold and haughty, he made no difficulty to go up and upbraid him with his ingratitude to his faithful friends in such insolent terms, though covered with a shew of loyalty and concern, that the afflicted king was forced to suspend, or at least conceal his grief, and shew himself to the people with a seeming cheerful countenance. As soon as they heard of his appearing publicly at the gate of the city, not only his own men, but even those who had followed *Abfalom*, came in crowds, and strove who should shew the greatest affection to him. They now called to mind that he had often <sup>d</sup> delivered them from the oppression of their enemies: that *Abfalom* being dead, and *David* victorious, they had nothing now to do but to regain his favour by a timely submission. As soon, therefore, as the king perceived that all the tribes were ready to bring him back to *Jerusalem*, he sent word to the two high-priests, to hasten the elders of *Judah* to come and accompany him back to his palace, and to promise to *Amasa*, *Abfalom's* general, that if he would come over to him, he should be his chief general in the room of *Joab* (O). Among those that came over *Jordan* to meet the king, *Shimei* was one of the first; he came at the head of a thousand men of his own tribe, and falling prostrate at his feet, acknowledged his crime, begged that it might be forgiven, in consideration of <sup>e</sup> his being foremost of all the tribes, to congratulate him upon his late victory. *David's* generals did indeed think it a poor recompence for his late indignity to his prince, and were urgent to have him made an example to all *Israel*; but the king, willing to signalize, as it were, his new reign by an unparalleled clemency, did not only reprove their untimely zeal, but generously confirmed his pardon with an oath.

*Shimei for-  
given.*

*Mephibosheth* came next, to express his joy at the king's return, and to justify himself from the base aspersions of his treacherous servant. He gave him indeed some evident proofs both of his steady gratitude and fidelity, and of *Ziba's* per-  
fidy;

<sup>a</sup> Chap. xviii. per sec.

(O) It appears by this, that *David* had conceived an aversion for *Joab*; he had indeed done enough to deserve it, by his insupportable insolence, by his treacherous murder of *Abner*, but more particularly for having dared to kill *Abfalom* contrary to his express orders, whom he ought to have brought alive to his father, and left it to him to have punished his rebellion as he thought fit. On the other hand, *Amasa* was a considerable person, the son of *David's* sister (46), whom, either the fear of the king's resentment, or a desire of keeping up his post of

general, might easily induce to raise some new troubles in favour of *Saul's* house. Upon these accounts, *David* thought it worth his while to bring him over to his interest by a generous pardon, and by giving him the command of his army, which would, at the same time, effectually suppress *Joab's* insolence. But this last, who stuck at no base action to rid himself of a rival, did soon after break all the king's measures, by the murder of his new-made general.

a fidy; so that the king seemed outwardly to be satisfied with them; but whether he was not really so, or that he cared not wholly to reverse the grant he had made to that traitor, he ordered the lands to be divided between his master and him. Whilst the king was getting ready to pass over *Jordan*, his old friend *Barzillai* came to accompany him over that river, and to take his last farewell of him. *David* would fain have persuaded him to have gone with him to *Jerusalem*, that he might have an opportunity of rewarding his services; but the good old man excused himself from it on account of his age, which had rendered him incapable of tasting the pleasures of a court; desiring him, that he would bestow his favours on his son *Chimham*, who was ready to accompany him thither; which  
b was readily granted.

HITHERTO there had appeared nothing but an universal emulation between the tribes, to wipe off the guilt of their late defection, by the plainest tokens of submission and zeal; but the partiality which *David* shewed for his own tribe, in inviting it to come foremost to receive him, raised such jealousy in the other ten, as seemed to threaten nothing less than a new revolt. The ten tribes, on the one hand, thinking themselves injured that that of *Judab* was preferred to theirs, in guarding the king homewards, complained in the bitterest terms, that they had stolen him from them, with a design to deprive the rest of their interest in him. *Judab*, on the other side, alledged, that their near relation to him intitled them  
c to that preference; which, however, they had made no other advantage of than that of being nearest to his person, without receiving, or, indeed, expecting any gratuity from him. To this the others answered, that *David*, as a king, being equally related to them all, their share in him bore a ten-fold proportion to theirs, for which reason they ought to have been the first invited, and the nearest to him\*. The contest grew so fierce at last, through the obstinacy of the tribe of *Judab*, that *Sheba*, a factious fellow of the tribe of *Benjamin*, took that opportunity to blow the trumpet, and to gather all the malecontents to him, who immediately disclaimed all further interest in *David*, and bid open defiance to those that adhered to him; upon which, he saw himself at the head of all the ten tribes, that  
d alone of *Judab*, which had occasioned this defection, following their king from *Jordan* to *Jerusalem*. A new revolt against David.

As soon as *David* was come to his metropolis, he ordered his new general to set out, and gather what forces he could out of *Judab*, and to come to him within three days, whilst himself took that time to clear his palace of his polluted concubines, and assigned them a suitable maintenance and another house, where they might spend their days in a kind of widowhood. But *Amasa*, who met with greater difficulty than he expected, having outstayed his time, the king gave the command of his guards, and of those few troops he had about him, to *Abishai*, *Joab's* brother, another of his generals, who had commanded one third of his  
e army against *Abshalom*, and ordered him to pursue *Sheba* before he could get into some fenced city. It is plain by this, that *Joab* was then in high disgrace; but that did not hinder his going along with *Abishai*, though not as a commander, and by that time they were come to the great stone of *Gibeon*, *Amasa* joined them with his troops. Here the treacherous *Joab* came forth, seemingly to welcome him, and taking hold of his chin with one hand, as if he had intended to kiss him, ran his sword through his bowels with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. As soon as he had removed his body out of sight, which he found did cause a general stop of his army; he marched with them directly to *Abel Beth Maachab*, into which he heard the rebel had retired with some troops. He had  
f scarce began to besiege that place in form, when a prudent woman spake to him from the top of the wall, and desired him to listen to the advice of an inhabitress of a place, which he might remember had been always famed for council and wisdom\*, and to forbear his hostilities against a mother-city of *Israel*; promising him, upon that condition, that the head of *Sheba* should be flung to him over the wall. *Joab* consented to the proposal, and as soon as he had received the arch-rebel's head, he raised the siege and returned to *Jerusalem*. This successful action, which quashed, as it were, a dangerous revolt in the birth, and restored an uni-  
versal peace to the kingdom, failed not to raise the credit of the disgraced general among all the tribes; insomuch that though he had undertook it without order,  
yet Quelled by Joab.

\* Chap. xix. per tot.

\* Ibid. xx. ver. 18, 19.

A famine in  
the land.

Year of the  
Flood, 1978.  
Year before  
Christ, 1021.



yet the king saw himself forced to express his approbation of it, by restoring him a to his former post, which he enjoyed till that monarch's death<sup>7</sup>.

Two years after this<sup>8</sup>, began a famine in the land, which lasted three years; at the end of which, *David* consulted the Lord concerning the cause of this heavy judgment, and the means of averting it. He was answered, that it was for the murder of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Saul* and his bloody house had unjustly caused to be slain (P); upon which, he sent to know what satisfaction they required for the wrong, that they might afterward intercede for *Israel*, and remove that judgment from it. The *Gibeonites* sent him word, that they desired neither gold, silver, nor any valuable consideration, but only that seven males of *Saul's* family might be sent to be put to death by them, as a retaliation for *Saul's* cruelty. The king b lost no time, but caused them to be sought out of that unfortunate house; but gave express orders, that *Mephibosheth* should be spared, out of gratitude to his father. The unhappy victims of the *Gibeonites* resentment were, two sons of one of *Saul's* concubines named *Rizpah*, who had been formerly debauched by *Abner*<sup>9</sup>, and five sons of *Michal*, *Saul's* daughter (Q); and as soon as they were put to death, the famine was stayed. Whilst their carcases were suffered to hang in the open air, which was almost a whole summer, *Rizpah* shewed so much concern for them, that she kept them night and day from being devoured by either fowls or wild beasts; which pious deed struck *David* with such remorse, that he caused them to be taken down, and buried with those of *Saul* and *Jonathan* in *Zelab*, the c burying-place of the house of *Kish*. After this, *David* had four successive battles with the *Philistines*, which the reader may see in the history of that nation †; in the first of these, he hazarded himself so far, that he was like to have been killed by one of their gigantic champions, but was timely succoured by one of his own worthies; for which reason, his officers swore, that he should never more expose his person to such dangers<sup>b</sup>. These victories gave birth to a most excellent eucharistical poem, which that monarch composed in memory of his late deliverance, and is now the xviii<sup>th</sup> psalm<sup>c</sup>.

David num-  
bers the people.

*David* had not long enjoyed the fruit of his victories, before he brought a heavier punishment upon his kingdom, by taking it into his head to have the people d numbered. *Joab* indeed, wicked as he was, did in vain represent to him the danger of his displeasing God by it (R). The king would be obeyed; and he, with the rest of the commissioners, were forced to set about it. These travelled through the land on either side *Jordan*, and at the end of nine months and twenty days, brought him the sum of all the fighting men in the whole kingdom; namely,

<sup>7</sup> Chap. xxi. per tot. before, p. 357. b.

<sup>8</sup> USSER. Ann. sub ann. mund. 2983, & 2986.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 7.

† See

<sup>b</sup> Ch. 21. per tot.

<sup>c</sup> Compare Ch. xxii. with Psal. xvii.

(P) It is not easy to say when this slaughter of the *Gibeonites* was committed; the *Jews* do, indeed, pretend, that *Saul* had took into his head, in one of his phrenetic fits of zeal, to cut them all off (47), but they give us no authority for it: It is therefore generally, and with great probability, believed to have happened when he slew all the priests and inhabitants of *Nob*. For the *Gibeonites*, as we have seen elsewhere †, were a kind of servants to them, employed in some of the lowest and most laborious offices.

(Q) Not that which had been given from *David* to *Phaltiel*, and was sent to him again by *Ishbosheth*; (for the text observes (49), that she was punished with barrenness) but another of the same name, married to one *Ariel* of *Meholab*; or rather, as the *Jews* affirm, and with greater probability, *Merab*, *Saul's* eldest daughter (50), who had indeed been given to that very *Ariel* (51); so that it is supposed that *Michal* is accidentally crept into the text, instead of *Merab*; tho' the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that, will have it, that *Merab* was their real mother, and *Michal* only by adoption (52).

(R) The text says, that the *Israelites* had provoked God's anger against them (which is no great wonder, that being generally the returns they made to him, whenever they were blessed with any interval of peace and prosperity); and that he suffered *David* to be tempted to this deed; or, as the author of the *Chronicles* (53) words it, suffered *Satan* to tempt him to it. Not that the thing itself was forbidden; on the contrary, they had an express permission from *Moses* for it, provided they paid half a shekel for every person so numbered (54). The reason, therefore, of God's being provoked with it, was, in all probability, because *David* did it from wrong motives, without any necessity, in time of profound peace, after so many miraculous deliverances, with a seeming confidence in his own strength, and contrary to his continual professions of trusting in God alone. As for that part of the punishment which fell so heavy upon so many thousands of the people, it is supposed to have been owing to their neglect of paying the above-mentioned ransom appointed by the *Mosaic* law (55).

(47) Vid. MUNT. in loc. sub not. a. † Vid. sup. p. 331. c. (49) 2 Sam. vi. ver. ult. (50) MUNT. ubi sup. (51) 1 Sam. xviii. 17, 19. (52) Chald. Paraph. Rabbin. mult. & al. (53) 1 Chron. xxi. 1. (54) Vid. Exod. xxx. 12, 13. (55) Ita Rabbin. vid. MUNT. NICKOL. & al. in loc. & in Exod. xxx.

a namely, of *Israel* 800,000, and of *Judab* 500,000 (S). But before this time, *David* having probably felt some evident tokens of the divine displeasure<sup>d</sup>, was so far from receiving any satisfaction at the vast number of his subjects, that he was struck with a lively sense of his folly, which broke out in expressions of the deepest remorse. On the next morning, the prophet *Gad* was sent to him, to chuse, as a punishment for his sin, either a seven years famine (T), or to be three months pursued by his enemies, or to suffer a three days pestilence. The humbled monarch owned it to be a hard choice; but, considering that war and famine seldom fall so heavy on the great, as on those of the lower rank, chose the three days pestilence, as the more equal punishment, and more immediately under the direction of heaven. No sooner had *David* made the dismal choice, than that dreadful distemper received the divine commission, and executed it with such amazing swiftness, that it had destroyed 70,000 men before its time was expired. It was now beginning to fall upon the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, when God was pleased to put a stop to it at *David's* prayer; who beholding the minister of divine vengeance (V) standing by the threshing-floor of *Araunab*, a prince of the *Jebusites* (W), humbly entreated the Lord, that he would spare the innocent people, and let his anger fall upon himself, and those of his court, who bore a share in his guilt. Whilst he was offering up this mournful supplication, the prophet came to him and commanded him to erect an altar on that spot of ground, where he had seen the destroying angel stand. *David* immediately hastened towards the threshing-floor, where *Araunab* came forward to give him a respectful meeting; and as soon as he understood that monarch's purpose of buying it of him, he made him a generous offer both of the floor, the threshing-oxen, carts, and all the wooden instruments that were upon it. *David* thanked him for the generous offer, but told him, that it did not become the king of *Israel* to offer sacrifices to God at other peoples cost; and desired him to set a price upon it. So *Araunab* sold him the floor, and all that was upon it, for fifty shekels of silver (X). *David* hastened

which brings a  
pestilence upon  
the land.

<sup>d</sup> See 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

(S) It appears by the book of *Chronicles* (56), that *Joab*, though in no other case scrupulous, went about this work with such an unwilling mind, that he prolonged it as much as he could, in hopes the king would see his error, and put an end to it; which it seems he did; for *Joab* came back before he had numbered the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Levi*. The account which that general gave here, doth likewise differ, in some particulars, from that of the *Chronicles*. Hence some infer, with no small probability, that *Joab* was not over exact in his; and and that it was afterwards rectified under the reign of *Jotham* (57). Others think the latter to be less authentic of the two, and to have been corrupted rather than rectified; but it is better to say, that *Joab*, not having finished some of the tribes, because he found that God was displeased at it (58), the rest were afterwards added to it; which is the reason that the number of *Israel* in the *Chronicles* doth so far exceed that in the book of *Samuel*; as for the difference in that of the tribe of *Judab*, the former may also be the most exact, and the latter only a round number.

(T) The book of *Chronicles* says three years famine (59); so that it is likely the prophet means here seven years, including the three years which were sent upon the account of the *Gibeonites*; and the next year, which could not be very fruitful through scarceness of seed, the *Philistine* war, and, as *Usher* conjectures (60), because the fourth year being a jubilee, there was to be neither sowing, nor reaping, but for the poor.

(V) The text says expressly, that *David* saw the angel of the Lord that smote the people (61), and

the book of *Chronicles* adds (62), that he saw him standing between heaven and earth, with his sword drawn, and that both he, and the elders of *Israel* who were with him, fell on their faces; and that *Araunab*, and his sons, who were threshing there, did likewise see him, and went and hid themselves (63); so that these two places compared together, will, by no means, admit of an allegorical sense.

(W) At least he is generally believed to have been such by *Jews* and *Christians*, from the words (64), *All these did Araunah the king give unto the king*; for that is the true sense of the original.

(X) The book of *Chronicles* seems again to clash strangely here with that of *Samuel*, in making the sum which *David* paid to the *Jebusite* prince, amount to 600 shekels of gold. Some rabbies have fancied, that every tribe paid fifty shekels, which made it amount to 600. But were that true, as it is not, because *David* resolved to be at all the charge himself, 600 shekels of silver would make but the 12th part of 600 shekels of gold, for that is pretty near the proportion those metals did bear to each other. Some learned men (65), observing that the words *keseph*, and *shekel*, do often signify money and value in general, think, that the first sum was sixty shekels of gold, and the second 600 shekels of silver, amounting in value to sixty shekels of gold; so that either sum answers to 547 pounds sterling (66). But we think that they remove the difficulty best, who suppose, that the sixty shekels of silver were paid only for the floor, oxen, and wooden instruments; and that the 600 shekels of gold were afterwards paid to him for the whole spot of ground which *David* had chosen to build the temple upon (67).

(56) 1 Chron. xxi. 6. (57) Conf. 2 Sam. xxix. 9. 1 Chron. v. 17. xxi. 5, 6. & xxvii. 24. (58) Ibid. (59) Ibid. ver. 12. Vid. MUNT. JUN. & al. in loc. (60) Ann. sub A. M. 2987. (61) 2 Sam. xxi. 17. (62) 1 Chron. xxi. 16. (63) Ibid. ver. 20. (64) 2 Sam. xxix. 23. (65) VIELALPAND. in Ezek. BOCHART. tom. i. lib. 1. c. 38. & al. (66) Vid. LE SCENE. & Essay on a new vers. pt. ii. c. 2. (67) MUNT. JUN. CALM. & al. in loc.

to rear an altar there upon the spot, and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon it; and a miraculous fire, which descended from heaven, and consumed the victims, soon gave them a manifest proof, that God was again reconciled to the land<sup>a</sup>.

Adonijah's  
conspiracy.

By this time *David*, who was about seventy years of age, had so exhausted his strength and natural heat, by a continual series of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no cloaths could keep him warm; so that his servants were forced to seek him a young beautiful virgin to wait upon and cherish him, and lie in his bosom. His declining state made *Adonijah*, who was now his eldest son, being next in birth to *Abshalom*, begin to look upon himself as already invested with the regal dignity. He got a sumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running-footmen; whilst *David*, out of a natural fondness for his children, beheld it without shewing any dislike. It plainly appears, that young prince had some suspicion that his father designed *Solomon* to be his successor; and it was to prevent it, that he made what haste he could to get himself proclaimed. For when first he leagued himself with *Joab* and *Abiathar*, and with them invited all his brothers, with a considerable number of his father's officers, and of the elders of *Judab*, to a sumptuous feast, which he had prepared at *Zoeleth*, in order to be proclaimed king of *Israel* there, *Solomon* was the only one of the royal family that was omitted.

Solomon pro-  
claimed.

His design being, therefore, suspected by *Nathan*, *Zadok*, and some of *David*'s worthies, who were in young *Solomon*'s interest; the prophet went and advised *Bathsheba* to go and inform the king of it, and to put him in mind of his promise in favour of her son. Whilst she was still speaking, *Nathan* came, as it had been pre-agreed, and gave the king an account of *Adonijah*'s feast, company, and of the design of it; desiring to know, whether it was done with his consent. The king, surprised with this report, ordered immediately *Solomon* to be set on his mule, and to be carried to *Gibon*, accompanied with his guards, with *Zadok*, *Benajah*, and some others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king; and then to be brought back, and seated upon the royal throne, and there proclaimed his successor by the sound of the trumpet.

THE king's commands were executed with such speed, that *Adonijah* and his company had not the least knowledge of it, till they were alarmed with the universal shouts of the people, who cried, *Long live king Solomon*. *Jonathab*, the son of *Abiathar*, came soon after to them, and gave them an account of the whole ceremony, assuring them, that it was all performed by the king's express order, who had testified an uncommon joy at seeing his favourite son seated upon his throne, before he left the world, whilst the air was filled with the acclamations of all the people. This unexpected news struck them with such amazement, that they all fled with the utmost speed; and *Adonijah* seeing himself forsaken, and exposed to the resentments of *David* and *Solomon*, went and took sanctuary at the horns of the altar. *Solomon* being informed of it, sent him word, that if he behaved himself for the future like an honest man, he would not hurt a hair of his head; but assured him, that his next disloyal attempt would certainly be punished with death. This message brought *Adonijah* upon his knees to the new king; after which, he was ordered to retire to his own house<sup>f</sup>.

David's speech  
to his officers.

*David* now finding himself near his end, assembled the heads of all the tribes, his generals, and chief officers, with the priests and *Levites*, and acquainted them with his former design to have built a magnificent repository for the ark of God, had not the prophet told him, that that work was reserved for *Solomon*'s peaceable reign. Notwithstanding which, he told them, he had made great preparations for it, and laid up immense quantities of gold, silver, copper, iron, and other materials (Y); all which, together with the plans and models of that edifice, the order and

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. per tot.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Kings i. pass.

(Y) The book of *Chronicles* says, that the gold, which was that of *Ophir*, amounted to 3000 talents; and the silver, which was of the purest sort, to 7000 talents; as to the baser metals, they are said to have been without number (68).

Dean *Prideaux* observes \* two things concerning

this immense quantity of gold which *David* dedicated to the service of the temple: the first is, that it was that of *Ophir*; from which he concludes, that he must have established a navigation in his time, without which it cannot be conceived how he could have heaped it to that degree; for as for that which



a and disposition of the several branches of the divine service, the courses of the priests and *Levites*, of the musicians, singers, and porters, the plan for establishing judges and courts of justice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations<sup>a</sup>, he now resigned up to him to be perfected and improved, as his wisdom should direct him. He desired them to assist him in so desirable a work, and that those who were inclined to contribute towards that building, should bring their free-will offerings into the treasury. He concluded with exhorting both his son, and the rest of the assembly, to continue steadfast in the service of God, seeing, that was the only condition upon which they must hope for happiness. This speech stirred up such a spirit of munificence in the rich men of *Israel*, that they b outvied one another in the richness of their presents towards the building of the temple; so that *David* had the pleasure to see an incredible quantity of gold, silver, copper, and other metals (Z), besides precious stones, marble, porphyry, and other rich materials, brought to him from all parts of the kingdom. The sight of so much wealth, brought in with such expedition and alacrity, did as it were revive the monarch's poetic muse, and made him break out into an eucharistical rapture, full of the deepest gratitude to God, and good wishes for the prosperity both of his son and of the kingdom, which were seconded with a hearty and universal amen, and accompanied with solemn sacrifices, and other tokens of joy. On the next day, the king ordered 1000 oxen, 1000 sheep, and c the same number of lambs, to be offered up, besides the daily sacrifices, and a proportionate quantity of meat and drink offerings, with which the whole company feasted all that day, with a magnificence worthy so great and good a monarch<sup>b</sup>. In this assembly *Solomon* was anointed a second time by *Zadok*, received the homage of all his brethren, and of all the chiefs of *Judah* and *Israel*, and was proclaimed king through all the tribes; *Zadok* was at the same time declared sole high-priest, for his strict adherence to *Solomon*<sup>c</sup>; and *Abiathar* reduced to the second rank, for his defection to *Adonijah*.

AFTER this, the king sent for his son to give his last instructions; and first of all he put him in mind, that all the gracious promises, which God had made to d him and his posterity, were only conditional, and depended wholly upon their obedience to his laws, so that they must expect their prosperity to rise and fall in proportion to their obedience. He then proceeded to recommend to him, the family of the good old *Barzillai*, and of those other friends who had stuck to him in his adverse fortune, and charged him to make them suitable returns for their fidelity to him. As for *Joab*, added he, thou knowest how many vile actions he has been guilty of towards me, and how treacherously he has imbrued his hands in the blood of two brave generals, *Abner* and *Amasa*, after I had taken them into my service and friendship. I was not then in a condition to punish him for it; but I need not tell thee what to do, thou knowest but too well, that he has for-

*David's last instructions to Solomon.*

<sup>a</sup> 1 Chron. from chap. xxiii. to xxix. pass.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. xxix. pass.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Kings ii. 1, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Chron. xxix. per tot.

he got out of the spoils of war, and his public revenue, it makes an article by itself, exclusive of these 3000 talents.

His next observation we shall give in his own words, as they stand in the note under the former. "This sum, says he, is so prodigious, as gives reason to think that the talents whereby this sum is reckoned, were another sort of talents, of a far less value than the *Mosaic* talents, of which an account is given in the preface. For what is said to be given by *David* [1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16. and xxix. 3, 4, 5.] and contributed by his princes [xxix. 6, 7, 8.] toward the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*, if valued by these talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred millions of our money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that temple of solid silver."

What seems to prove our author's last remarks, is, that those talents are only mentioned in the *Chronicles*, which were undoubtedly written after the re-

turn from the captivity. This appears, 1. From its mentioning of *Cyrus's* decree for rebuilding the temple; and 2. From its carrying the genealogy beyond *Zerobabel*, who was one of the chiefs that returned from *Babylon*; so that they might, by this time, have been used to compute either by *Babylonish* talents, which were but somewhat above half the value of the *Mosaic* one, or perhaps by the *Syrian*, which is but a fifth of this. We need not to add, that the difficulty seems as great, with respect to the prodigious quantities of silver, brass, and iron, which, if computed by the large talent, amount to such an incredible sum, that one will be at a loss to guess how it could be disposed of in that building, and yet leave room enough for so much timber and stone.

(Z) These offerings are said to have amounted to 5000 talents, and upwards, of gold; 10,000 talents of silver; of brass 18,000 talents; and 100,000 talents of iron; besides precious stones, marble, wood, and other costly materials (69).



His vast riches  
and burial.

Year of the  
Flood, 1984.  
Year before  
Christ, 1015.

Adonijah and  
Joab put to  
death.

forfeited his life, and on how many accounts he is unworthy of it. *Shimei* doth a not less deserve a violent death, for his horrid curses and indignity to me, when I laboured under the deepest affliction; but as he took an opportunity to acknowledge his crime, at a time when I thought it more proper to forgive than to punish it, I sealed then his pardon with an oath; but thou, who art not under the same obligation, mayest, if thou thinkest fit, inflict such a punishment as his crime deserves. The king died soon after, in the 70<sup>th</sup> year of his age, after having reigned seven years in *Hebron*, over the house of *Judab*, and thirty three over all the twelve tribes. He left an immense treasure behind him, besides that which he had dedicated to the service of the temple; and was buried in a stately tomb (A), in that part of the city, which he had caused to be built, adjoining b to the old *Jebus*, or *Jerusalem*\*. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that his history was penned by three cotemporary prophets, *Samuel*, *Natban*, and *Gad*<sup>1</sup>. His zeal, piety, and repentance are likewise celebrated in several places of the Old and New Testament; but that which raises his character above all the rest, is, that the promise of the Messiah, which had been made to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Judab*, was fixed to that monarch's posterity. Accordingly, the sacred genealogists have given us the two lines of it, in which his birth was joined, namely that of *Natban*, from whom his virgin mother was descended; and that of *Solomon*, from which was sprung *Joseph*, his reputed father<sup>m</sup>, as we shall further show in the second part of this history.

*Solomon* being seated on the throne, delayed not to fulfil his father's last injunctions. *Adonijah* obliged him to go the sooner about it, by an action, which, though owing perhaps to a youthful indiscretion, could not but render him suspected of some further design, in concert with the turbulent *Joab*. We have lately observed, that it was looked upon as a treasonable design against the regal dignity to marry, court, or to debauch any of the king's concubines †; notwithstanding which, *Adonijah*, obnoxious and disgraced as he was, for his late attempt upon the crown, was rash enough to make use of *Bathsheba's* intercession, to obtain the king's leave to marry *Abisag*, the young *Shunamitish* virgin, who had been the cherisher of *David's* old age; assuring her, that he desired no other recompense d for the loss of a crown, which belonged to him by right of primogeniture. *Bathsheba*, glad perhaps to find that her son's rival would be satisfied at so easy a rate, made no difficulty to promise him her interest, not doubting of success. *Solomon*, who expected nothing less than such a request from her, received her with all the marks of honour that were due to a queen and a mother, and had already promised to grant her suit; but when he heard the purport of it, he was so enraged at his ambitious brother, that he ordered him to be put to immediate death. *Joab* alarmed at the news, went and took sanctuary at the horns of the altar, where he met with the punishment of his crimes, and was succeeded in his post of general by *Benayab*, who had been before appointed his and *Adonijah's* e executioner. The next in guilt was *Abiathar*, who had been one of the chiefs of *Adonijah's* conspiracy; but the king contented himself with divesting him of his share

\* 1 Kings ii. 1, & seq.  
to 31.

<sup>1</sup> Ubi sup. ver. 29.

<sup>m</sup> Compare Matth. i. 1, & seq. and Luke iii. 23;

† See before, p. 774. a. (S).

(A) We have had occasion to speak heretofore of this stately tomb, and of the immense treasure that had been laid up in it by him and his successor, according to the *Jewish* historian †. The *Jews* have added many fables concerning that monarch, too extravagant to be inserted; the reader may guess at the rest, by that which follows. They tell us, that *David* foreseeing that he should die on the Sabbath, begged of God that he might die on any other day, because on that he could neither weep for his sins, nor order any thing concerning his burial. All he could obtain, was, that he should die towards the close of the Sabbath; whereupon the devil, who owed him a spite, and had tried part of that day, in vain, to divert him from reading the law, that he might take that time to dispatch him, bethought himself, at length, to go and shake some of his

apple-trees, which made the king hasten down a wooden ladder to go and catch the thief; but in the mean time, Satan pulling it from under him, broke his neck with the fall. The consequence was, that his corps was to remain there till the Sabbath was over, in danger of being devoured by his own dogs. They consulted their *Sanhedrim* what must be done in that case, and were answered, that they should strew a good quantity of bread round his body; which pleasing the dogs better than his flesh, they left it untouched till sun-set, when it was lawful to remove it to a safer place (70). The *Mohammedans* have not been behind-hand with the *Rabbies*, in stuffing his history with monstrous extravagances; the reader may, if he pleases, see them in the author quoted in the margin (71).

† *Vid. sup. p. 589. b. 698. c.* (70) *Vid. BARTOLOC. Biblot. Rabbin. BASNAG. Hist. Jud. & al.* (71) *HERBELOT. Biblot. Orient. sub voc. David.*

a share of the high-priesthood, and confining him to his own territories at *Anatboth*, in consideration of his having carried the ark before his father, and been a sharer in his afflictions. The king then sent for *Shimei*, and told him, that though he thought him worthy of death, yet, out of regard to his father's promise, he would put it in his power to save his life, by confining himself within the walls of *Jerusalem*; but he assured him, at the same time, that if ever he stirred out of it without his leave, his disobedience should cost him his head. The old man, glad to come off so well, thanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but venturing some years after to transgress his orders, and to ride out after two run-away servants, was put to death for it at his return<sup>a</sup>.

b *Solomon* did not think it enough, that he had rid himself of two such powerful enemies as *Alonijah* and *Joab*; he sought to strengthen himself still more, by marrying the daughter of the king of *Egypt* (B), who was then one of the most powerful princes about him, and *Pharaoh* gave her for dowry the city of *Gezer*, which he had taken from the *Canaanites*, and burnt down to the ground; but which being rebuilt by *Solomon*, became a very considerable place<sup>c</sup>.

HITHERTO the people used to resort to several high places, to offer up their devotions and sacrifices; but the most considerable was *Gibeon*, because the tabernacle, altar, and all the other sacred utensils, except the ark, were there. Whilst therefore the temple was building, *Solomon* used likewise to repair thither upon all solemn occasions, with a magnificence suitable to his dignity. Here, having at one time offered a thousand sacrifices, the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and promised to grant him whatever he should ask. The young monarch, conscious of the weight of his kingdom, and of the stubbornness of his subjects, begged only for such a degree of wisdom, as might enable him to govern with that prudence and sagacity, as became a king of *Israel*; which modest request was so pleasing to God, that he not only gave him such a share of wisdom and knowledge, as had never been possessed by any mortal, but superadded to it a promise of such other earthly blessings as he had so judiciously overlooked. It was not long, before he gave his people a proof of his excellent wisdom and discernment, in the method he

d took to pass a right judgment between two women, both contending for a living child, and disclaiming the dead one with such equal ardour, that it was thought impossible to adjudge the infants to their right mothers. But he soon found out an expedient to make nature itself unravel what reason could not, by ordering the living child to be divided by a sword between the contending mothers, which so alarmed the real one, that she chose rather to resign him up whole to her adversary, than to see him butchered before her eyes<sup>d</sup>. After this, the assembly could not be at a loss where to assign the living child, nor what judgment to make concerning their young monarch's wisdom, which was so much the more surprising and extraordinary, as he was then, at most, but twenty years of age, according to the chronology of our bibles, and the learned archbishop *Usher*†.

It became no less conspicuous in the choice he made of his officers, and in the order and magnificence of his court, the provisions for his house (C), the number and

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings ii. pass.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. ch. ix. 16.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ch. iii. per tot.    † Sub A. M. 2971 & 2991.

(B) These kind of alliances were indeed forbidden by the *Mosaic* law (72); wherefore the *Jews* affirm, that *Solomon* caused that princess to be instructed in, and to embrace the *Jewish* religion before he married her. Accordingly we do not find that God did reprove him for it in that intercourse which he had soon after with him, but on the contrary, seemed well pleased with what he had hitherto done. It is true, that he is said afterwards to have been inticed to idolatry by his strange wives (73); but they were those whom he married towards the latter end of his reign, after he had, as it were, forsaken God. But *Pharaoh's* daughter seems to be excepted out of the case, unless we will suppose, that she relapsed to her former idolatry, when she saw him immersed in it.

However that were, he is generally believed to have composed the *xlth Psalm*, if not also the book

of *Canticles*, as an epithalamium upon his marriage with that princess. As for her dowry, the city of *Gezer*, it had formerly belonged to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and had been given by them to the *Levites* (74); but had been retaken by the *Canaanites*, and now, by her means, returned and continued in *Israel*.

(C) These provisions are said to have amounted every day to thirty measures, [each measure containing about eight bushels and a half] of fine flour, double that quantity of common flour, ten fatted and twenty pasture oxen, and an hundred sheep; besides venison, poultry, wild-fowl, fish, pulse, fruit, herbs, and other eatables, which were sent to him from all parts of the kingdom, under the direction of twelve officers, who took their turns, each in his respective month, and out of his respective canton (75).

(72) *Deut. vii. 3.*    (73) 1 Kings xi. 1, & seq.    (74) *Ibid. Job. xxi. 21.*    (75) 1 Kings iv. 7, & seq.

and richness of his tables, chariots, horses, stalls (D) and equipage; in the settling of a his customs and finances (E), and the regulating of his guards and his army (F); which, added to the vast number and valour of his subjects, and his immense riches, gave him such a powerful sway, that he lived in the profoundest peace, plenty and grandeur of any prince of his time; beloved by his friends and allies, who were constantly pouring the richest presents upon him; feared by his enemies, receiving large tributes from several crowned heads (G), and resorted unto from all parts of the world, for his excellent wisdom and magnificence, which brought in a continual concourse of strangers to his metropolis, and enriched it to such a degree, that gold and silver seemed to have lost their intrinsic value, by their extraordinary abundance. The very revenue which his navy brought him in, exclusive of his customs abounded to six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold. All this while his *Israelitish* subjects enjoyed the sweets not only of peace and plenty, but also of an universal freedom, there being no other slaves, during his reign, except the poor *Canaanites*, and some captives of other nations<sup>1</sup>.

Hiram's embassy and treaty with Solomon.

Of all the princes that sought his friendship, *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, *David's* old friend and ally, was the first who sent ambassadors to congratulate his accession to the crown, and to offer his service to him, as he had formerly done to his father. *Solomon* returned the embassy, and acquainted him with his design of building the temple, desiring him to send a sufficient number of workmen to join with his artificers for the work; particularly, some that were well skilled in working in gold, silver, and other baser metals, precious stones, scarlet, crimson, and other fine dyes, all which was readily granted by the *Tyrian* king; in consideration of which, *Solomon* agreed to furnish him yearly with 20,000 measures of wheat, and 20,000 barrels of fine oil for his household, besides the same quantities of barley, wheat, wine and oil, which he engaged to give to his servants that were employed in the work. On the other side, *Hiram* was to send the cedars, fir, and other woods upon floats to *Joppa*, there to be delivered to *Solomon's* servants, to be thence brought to *Jerusalem*. He sent him also a man of his own name, a *Tyrian* by birth, who was a second *Bezaleel*, and was such an excellent workman in all kinds of metals, stones, carving, engraving, embroidery, tapestry, and in making all sorts of fine cloaths, that *Hiram* honoured him with the title of father. Him *Solomon* made overseer of all the artists, whom *David* had formerly procured out of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. An alliance soon followed between those two princes, which only ended with their lives (H)<sup>2</sup>.

To

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings iv. 20. & seq. 2 Chron. ix. pass.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

(D) There is a considerable difference in the number of his stalls, between the book of *Kings* and that of the *Chronicles*; the former reckons them forty thousand, and the latter but four thousand (76). This last is justly preferred to the former, as the most reasonable, because *Solomon* is said to have had but 1400 chariots (77); for if we allow four horses to a chariot, which is double the number that chariots of war were then used to have, it will make in all but 5600; at which rate, there must have been more than six stalls to one horse, contrary to common custom, which allows several horses to one stall (78). Some other authors take another way of reconciling the difference, to whom we shall refer our curious readers (79). These horses, whatever their number was, were to be furnished with barley, straw, and other provender, by the same twelve commissioners we mentioned in the last note (80).

(E) *Solomon* was the first that introduced the use of chariots and horses in *Israel*, at least to any quantity. These he sent for out of *Egypt*; not only for his own use, but for that of several neighbouring kings, whom he obliged to pay him six hundred shekels for every chariot and four horses; and a hundred and fifty for every single horse. He had likewise abundance of yarn, linen, and other commodities brought

to him out of *Egypt*, which he sold to his subjects and merchants at a certain price (81); all which produced an immense revenue, exclusive of his navy, of which we shall speak anon.

(F) What standing army he kept, the Scripture doth not tell us; but as he was in peace with all the world, and so much either loved or feared by his neighbours, he doth not seem to have needed a great one. Besides the number of his chariots and horses, mentioned in a former note, the text says that he had 12,000 horsemen (82), which some take to have been rather saddle-horses, and others his life-guard. But whatever they were, it is certain that such a multiplying of chariots and horses was expressly forbidden by the *Mosaic* law (83), whatever salvo he might find out to evade it, especially in a time of the profoundest peace. These he did not keep all at *Jerusalem*, but disposed of them in several of his strong cities, reserving only a convenient number about his person, either for guards or grandeur (84).

(G) The text says, that his dominion reached from the river *Euphrates*, or even beyond it, to the *Nile*, or borders of *Egypt*, and that all the kings of those countries were tributary to him (85).

(H) *Josephus* assures us, that the letters which passed between them, were still preserved in the archives

(76) *Conf.* 1 Kings iv. 26. & 2 Chron. ix. 25. (77) *Ibid.* i. 14. 1 Kings x. 26. (78) *Vid.* LUD. CAPEL. BOCHART. POOL. *Synops.* LE SCEN. *Essay on a new vers.* p. 2. ch. 7. (79) *Vid.* CALM. *Com. in* 1 Reg. iv. 25. MUNST. JUN. & al. *ibid.* (80) *Ibid.* ver. 27, 28. (81) 1 Kings x. 28, 29. (82) *Ibid.* ver. 26. (83) *Vid.* Deut. xvii. 16. (84) 1 Kings x. 26. (85) *Ibid.* iv. 24. 2 Chron. ix. 26.

- a To carry on this stupendous work with greater ease and speed, *Solomon* caused an account to be taken of all the *Canaanites*, and other foreign slaves, that were in the land, and it was found to amount to 153,600; 70,000 of whom he appointed to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and stone in the mountains, and the remaining 3600 he appointed to be overseers over them. Besides these strangers, over whom he appointed some of his chief officers, to oversee the work, he levied 50,000 men out of all *Israel*, whom he appointed to work in *Lebanus* one month in three, 10,000 every month, under the inspection of *Adoniram*; these were likewise employed in hewing of wood, marble, and other stone, which was afterwards wrought by the *Tyrian* masons and carvers, and thence conveyed to *Yoppa* by water<sup>c</sup>. Whilst these were preparing, *Solomon*, who had been still adding immense quantities of gold, silver, precious stones, and other rich materials, to those which *David* had laid up before his death; did put them into proper hands, to be wrought into an almost infinite variety of ornaments. And the vast number of hands employed, and the diligence of the overseers and workmen was such, that he was able to lay the foundations of this vast structure in the fourth year of his reign, which was the second after *David's* death, and the 480th after the exod<sup>d</sup>. This great work was begun on *Monday* the second day of the month *Zif*, which answers to the 21st of our *April*<sup>e</sup>, being the second month of the sacred, and eighth of the civil year; and was carried on with such prodigious speed (1), that it was finished in little more than seven years; in which we have seen it represented in a vast number and variety of plans, and by some late models, exposed to publick view; yet, at least, in such rich and sumptuous manner, as did easily excel any thing then extant of that kind. What is still more surprising, is, that every piece of it, whether timber, stone, or metal, was all finished before it was brought to *Jerusalem*, so that there were no other tools wanted, or heard, than what were necessary to the joining them to each other.
- The building of the temple.  
The building finished.  
Year of the Flood, 1978.  
Year before Christ, 1021.

AND here, it will be doubtless expected, not only that we should give our readers an exact description of that wonderful edifice; but perhaps also that we should make some improvements upon those authors, who have gone before us, and discover new ornaments and excellencies, which they had overlooked. This is, indeed, no more than they pretend to have done with respect to one another, especially of late years; not from any greater insight they have gained into the sacred language and writings, but from what they have fetched either out of the description of the prophetick temple of *Ezekiel*, or from that of *Josephus*, or from what the *Jewish* rabbies have been pleased to superadd out of their own heads, in order to raise this sacred fabrick to the highest pitch of grandeur and richness. The truth is, whilst those sublime paper architects can have their work and materials at

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings v. 9. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. vi. 1. <sup>e</sup> Vid. USSER, Ann. sub A. M. 3001.

archives of *Jerusalem* and *Tyre* (86); he adds likewise, out of *Dio* and *Strabo*, that those two kings used to puzzle one another with riddles, and that the non-solvent was obliged to pay some considerable forfeit to the proposer. Accordingly *Hiram* having once received such a one as he was not able to solve, was forced to pay *Solomon* a large sum; which he however made him to refund soon after, by getting one *Abdemon*, a *Tyrian*, to invent another, which proved too hard for that wise monarch (87). There is nothing improbable in all this; but what he, and other learned *Jews* add, by way of appendix to what the text records concerning his extraordinary wisdom, deserves notice, though it were but for its absurdity; for they make one part of his knowledge to have consisted in the deepest recesses of magic, in charms, evocation and ejection, or confinement of demons, and such-like witcheries; in which diabolical art he was not content to be the expertest man living, but took the pains to propagate it, by writing several books upon that worthless subject (88). *Credat Judæus*.

(1) This foundation, which took up the whole group of mount *Moria*, did likewise cost an immense labour to level, because it consisted of several gibbous eminences, all of them solid rock, except the surface, some parts of which were to be considerably lowered, and others raised in proportion, in order to bring them to that capacious area; inasmuch that *Josephus* says, a man could hardly believe his own eyes when he beheld the stupendousness of that work, the very contriving of which was enough to have crased any brain but that of *Solomon* (89). It will, indeed, appear very surprising, how such a foundation could be laid, and the materials for the building could be in such forwardness, in so little a space as four years, as to have been finished in the seventh year after its foundation. But we see no reason against supposing that *David*, who appears to have formerly sent for a great number of *Tyrian* workmen, might, not long before his death, have set them to this work, and made them prepare stone and timber, as well as level some part of the ground.

(86) *Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.* (87) *Lib. cor. Ap. p. 2.* (88) *Antiq. ubi sup. vid. & rabbini mult. apud BARTHOLOM. Biblioth. rabbinic. sub voc. Salom.* (89) *Ant. ubi sup. vid. sup. p. 414. s.*

at so cheap a rate, it is next to impossible to keep a luxuriant fancy within due <sup>a</sup> bounds, and not to act the panegyrist rather than the historian, in rearing of this stately building. This is therefore what we would carefully avoid, though at the hazard of being taxed with running into the other extreme, whilst we strike off their three evidences, as far as they jar with, or exceed the account we have of it in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

For, after all, who has assured those authors, that the temple of *Ezekiel*, which was only seen in a vision, and was, for ought appears, only a type of that spiritual one under the gospel, did bear a constant analogy with that of *Solomon*, with respect to its members, dimensions, symmetry, ornaments and the like? Who knows not that that of *Josephus*, allowing it to have been equal in beauty and <sup>b</sup> magnificence to that author's description of it, had received such considerable additions and improvements from time to time, especially under *Herod the Great*, as might easily render it quite different, not to say vastly excelling, that of *Solomon*? Lastly, what discoveries can we hope for in this respect from the *Talmudists* and *Jewish rabbies*, who lived so many centuries after its final destruction, but what are of the same stamp with those they have made with respect to religion; mere pious fables and forgeries, calculated to raise the honour of their nation? And if *Ezekiel*, *Josephus*, and the rabbies must be set aside, where shall we find an author that has done so, or a description of this edifice that has not borrowed more from them, than from the sacred historians? For these reasons, we had once resolved to spare <sup>c</sup> our readers the charge of a new draught or description of it, seeing we could offer them nothing new or authentic, without being at the pains of delineating it afresh, according to the account we have of it in the books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without any farther regard to the others, than as they helped to explain a doubtful passage, or some obscure terms, such as must unavoidably occur in great plenty in descriptions of this nature, written at such a distance of time, and in a language so little known as the *Hebrew* now is.

BUT whilst we were deliberating whether we should undertake so laborious a task, we were agreeably informed by a curious gentleman, a friend and encourager of this history, that having seen all the various descriptions of that edifice, <sup>d</sup> and being as dissatisfied as we with their borrowing so much from those authors we have excepted against, he had, some years ago, prevailed upon a learned clergyman of his acquaintance, to make such a delineation as we have been speaking of, out of the two sacred books above-mentioned. He has since favoured us with a sight of the plans, and given us time and leave to examine and compare them, and their proofs, with the original text; and finding how much we approved of them, and that they could not but be very useful and acceptable to the curious, he has not only made us a generous offer of the whole, to be communicated to the world, but has given us several opportunities of receiving farther satisfaction from his learned friend, touching any difficulties that might occur. However, <sup>e</sup> as his demonstrations from those sacred books, curious and exact as they are, would too sensibly interrupt the thread of our history, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers, if we join them with the plans of the city and temple, in that succinct and explanatory method in which he has been since prevailed upon to adapt them to this work, in an appendix at the end of this volume, that so both may at one view be compared either with each other, or with any of those descriptions that have hitherto appeared in the world (K). As for the elevations <sup>f</sup>

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of

(K) It will not be amiss, however, to obviate two objections which may be made against these new delineations; the first is, that it is more than probable, that the sacred historians have omitted several particulars in their descriptions of that building, which, though perhaps of less consequence, are yet of such a nature, that one cannot well frame a just idea of the whole without them. This both our friend and we do readily grant, and therefore are far from giving this as a complete and perfect plan of the whole; all that is pretended is, that it contains all that the sacred historians have mentioned of it, without having recourse to *Ezekiel*, *Josephus*, or the *Talmudists*, for a supply of what they have

omitted. And we think it cannot be unacceptable to the curious, to see how far those who have followed the last-mentioned authors, have added to what we find in the text; and to be able to distinguish what is authentic, from what is not so, by comparing this with theirs.

The next objection is, that the years which the ancients of *Israel* shed at the sight of the second temple, when they saw how far short it was of the first <sup>†</sup>, seems to argue, at least, that that of *Solomon* must have exceeded by far this of ours, seeing it is so much inferior to the description which *Josephus*, who had seen it, has left us of it. To this it may be answered,

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† *Ezra* iii. 12.



a of that edifice, we hope it will be thought a charge and trouble which may still be better spared, considering the vast number and variety we have already, and how little reason there is to be satisfied with any of them.

We return to the king of *Israel*, who, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, chose to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (L), at which solemnity there used to be always a vast concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere observed \*. The ceremony began on the eighth day of the seventh month of the sacred year, which was the first of the civil year, answering to the latter end of our *October*, and lasted seven days, at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which b was one of the three solemn feasts of the *Israelites*, and lasted likewise seven days; so that the vast concourse of people who were invited by the king, and flocked to that solemnity, stayed at least fourteen days in *Jerusalem*. The ceremony opened with a pompous procession, in which the priests carried the ark from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it, to the temple; and deposited it in the most holy place, between the two golden cherubims, which *Solomon* had caused to be made by *Hiram*, and to be set up there, to be a kind of covering to the ark (M). The king himself, accompanied by all his chief officers, and the elders of *Israel*, marched

\* See before, p. 614, & seq.

1. That the disparity between those two temples which those elders bewailed, might not consist so much in the largeness and magnificence of the building, as in the excellency of the work, and richness of its materials. We have seen what immense quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and other costly things, had been bestowed upon the first; but we read of nothing like it in the second, neither indeed could they afford it.

2. *Josephus*, and the rabbies, describe the second temple after it was destroyed, when no man could contradict them; and how lavish they might be in adorning a building which was the glory of their nation, we need not say; one thing is certain, that though it was become, in *Josephus's* time, rather a strong fortress, than a place of divine worship, yet there is hardly a man of sense that believes half the wonders he says of it, or that it was capable of entertaining such a prodigious garrison as he affirms it did. And yet the *Talmudists* were so little satisfied with that author's description, that they have made an incredible number of additions to it; inasmuch that it looks rather like a new edifice of their own rearing, upon which they have bestowed all the grandeur and magnificence that their luxurious fancy could muster up.

But, lastly, allowing it to have been equal to their description, it doth not follow, that that of *Zerobabel*, over which the elders wept, was so; which having been burnt, rebuilt, improved, enriched, enlarged, and fortified, from time to time, and by several royal hands, had not, perhaps, one footstep left of its primitive figure, except in the very sanctuary. It is therefore in vain to pretend to guess, either at that of *Solomon* or *Zerobabel*, by that which we have in *Josephus*; or to object the largeness and magnificence of this last, against the seeming plainness which our friend gives us of the first.

(L) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to Archbishop *Usher*, opened the fourth millenary of the world (90).

(M) We have spoken elsewhere of the shape and position of those which covered the mercy-seat (91). These that were made by *Hiram* for the most holy place, differed from them, and were of two sorts, namely, these two, which spread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and

those which were made in bass-relievo, to adorn the sides of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewise in bass-relievo, and all of the finest gold. What the bigness of these last was we know not, but that of the two massive standing ones may be guessed at by the length of their wings, which reaching to the north and south walls with one extremity, and joining at least by the other over the center, must have been each five cubits long, because the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; so that one may reasonably suppose the cherubims themselves to have been about ten cubits high. As to their form, we can affirm nothing certain concerning it, beyond what was said in the place above quoted.

There we took also notice, that *Solomon* made all the other utensils and ornaments of the temple proportionable, both in bigness and richness, to that of the edifice: The mosaic altar of burnt-offering, for instance, was set by on account of its smallness, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in height. The same was done by the altar of perfume, and the tables of shew bread; which last, as well as the golden candlesticks, he increased the number of five or six fold.

Besides these, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and silver vessels and utensils; concerning which the text only says, that they were without number (92); but the *Jewish* historian has given us such a detail of them (93), that we chuse to refer the reader to him for it, because we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough, or use, for such vast quantities. Thus he tells us, that there were 10,000 tables to hold the sacred utensils, besides those of the shew-bread. He mentions likewise 10,000 candlesticks, besides those that were in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; and tho' the text mentions but 100 basons of gold, which seem to us to have been for the same use (94), and to have been sufficient for it, he has multiplied them to 100,000, besides double that number of silver ones. We may say the same thing of the 1000 prettily ornaments, which he tells us *Solomon* caused to be made for the sole use of the high-priest; the 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common priests; and 200,000 more for the *Levites* and musicians;

(90) *Ann. sub A. M.* 3001. (91) *Vid. sup.* p. 654. not. V. (92) 2 *Chron. iv.* 18, & alib. (93) *Antiq. l. xv. c. 14. xx.* & alib. & de Bell. *Jud.* c. 6, & alib. pass. (94) 2 *Chron. iv.* 8.



marched before the ark; these were followed by a great number of priests and *Levites*, who sang some canticles proper to the occasion, and played upon various instruments. Next to the ark followed another number of singers and players, with other priests bearing the golden candlesticks, altar of incense, and other sacred utensils of the sanctuary, which had been brought from *Gibeon*, where they and the tabernacle had stood ever since. These were not deposited in the sanctuary, because the king had caused a new set of them to be made, which were larger, and more answerable to the spaciousness of the place; but were laid up in some other repository prepared for that purpose. To add the greater magnificence to the procession, the king ordered the ark to stop at proper distances, and there caused a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the sanctuary. Whilst the priests were depositing the ark in the most holy place, the air rang with the sound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the *Levites*, who sang the praises of God, repeating these words at proper stanza's, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever*. It was then that God seemed to come down in a visible manner, to take possession, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud, as he had formerly done the tabernacle, inasmuch that the priests could not stand to offer up the sacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occasion\*.

A vast number of victims offered.

DURING this time, *Solomon*, who stood upon a brazen scaffold three cubits high, and prepared for the purpose, having commanded the attention of the people, which stood in the court, and in the galleries round about; kneeled down, and spreading his hands towards heaven, dedicated the sacred building to God in an elegant and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; intreating the divine mercy to make it its residence in favour of *Israel*, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people should direct thither, from whatever part of the world; and what condition soever they were in, to grant their requests, and pardon their offences. All this while the priests had covered the spacious altar with proper victims, which, as soon as his prayer was ended, were consumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then turning himself about, blessed the audience, and retired; after which the priests went about offering a vast multitude of other sacrifices, which had been sent thither both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes, inasmuch that they were forced to rear a number of other altars in the court, the great one not being sufficient for them. On the very first day of this ceremony, which lasted seven days, they (N) sacrificed 20,000 bullocks, and 120,000 sheep, for peace-offerings, which served to feast the vast concourse of people; besides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought in every day. The feast of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewise observed with unusual magnificence; after which the people were dismissed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full of joy, and admiration of their wonderful monarch†. At the same time, lest that young prince's heart should be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur, God was pleased to appear to him in a dream, on the first night of the dedication, expressed his acceptance of that sumptuous edifice, and renewed his promises to him and his posterity, provided he and they served him with an upright heart: on the other hand, he assured him, that in case they provoked him by their idolatry and disobedience, that glorious building, which was now the wonder of the world, should infallibly become a desolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb of reproach among all nations‡.

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As

\* 2 Chron. v. per tot. † 1 Kings viii. 12, & seq. ‡ 2 Chron. vi. & vii. per tot. † 1 Kings ix. & seq.

musicians; all which, if we may believe him, were never to be mended when torn, nor washed when stained with the least spot, but were to be made into whicks for the lamps. To these we shall only add the 200,000 trumpets, and 400,000 musical instruments made of a mixt metal between gold and silver, such as was called by the antients *electrum*; concerning all which we can only say, that the text is either silent, or contradicts his prodigious account, as well as where he says, that the 200,000 trumpets were made according to *Moses's* appointment.

(N) The text says, indeed, that *Solomon* himself offered that vast number of victims (95); but it appears from the end of the verse, and that which goes before it, that all *Israel* joined with him in it. We may likewise observe here, that it is not altogether clear from it, whether they were all sacrificed in one, or in the seven days of the feast; the latter, indeed, is the most probable of the two, but the tenor of the words seem to lean more to the former.

(95) 1 Kings viii. 63.

- a As soon as *Solomon* had finished this noble structure, he set his artificers to work *Solomon's* upon two other buildings, one for himself and another for *Pharaoh's* daughter<sup>2</sup>, *palaces*. and spared nothing that art or riches could furnish, to raise them to a proportionable splendor with it (O). He was almost thirteen years a building them, so that he finished those three magnificent edifices, with all their costly furniture, utensils, and ornaments, within the space of twenty years (P). After this, he sent back a great part of his *Tyrian* artificers; and to express his gratitude to their prince, who had so generously furnished him, not only with vast quantities of stones and wood, but also with great sums of gold, he presented him with twenty cities in *Gallilee*. But *Hiram* coming soon after to view these, was so disgusted at them, that he b could not forbear breaking out into some complaint against his brother *Solomon*, and expressing his dissatisfaction by his refusal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land (Q); upon which, *Solomon* built them a-new himself, and planted colonies of *Israelites* in them†. The rest of his workmen, whether *Tyrians* or others, together with the *Canaanish* slaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in surrounding the city of *Jerusalem* with a strong and stately wall, and fortifying *Millo*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Gezer*, *Beth-boron*, *Baalath*, *Tadmor* or *Palmyra*, and other places of consequence; besides several other store-cities for his chariots and horses, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions and ammunition. He built c moreover some fortresses in *Lebanon*, probably to secure a free communication between his kingdom and that of *Syria*. Soon after this, he brought under his yoke the remainder of the *Anorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuzites*, who seem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him<sup>3</sup>. These were also probably forced to his works with the rest; for as for the

<sup>2</sup> Compare 1 Kings iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11. † Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq. <sup>3</sup> 1 Kings ix. 15, & seq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq. See before, p. 337. b.

(O) One of these palaces is called the house of the forest of *Lebanon* (96), tho' it was at *Jerusalem*; the reason of which cannot be easily guessed at. The *Chaldee* paraphrast calls it a summer-house, or house of refreshment; others think it to have been built in that forest, after *Solomon* had taken the city of *Hamath-rubab* (97); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the forest of *Lebanon* to the city of *David*, by reason of the prodigious quantities of cedar, and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple, and other sumptuous edifices, insomuch that it seemed as if *Lebanon* had been transported to *Jerusalem* (98). Upon this account, and perhaps also from the fragrantcy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called *Lebanon* by the psalmist, and some of the prophets (99).

(P) These palaces were built with the utmost magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, silver, cedar, and other precious woods, marble, and other costly stones, the stupendous bigness of them, or the exquisiteness of the workmanship; or for the richness of their furniture, and the sumptuousness of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among these there was one more spacious than the rest, which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and on each side of it the seats of his counsellors. This porch was by far the most magnificent of all, because it was both his seat of judgment, and the place of public audience, where he shewed himself either to his nobles, or to the strangers that resorted to him. It was placed in the midst of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiously carved and covered, or rather inlaid with gold. The throne itself, which was in the fashion of a niche, was covered with ivory, inlaid and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold; the ascent to it was by six

steps, each step being supported on each side with a small lion, and the arms of the seat with two large ones as big as the life. All these, and even the steps themselves, were likewise covered with gold and ivory. The richness of the furniture of these sumptuous edifices may be guessed at, by the plate and drinking-vessels which were used in them, which were all of finest gold. To these he added 300 shields of the same rich metal, which used to be carried before him when he went abroad, and upon his return were suspended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Besides these, he likewise caused 200 targets to be made of a larger size, which were hung up in some conspicuous places of the temple. All these were made of some precious wood, and covered with gold; these latter amounted to 600 shekels each, and the former to three pound weight (100).

(Q) *Chabul*, which is the name he gave it, comes from *כבול*, which signifies a fetlock; and is supposed to have alluded to the extremity dirtiness of it, because one could not travel in it without being up to the ancles in dirt.

*Josephus* derives it from a *Phœnician* word which signifies *dislike*, and adds, that *Hiram* refused to take them from *Solomon* upon that account (1); but as we find either a city or region of that name as early as *Joshua's* time (2), which might probably be so called on account of its dirtiness, *Hiram* might probably take the hint from it, and gave that contemptible appellation to all the rest.

Thus *Chabul*, which *Josephus* calls *Chebalon*, was, according to him, situated in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, or between that and *Ptolemais*: that of *Joshua* could not be far from it; and yet *St. Jerome* places them on the other side *Jordan* (4), in that part which was called *Decapolis* (5).

(96) 1 Kings vii. 2. (97) *Vid. JUN. in loc. & 2 Chron. viii. 3.* (98) *Ita Rabbin. vid. & MUXAT. CALMET. & al. in Psal. xxix. xcii. 12, 13.* (99) *Psal. xxix. pass. xcii. 12, 13, & alib. (100) 1 Kings x. 16, 17. 2 Chron. ix. 13. (1) Ant. lib. 8. c. 2. Vid. sup. p. 414. c. (2) Josh. xix. 27. (3) Ibid. & in vit. sua. (4) Hieron. in Amos i. (5) Vid. CALM. sub voc. Chabulon.*

the *Israelites*, the text expressly says, that they were exempt from all kind of a slavish business, and only employed either as overseers over them, or as officers and soldiers in his army<sup>b</sup>.

Solomon's  
navy.

To supply all these vast expences, *Solomon* went and built a navy at *Exion-geber*, upon the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, and put it under the care of some expert *Tyrian* sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to *Ophir* (R), and in about three

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings *ibid.* ver. 22, 23.

(R) It is not to be expected that our readers will be contented with being told, that *Ophir* is to us a *terra incognita*, that has been sought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compass. And indeed one would hardly believe such a discovery to be so difficult, considering the various indices by which the Scriptures seem to lead us to it; such as those that follow: 1. That *Moses* speaks of *Ophir* the son of *Joktan*, who went with his brethren and dwelt from *Mesha* toward *Shephar*, a mount of the east (6). 2. That the same fleet went both to *Ophir* and *Tharshish* (7), and set out from *Exion-geber*, a sea-port near *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom* upon the *Red-Sea* (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, and almug-wood, peacocks and monkeys (10). 5. That *Ophir* not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but that it also exceeded all other gold in fineness and value (11); and lastly, that according to *Eupolemus*, an ancient author quoted by *Eusebius* (12), the *Urphe* or *Ophir*, from whence this metal was brought, was an island in the *Red-Sea*; not that which we commonly understand by that name, which lieth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, but the great southern ocean, which extendeth itself between *India* and *Africa*, and walleth up to the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and was called the *Red-Sea*, from the colour which the perpendicular sunbeams give it in those hot climates (13). To this let us add, that *Josephus* says, that *Ophir* was in *India*, or was since called *India*, or the land of gold (14), which may probably mean the *Aurea Chersonesus*, now called the island of *Malaca*, over-against *Sumatra*; these, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out such a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very spot of ground, yet at least to the region whence all these riches came; and yet there are scarce any two authors that have steered the same course.

But not to dwell long upon a subject that affords so little certainty, we shall content ourselves with a bare mention of those who seem to have visibly erred from the point, and then give a short account of those who have spoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the first, we may rank those who have gone to *America* for it (15), it being unconceivable how they could steer thither and back again in those early days, without charts or compass, with so imperfect a knowledge of geography and astronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coasting. If it be said, that this was the method they steered by, and that they coasted along *India*, *China*, and the north parts of *Japan*, to the north part of *America*, and so on to *Hispaniola*, or any other place, whether of *Mexico* or *Peru*; besides that, in such a case, eighteen months will scarce be sufficient for such a prodigious round, how many

islands might they have met with in *India*, that could have supplied them with all those commodities, and especially with gold? How came they at first to have such knowledge of those parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was *America* peopled so early? And if it was, which is scarce credible, were either its inhabitants such expert sailors as to bring those merchandizes to some famous emporium nearer to *Asia*, or did any of the *Asiatic* nations fetch them from thence?

2. Those who have gone no further than the coasts of *Africa*, or even nearer for it (16), because though it be probable that several parts of *Africa* might abound with gold, spices, ivory, and those other merchandises; or, according to others, that the *Indians* might bring them thither; yet the farthest coast of *Africa* was not distant enough from *Exion-geber*, to have taken up so much time as three years, tho' we should allow that they went to a different sea-port for each merchandise; much less to some of those places mentioned by some of those authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

Lastly, we may reckon among them who have missed the mark, those who have fallen into the notion, that *Exion-geber* was not on the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, but of the *Mediterranean* (17). This they have indeed supposed, in order to avoid the difficulty into which *Huetius* stumbled, by making the canal of communication between those two seas to have been opened in *David's* time; but this has been fully confuted by several learned authors (18). But whatever the difficulty be of finding a passage from *Exion-geber* to the *Mediterranean*, it cannot be supposed to have been situated any where but on the *Red-Sea*, without doing manifest violence to the text; because there is not one single instance of 𐤇𐤓𐤁 *Tom Suph* signifying the *Mediterranean*, or any other than the *Red-Sea*; and secondly, because *Exion-geber* is said to have been beside *Eloth*, which last is always placed on the *Red-Sea* (19).

Among those who have conjectured with more probability, we shall mention, first of all, those who place it, with *Josephus*, in some part of the *East-Indies* (20), though without adhering too close to the particular place which each of them has made choice of, whether in the kingdom of *Malabar*, or the isles of *Seylan* or *Tajobrana* (21), or in *Siam* (22), or in any of those neighbouring islands or kingdoms beyond the *Ganges* (23), or that of *Pegu*, whose inhabitants pretend to be descended from the *Jews*, whom *Salomon* sent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour lost to seek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandises which the fleet brought into *Judea*, when they had time enough to fetch some from one place, and some from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be all brought by *Indian* merchants from several parts of

*India*

(6) *Gen.* x. 29, 30. (7) *Conf.* 1 Kings ix. 28. x. 22. xxii. 49. & 2 Chron. xx. 36. (8) 1 Kings ix. 26. & *alib.* (9) *Ibid.* x. 22. & *alib. pass.* (10) *Ibid.* & 2 Chron. ix. 10. (11) *Ibid.* & *alib. pass.* (12) *Præp. Evang.* l. 9. (13) *Vid. sup.* p. 308. in fin. (1) & *EPIDEAUX* *Concili. lib.* 1. (14) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.* (15) *GENEER. ARR. MONT. CHRIST.-COLUMB. V. TABL. POSTEL. & al.* (16) *GROT. in 1 Reg. ix. Huet. Differs. de Navig. Salom.* JEAN, DES SANT. & al. (17) *GOROP. BECAN. BIVAR. HORN. & al.* (18) *MARIN. Cam. Egypt. sec. 15. CALM. prolegom. in Genes.* (19) *Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. sub voc. Hæd. ARULFED. Deser. Arab. PLIN. STRAB. HIERON. PROCOP. & al.* (20) *LUC. HOLSTON* *not. in Ortel.* (21) *Vid. BOCHART. Phal.* (22) *Ab CHOISI. in vit. Salom.* (23) *Vid. LIPSEN. Traët. de Ophir.* (24) *Vid. MARR. & aut. ab eo citat.*

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a three years time, brought him back an immense weight of gold and silver, besides several kinds of precious stones, spices, ebony, and other curious wood, ivory; peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities<sup>c</sup>. The gold itself amounted to 450 talents yearly, besides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of those precious woods the king did bestow in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making of a great number of musical instruments for the service of God<sup>d</sup>.

ALL this time Solomon was still mindful of the concerns of religion, repairing to the temple at the solemn festivals, and settling the courses of the priests, *Levites*, musicians, and other officers of the temple, according to the model of his father; b and making all proper regulations for maintaining the service of God with a splendor and magnificence equal, at least, to that of his kingdom<sup>e</sup>. Upon all which accounts, he is justly observed, more than once, to have exceeded all the kings of the earth.

AMONG the great persons whom his fame brought to Jerusalem, the most considerable was the queen of *Sheba* (S), a princess of such excellent wisdom and extraordinary The queen of Sheba's wife to him.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 21. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 11. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings ix. 25. 2 Chron. viii. 12, & seq.

*India*, into some common emporium. All these, by supposing the fleet to fall from the *Red-Sea* into the ocean, through the *Persian gulph*.

Dean *Prideaux* observes next, that it was the voyage to *Tharshish*, which took up three years going and coming; from which he conjectures, that *Ophir* might be much nearer *Judea*, and the voyage performed in less time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former for some commodities which the other did not afford; and, consequently, that any place in the great *Indian sea*, at the distance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, might be the *Tharshish*; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, almug trees, and precious stones, might be the *Ophir* mentioned in the Scriptures. So that if the southern part of *Arabia* produced the greatest quantities of the best gold, as he shews they did from good authors, then that might be the land of *Ophir* (25).

But though it be granted, that *Tharshish* and *Ophir* might be distinct places, and at some considerable distance from each other, yet if the latter had been so nigh as south *Arabia*, and had yielded such plenty of the finest gold, almug trees, and precious stones, it is scarce credible that they would have gone so much farther for such inferior trifles as silver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks; it is more likely that they went farthest for the finest gold, precious stones, and things of greatest value.

Lastly, a late author (26) has taken a quite different rout from all the rest, and thinks, that he has found out the *Mesha* and *Sepphar*, where *Ophir* the son of *Joktan* went to dwell; between mount *Mafius* and the mountains of *Sapbar*, somewhere toward *Armenia* and *Media*, where are the heads of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; which rivers might be subservient to this commerce. He adds several ingenious reasons for his conjectures, which we can not dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection against this hypothesis, and which we think he doth not sufficiently answer, is, that the nearness of the place doth not admit of a three years voyage, though we should suppose with him, that they took a large compass about from coast to coast; and that the three years

mentioned in the text, might mean only three summers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole then, the most probable conjecture, and beyond that it is impossible to go, is, that *Ophir* was in some of those remote rich countries of *India* beyond *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan*; which last doth still abound with the finest gold, and with several other commodities in which *Solomon's* fleet dealt, as silver precious stones, ebony, and other valuable sorts of wood; to say nothing of spices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other such creatures†; and by its distance, doth best answer to the length of the voyage.

All that we shall say farther is, that this *Ophir* gold was in great plenty in *Judea* even in *David's* time; since he left 3000 talents of it for the service of the temple, besides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the same purpose (27). Now as we can hardly believe either of them to have been so munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; should we suppose it to have been even a third part, there must have been at least 24,000 talents of that metal in his kingdom; this prodigious sum could never be heaped together from the bare spoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reasonable to believe, that having conquered the *Edomites*, and taken *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, *David* set himself about opening a commerce from thence, by the assistance of *Hiram's* expert sailors; so that his son did but improve what the father had begun, by enlarging and fortifying those two places, and peopling them with the best mariners and ship-builders; and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to such a degree, as made him, by far, the richest prince of his time, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world.

(S) *Josephus* calls her *Nicanlis*, and says, she was queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (28); and elsewhere, that *Saba* was the metropolis of the latter, till *Cambyses* called it by his sister's name, *Meroes* (29). The *Ethiopians*, accordingly, pretend, that she was queen of that country, and preserve still a list of her successors (30). They add, that she had a son by *Solomon*, whom she sent to be brought up by him; they call him *Meilik* or *Menilebek*, and pretend, that twenty-

(25) *PRID. Connect. book i.* (26) *CALMET Proleg. in Genes.* † *Vid. VAREN. & al. descr. Japon.* (27) *Vid. 1 Chron. xxix. 4, & seq.* (28) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.* (29) *Ibid. l. ii. c. 10.* (30) *Vid. HIER. ALMEID. & LUDOLPH. Hist. Ethiop.*

Ordinary opulence, that she seemed to have come to vie with the *Jewish* monarch, a by the sumptuousness of her equipage, the richness of her presents, and the number of hard questions she put to him. She brought with her a vast number of camels laden with gold, precious stones, and such rich spices and perfumes, as had not till then been known even in *Solomon's* court. By all these, one may guess at the splendour of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be supposed that she would have engaged with a prince so universally famed for wisdom, if she had not had some considerable share of it herself: but after having tried him with all the subtle and enigmatic questions she had prepared for him (T), she found in him such a readiness in solving, and such a sagacity in explaining his answers, that he seemed even to prevent her thoughts<sup>f</sup>; inasmuch, that she owned herself fully satisfied that he was not without just reason esteemed the wisest prince of his time. The king did then entertain her with a view of the temple, of his palaces and gardens, of his court, tables, and of the richness of their furniture, the great number and excellent order of his servants, stables, chariots, guards, and, in a word, of all the magnificence that reigned, both in his court, and in the city. So many surprising instances of his wisdom and greatness, could not but strike that princess with the deepest wonder; which, as soon as she could recover herself from, she owned with a kind of extasy, that the half of it had not been told her. After this, she expressed her extreme satisfaction in the most respectful terms, and presented the king with 120 talents of gold, a great number c of precious stones, and rich perfumes. *Solomon*, on the other hand, was too generous not to make her suitable returns, and dismissed her with the strongest proofs of his munificence (V)<sup>g</sup>.

HITHERTO we have seen nothing in that prince's life but what gives us the highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and magnificence; but the remainder of his reign proved far otherwise, and *Solomon*, emphatically called the wise, beloved of God, and admired by all the world for so many excellent virtues, did become such a slave to the passion of love, in his old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing His defection; multitude of strange women, without distinction of nation, country, or religion, and without the least regard to God's express commands to the contrary; till at d length, he but too sadly verified the divine warning<sup>h</sup>, by suffering himself to be seduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to 700, besides 300 concubines, or wives of the second rank; and his complaisance for Idolatry; them went so far, as to build altars and temples to all their deities; inasmuch, that the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, if not the city itself, was filled with idols and

<sup>f</sup> 1 Kings x. 3.<sup>g</sup> Ibid. i. & seq. 2 Chr. ix. 1, & seq.<sup>h</sup> Vid. Deut. vii. 3, & seq.

twenty-four of their kings are descended from that prince successively down to *Babylus*, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some ancient writers do likewise acknowledge, that that country was some time governed by women (32).

The *Arabians*, on the other hand, claim this queen as their own; they call her *Balkish*, and pretend that she was queen of *Arabia*, had her residence in the city of *Mareb*, which they make the metropolis of the province of *Saba*. They have preserved also her genealogy, as well as the history of her journey to *Judea*, which they have stuffed with other fables; among others, that she was married to *Solomon*; and that after her return to *Arabia*, that prince used to keep an epistolary correspondence with her, by means of a bird which they called *huthud*, a kind of lapwing or puer, which used to carry letters between them (33).

But, setting aside these trifling stories, the opinion of those who think that that princess came from *Arabia*, seems certainly the most probable of the two; among many other reasons, because she is called, in the Gospel, the queen of the south, and is said to have come from the uttermost parts of the earth (34); which answers exactly to *Arabia Felix*, which lieth south of *Judea*, and is bounded by the

ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious stones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(T) We have seen in a former note, that it was part of the diversion of princes in those times to puzzle one another with riddles and hard questions. An annalist tells us, that, among other ways that this princess tried to pose the king, she took a number of boys and girls which she had brought with her, and having arrayed them all alike, she presented them to him, to see which way he would take to know those of one sex from those of the other. Wherefore he ordered them to wash their faces before him; and easily found out the difference, by the robustness and effeminacy with which each sex performed his command. The reader may see his authority for this story in the author himself (35).

(V) *Josephus* adds, that the *Jews* had a tradition that the queen of *Saba* brought with her the first branch of that precious balsam-tree, or balm of *Gilead*, which *Judea* came afterwards to be so famed for. He mentions likewise a grove belonging to the house of *Lebanon*, which was such a masterpiece of art, that it raised the admiration of that princess, above all the rest of his stately works (36).

(31) *Id. ib. lib. ii. c. 34. & seq.* (32) *STRAB. lib. xvi. c. 17. PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.* (33) *Vid. HERBELOT. Bibliot. Orient. sub voc. Balkish.* (34) *Matt. xii. 43.* (35) *MICH. GLYCAS. Annal. p. 182.* (36) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.*

a and temples; and the mount of *Olivet*, which was over-against it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemosh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* the god of the *Ammonites*. Such a shameful defection could not but be highly displeasing to God; and *Solomon* was soon after made sensible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of *Judah* excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to *David*, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this severe denuncia- and death.  
tion awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry and Year of the  
lust, the text doth no where tell us; what the opinion of *Jews* and *Christians* is Flood, 2024.  
b about it; may be seen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year of his Year before  
reign, Christ, 975.

(W) Among those that believe that *Solomon* did heartily repent of all his extravagancies, are, among the *Jews*, the *Talmudists*, who affirm, that God sent *Asmodeus* to strip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, that prince wandered about all the cities of *Israel*, weeping, and crying out, *I, the preacher, was once king of Israel* (37). 1. The generality of rabbies, ancient and modern, if we except the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, who finishes his elogy with an account of his crimes, and the ill effects which it caused in his posterity, without ever mentioning any thing about his repentance (38); these pretend to have a tradition, that in the height of his remorse, he caused himself to be dragged several times about the streets of *Jerusalem*; and that he came to the temple with five bundles of rods, desiring the doctors to chastise him for his faults; which they refusing to do, out of regard to his dignity, he scourged himself severely before them; and thinking himself unworthy to reign any longer, he stripped himself of every thing, and went a begging about the kingdom (39). Some of them have gone another way to work, and have affirmed, that it is false that his heart was ensnared by women to sin, or that he built any altars to *Moloch*, or any other heathenish deity; and say, that the text meant no more than that he would have done it, if he had not been withheld from it by God's special grace (40). As for *Josephus*, he only attributes his vices to the weakness of old age, without saying any thing of his repentance (41).

The *Christians*, both antient and modern, who have embraced the notion that *Solomon* repented before his death, are too numerous to be quoted here; we shall insert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reasons which have led them to it. In the first place, many of them have followed the notion of some of the fathers above quoted, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was the result of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a sense of himself; and these are very numerous (43). There are, indeed, in that book a number of expressions, which are very like those of a person who feels a sensible remorse for his past extravagances, and is desirous to forewarn others against them (44).

Another argument for his repentance, is taken from the promise made by God to his father,

where, speaking of *Solomon*, whom he had chosen to build his temple, he adds, *I will establish his kingdom for ever; I will be to him a father, and he shall be a son to me: If he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men: —But my mercy will I not cause to depart from him, as I did from Saul: and much more to the same purpose* (45).

It is likewise said, in another place (46), that *Reboboam* and his subjects walked in the way of *David* and *Solomon* but three years; and afterwards, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord (47). *Solomon's* way, therefore, being put with that of *David*, and opposed to that of his wicked son, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could not have been said of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the *Proverbs* were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it; the one, where he complains that he was more brutish than any man, having neither understanding, wisdom, nor knowledge of the holy One (48); for they pretend, that *Agur* there is *Solomon*: The other is still wider, being only, according to the Septuagint version, which makes him say, *At length I repented, and have applied myself to live after a better rule*; whereas in the original he only says, that having observed the field of a slothful man over-run with nettles — he considered well about it, and received instruction (49).

Lastly, so willing are they to make a penitent of him, they quote the words, *And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried, &c.* (50), as a token of his repentance; because there is nothing reproachful added to them, as is generally when a wicked king dieth impenitent; such as, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord; that he perverted his way; that he made *Israel* to sin; and such-like.

Notwithstanding all these reasons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not scrupled to call his repentance in question, and some of them even to deny it (51). We shall subjoin some of their reasons for this opinion. 1. *Solomon's* sins of idolatry, and love of strange women, are recorded in the strongest terms; but not a word is mentioned in the whole Scripture about his forsaking them. 2. God being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his posterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have

(37) Vid. Talmud. tractat. קהלת. (38) Vid. Eccles. xlvii. 19, & seq. (39) Ex fragm. cui titul. De Salomone judicium, in fin. tom. 7. oper. BEDÆ. (40) Vid. PINED. de reb. Salom. CALMET. Dissert. de salut. ejusd. (41) Ant. l. viii. c. 3. (42) IREN. l. 4. MARCIO ap. Epiphan. de Hæres. BACCHIAR. Epist. de recipiend. lapsis. HILAR. in Ps. lvi. & cxvii. CYRIL. Hierosol. catech. 2. Hieron. in Ezek. xiii. & alib. GREGOR. TAUMAT. & al. (43) TH. AQUIN. HUGO. CARDINAL. PAUL. COMESTOR. GENEBRAND. CHEMNIT. J. HENR. HEIDEG. REYNER. MERCER. USSER. JUN. TREMEL, & al. plurim. (44) Vid. int. al. Eccles. i. 1, & seq. ii. pass. iii. 17, & seq. xi. & xii. pass. (45) 2 Sam. viii. 13, & seq. Ps. lxxxix. 19. & seq. ad 37. & alib. pass. (46) 2 Chron. xi. 17. (47) Ibid. xii. 14. (48) Prov. xxx. 23. (49) Ibid. xxiv. 30, & seq. (50) 1 Kings xi. ult. 2 Chron. ix. ult. (51) CYPRIAN. de unit. eccl. & epist. 6. ad ROGAT. TERTUL. lib. ii. iii, & v. cont. MARCION. ORIGEN. AUGUST. cont. FAUST. l. xxii. In Ps. cxvii. & alib. GREGOR. MAG. THEODORET. PROSPER. BEDA. DE LYRA. TOSTAT. BELLARM. PERER. VEGA. MALDONAT. & al. mult. (52) 1 Kings xi. 9, & seq.

reign, and about the fifty-eighth of his age, and was buried in the stately sepulchre a of his father *David*, and succeeded by his son *Rehoboam*<sup>1</sup>. *Josephus* gives him eighty years reign, and ninety-four of age<sup>k</sup>. Were that indeed true, his impieties might well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage; perhaps also was this the motive that induced the *Jewish* historian to spin out his life so far beyond the text. *Solomon* is recorded to have written a great number of books; of which we have only his *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*; all the rest are lost, as well as those of the prophets *Nathan*, *Abijah*, and *Iddo*, who are said to have penned the history of that prince \* (X).

WHILST *Solomon* spent the last years of his life in pleasure and indolence, the seeds of the threatened defection were sowing both in *Israel* and out of it; so that when his son *Rehoboam* came to the crown, he had three potent adversaries to encounter against. The first was *Hadad*, king of *Edom*, who bore a mortal hatred against *Israel*, ever since *David's* general had caused such an universal massacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from *Egypt*, where he had been forced to take sanctuary, during *David* and *Solomon's* reigns<sup>l</sup>. The second was *Rezin*, a subject of the king of *Zobob*, who fled likewise from *David's* conquering sword, and having put himself at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and established a petty kingdom at *Damascus*, and never ceased annoying *Israel*, and revenging *David's* old hostilities on the *Zobeans*<sup>m</sup>. But the most dangerous of the three was *Jeroboam*, a young daring man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, whom *Solomon* had formerly made overseer over his tribe, and that of *Manasseh*, in the carrying on of his works. This man had been told by the prophet *Abijah*, that God would give him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from *Solomon's* successors; and whether upon this account, or for some particular misdemeanor, he had been forced to fly into *Egypt*, to avoid the king's resentment, and there probably concerted with the king of *Edom*, about causing an insurrection in *Israel*. As soon, therefore, as he heard that *Rehoboam* was upon the throne, he returned from *Egypt* to watch a proper opportunity for it, and that weak prince soon after gave him such a one as his heart could wish.

Rehoboam.

*Rehoboam* was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at *Shechem*, but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he promised to lighten their yoke, which, they complained, his father had made too heavy for them.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xi. pass. 2 Chron. ix. 30, 31. <sup>k</sup> Ant. l. 8. c. 3. \* 2 Chron. ix. 29. <sup>l</sup> 1 Kings xi. 14, & seq. See before, p. 314, 315. <sup>m</sup> 1 Kings xi. 23, & seq. See before, p. 382. b. c.

have executed it so punctually, if *Solomon* had repented? 3. *David*, and others, who repented of their sins, had not only part of the punishment abated, but their conversion is particularly recorded? Why should *Solomon* be the only person whose repentance is omitted? Could he write the book of *Proverbs*, or of *Ecclesiastes*, after his conversion, and yet leave all the monuments of his idolatry to continue? Or, if he had destroy'd them, why was it not recorded? or rather, why is it said, that they subsisted till *Josiah's* time (53), that is, about 350 years after his death? What proofs are there, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was not wrote before his defection, rather than after it? Lastly, as to the *rabbinical* traditions, doth not the authority of the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, mentioned above, out-weigh them all? and doth not that seem to imply that he died in his sins? Upon the whole then, we shall not venture to conclude any thing on either side, much less enter into the more dark and dangerous question about his salvation, which almost all the authors above-quoted, and many more, have presumed to handle with greater freedom than certainty.

(X) Several other books have been attributed to *Solomon*, especially those of *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Wisdom* and the *Psalter of Solomon*, which are now universally owned to be of more modern date. The

latter consists of eighteen psalms, artfully collected out of the other psalms, and some of the prophets, a copy of which is in the *Vienna* library, and is placed between the two former books (54); they seem also to have been in our *Alexandrian* manuscript, by their being mentioned in the index, however they came to be torn or lost out of it. As for the other writings, which the *Greek* and *Arabians* attribute to that prince, they are less worth enquiring after: Some of them are written in the magic strain, others upon natural philosophy, and others upon moral subjects (55). Some indeed pretend, that the magic books were written by demons, who envied his glory, and wanted to asperse his fame, by making him the author of them; but that that prince, who was not only monarch of the world, but whose power extended over all creatures, and even over spirits, caused all those writings to be locked up in a strong iron chest, and buried under his throne; out of which, however, they were fetched after his death, by some demons or magicians, and published again under that monarch's name (56). There are some eastern authors, who attribute the invention of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* letters to him (57), and some make him the author of the book of *Job* (58); all without any foundation.

(53) 2 Kings xxiii. 13. (54) LAMBECH. *Bibliot. Vindebon.* (55) Vid. FABRIC. *Apo.* (56) Vid. HERBELOT. *Bibliot. orient. sub voc. Solyman.* (57) Vid. ABR. ECHELLENS & ABULFARAG. *Hij. Arab. & al.* (58) Vid. *Polychron in Job* DIEG. de STUNIC. & al. *prefat. in Job.*

a them. The king took three days to consider of an answer; and as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected that he would have hearkened to the wholesome advice of his grave counsellors, and given the people some fair promises; which if he had, it is possible he might have deprived *Jeroboam*, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occasion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of some hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him; and instead of soothing the people on the third day, he answered them in a haughty tone, That he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had done; and that if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions instead of whips to chastise their insolence. This inconsiderate answer did so  
b provoke them, that they disclaimed all further allegiance to the house of *David*; and having murdered *Adoram*, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes chose *Jeroboam* to be their head. *Judab* and *Benjamin*, however, did cleave to *Rehoboam*, and conveyed him with all speed to *Jerusalem*, to avoid any insult being offered to him by the revolters. As soon as he was come thither, he caused an army to be raised out of the two tribes, which mustered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the rest to their obedience; but whilst they were preparing for a battle, the prophet *Shemaiah* came and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and persuaded them to desist, which they readily did for the present, tho' there were continual bickerings between those two kings all their life. *Jeroboam*, on the other hand, thought on nothing but how to secure his new-gotten kingdom; and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild *Shechem* and *Penuel*, the former of which he made the place of his residence (Y). But there was still one thing which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the house of *David*, namely, their going three times a year to *Jerusalem*; and *Jeroboam* did not sufficiently rely upon the prophet's promise, to run the risk of becoming the victim of the people's inconstancy. This apprehension made him sacrifice religion to his safety, and to set up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worship of God, without going to *Jerusalem*. He likewise built some temples and altars in the high places; and because the *Levites* did cleave to *Rehoboam*, he made priests to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or desert".

*Rehoboam's folly occasions ten tribes to revolt;*

*who chose Jeroboam to be their king.*

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through *Israel*, and a great concourse of people had flocked to *Bethel*, when a prophet was sent thither by God; to denounce the destruction of the new altar by a future king of *Judab*, named *Josiah*; and for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it should then receive such a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the spot. *Jeroboam* was standing by the altar, being just going to offer incense upon it (Z); and when he heard the prophet's threatening,  
c he stretched out his hand to cause him to be apprehended, but, to his great surprize, felt it withered in an instant. Upon his submission, however, he had it restored again, and invited the prophet to his house, intending to have rewarded him for the

*His idolatry.*

" 1 Kings xii. pass.

(Y) These two places had been in a manner destroyed, the former by *Abimelech* (59), and the latter by *Gideon* (60). This last was an important place on the other side *Jordan*, very proper to keep the two tribes and a half in awe. *Shechem* was also a strong place by nature, about forty miles from *Jerusalem* (61), and so conveniently situate to become the metropolis of this new kingdom, which it continued to be till the building of *Samarita* by *Omri*, and resumed that dignity after this latter had been destroyed by the *Affyrians*. We find it called *Sichar* in the gospel (62), which is a term of contempt, which the tribe of *Judab* gave it after their revolt, and signifies *drunkard*.

(Z) It seems, by this action, as if *Jeroboam* had

designed to join the high-priesthood and the royal dignity together in his own person. The places he made choice of to set up his two idols, were not only very commodious on account of their situation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. *Bethel* was had in great reverence, as having been resorted to by the patriarchs, and consecrated in a peculiar manner by *Jacob*, after he had seen the glorious vision we read of in *Genesis* (63); and *Dan* was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol which had been brought thither from *Micah's* house, and for the concourse of people that went afterwards to sacrifice to it (64).

(59) *Judg* ix. 34, & seq. (60) *Ibid* viii. 17. (61) *Vid* RELAND in *Shechem*. (62) *John* iv. 5. (63) *Chap*. xxviii. 12, & seq. *Vid*. & *chap*. xxv. 1, & seq. (64) *Judg*. xvii. pass.



the cure; but he having been expressly forbidden to stay in *Bethel*, even to drink a cup of water, refused his offer, and went his way. He was, nevertheless, unadvisedly brought back by another prophet, who pretended a new command from God; but whilst he was refreshing himself at his house, he was told by him, that his disobedience would be punished by a speedy and extraordinary death, which happened accordingly soon after; for as he was returning into the land of *Judab*, he was killed by a lion, which did afterwards lay quietly down by his carcass, without offering any further violence either to it, or the beast he rode upon.

*Jeroboam* was nothing moved at these extraordinary events, but continued debauching the people from the worship of God<sup>a</sup>. At length, his son *Abijah* being fallen into some dangerous disease, he took it into his head to send his wife in disguise to *Abijah* the prophet, who had foretold him that he should be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. *Abijah*, though blind with age, knew her at her first coming; and having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her husband, that since he had proved so ungrateful to God, and had filled *Israel* with idolatry, the death of the child would be the least punishment that should fall upon him, for that his posterity should be cut off; so that they which died in the city, would become the food of dogs; and those that died in the field, should be devoured by the crows; all which was verified by the sequel accordingly. Notwithstanding all these threatnings, *Jeroboam* persisted still in his idolatry, and gave thereby no small advantage to the king of *Judab*<sup>b</sup>.

WHILST *Jeroboam* was strengthening himself in *Shechem*, *Rehoboam* was doing the same at *Jerusalem*; he built and fortified a considerable number of places in *Judab* and *Benjamin*, put garrisons in them, and stored them with arms and ammunition. At the same time, the tribe of *Levi*, which was dispersed over *Israel*, being displeased with *Jeroboam*, came flocking to *Jerusalem* from their respective cities, besides a vast number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came thither to serve God according to the law of *Moses*; so that he saw his subjects, in a little time, as numerous as those of his revolted rival<sup>c</sup>. But that weak prince had scarce continued three years in the true service of God, before he fell into the vilest idolatries, and even outdid the revolted *Israelites* in them; d infomuch, that his memory is branded for having suffered the people to set up groves, and to provide them with men and women fit for the most abominable and unnatural practices<sup>e</sup>. For these, God stirred up a potent adversary against them, *Shishak* king of *Egypt*, who came and took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthiest of *Judab* into the metropolis for shelter. Here the prophet *Shemaiah* took occasion to upbraid them with their wickedness, which had brought this distress upon them; he threatened the ruin of the city; and his speech had so good an effect upon them, that they humbled themselves before God, and by acknowledging the justice of this punishment, avoided the severity of it<sup>f</sup>. *Shishak* contented himself with stripping the temple and palaces of all their golden shields and vessels, and left them to substitute others in their room, of a baser metal. This happened in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, after which he reigned twelve years longer peaceably, except a few skirmishes with the king of *Israel*, and died in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 sons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he loved *Maacab*, the daughter, or rather grand-daughter of *Abisalom*<sup>g</sup>, by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom he preferred to all his other sons to succeed him; for which end, he had him brought up under him, whilst he disposed of all his children in other cities of his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner suitable to their rank<sup>h</sup>. f His history was written by the prophets *Iddo* and *Shemaiah*<sup>i</sup>.

*Rehoboam's death.*

*Abijah's reign.*

Year of the Flood, 2041.  
Year before Christ, 958.

*Jeroboam* had reigned eighteen years in *Israel*, when *Abijah*, or *Abijab*, as he is called in the book of *Chronicles*, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and went and incamped with them upon mount *Zemaraim*, upon the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being within hearing of each other, *Abijah* began with upbraiding his competitor with his base extraction, and base actions; in that, from being

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings xiii. per tot.

xiv. 23, 24.  
xi. 18, ad fin.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xiv. 2, ad 21.

<sup>c</sup> See 1 Chron. xii. pass.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. chap. xii. 15.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. xi. 4, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> Comp. chap. xiii. 4, & 1 Kings xv. 2:

<sup>g</sup> 1 Kings

<sup>h</sup> 2 Chron.

a being a servant to *Solomon*, he had taken the advantage of *Reoboam's* weakness, to deprive him of the largest share of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to secure it by debauching the people from the worship of God, to the most abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing but ruin and destruction, as a just punishment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came against him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the service of both. *Jeroboam* was too hardened a politician to suffer himself or his men, to be intimidated by such reproaches, and whilst he seemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to surprise him in the rear, whilst he attacked him in front; and this was so punctually executed, that the king of *Judab* saw himself surrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This surprise caused an universal outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have injected an universal panic, had not providence declared on their sides, so that they gained a compleat victory over the *Israelitish* army, of which there fell 500,000 on the spot. *Abijah* pursued his victory, and retook several considerable places from them, particularly that of *Bethel*, and weakened *Jeroboam* so much, that he never could recover his strength again, during the short time of his reign, which lasted but three years in all. *Abijah* left 14 wives and 22 sons, and was succeeded by *Asa*; his history was written by the prophet *Iddo*<sup>r</sup>. All that is further recorded of him, is, that he followed the sinful ways of his father, instead of serving God with the same sincerity that *David* had done<sup>s</sup>. About two years after, *Jeroboam* also died (A), after having reigned in *Israel* 22 years, and was succeeded by his son *Nadab*<sup>a</sup>.

*Defeats Jeroboam's army.*

*Asa* succeeded *Abijah* in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam*. He was a religious prince, and as the ten first years of his reign were blessed with peace, he spent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heathenish abominations, which his predecessors had introduced in it. So sincere was his zeal in that good work, that he spared not his own mother, but deposed her from the regal dignity, which she had abused, by patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worship of some idol; both which he caused to be destroyed, with all the other monuments of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He also put his whole kingdom in a good posture of defence, by fortifying several important places, and entertaining an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of *Judab*, famous for handling the target and spear; the rest, which were most of *Benjamin*, are likewise celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the use of the shield and bow<sup>b</sup>. His riches increasing with his might, he likewise adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and silver vessels in the room of those which the king of *Egypt* had carried away. In the second year of his reign, *Nadab* succeeded *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the sins of his father, and his being killed at the siege of *Gibbion*, a fortress belonging to the *Philistines*, by *Baasha* a man of the tribe of *Issachar*, who having seized upon the kingdom, destroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, according to the prophet's word<sup>c</sup>.

*Asa's reign,*

*and piety.*

At length, *Asa* saw his kingdom attacked by an army of 10,000,000 *Cushites*, besides chariots, with *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* at their head (B). *Asa*, who trusted more in his God, than in his own strength, was nothing terrified at this numerous host, but came against him with his army; and after a sharp battle, which was fought at *Maresbab*, did totally rout the *Ethiopians*, and returned to *Jerusalem* laden

*His victory over the Cushites.*

<sup>r</sup> 2 Chron. xiii. pass.

seq. & 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9.

<sup>s</sup> 1 Kings xv. 3.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Kings xv. 27, & seq.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ver. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, &

(A) It is said in the ii<sup>d</sup> of the *Chronicles* (65), that the Lord struck him with death; by which is meant, that he died by some unnatural death; and, indeed, his character is constantly loaded with infamy, for the idolatries which he introduced in *Israel*, which lasted till the dissolution of that kingdom.

(B) Archbishop *Usher* (66) places this famous

action in the first year of *Asa's* reign; other chronologers about the fifteenth, more or less (67) of it. We have followed the author of the ii<sup>d</sup> book of *Chronicles*, which affirms, that there was peace during the first ten years (68); and that *Asa* offered great sacrifices at *Jerusalem* in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thanksgiving for his late victory (69).

(65) Chap. xiii. 20.  
CALMET, & al.

(66) *Ann. sub A. M.* 3063.

(68) Chap. xiv. 1.

(69) Ibid. ver. 10, & seq.

(67) Vid. & Sir I. NAWR. *Chronol.* p. 99.

laden with their spoil. At his return, he was met with by a prophet, who encouraged him with fresh promises from God, that he should still prove successful against his enemies, provided he continued firm in his zeal and obedience to God. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he sacrificed a considerable portion of the spoil to the service of God, and had the pleasure to see multitudes flock to him from several of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or success drew away from *Baasha*, the new-made king of *Israel*.

Makes an alliance with Benhadad.

It was, probably, this continual defection which caused a series of skirmishes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortress of *Ramab*, to stop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of *Syria*, and *Asa*, afraid of engaging two such powerful enemies, found no better expedient, than to bribe *Benhadad* to break his alliance with him, and to cause some powerful diversion in his kingdom. To this end, he sent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treasury, and in that of the temple; which had such an influence upon the *Syrian* king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of *Naphtali*, and obliged *Baasha* to desist from his enterprise, to go and defend his territories<sup>c</sup>. As soon as he was departed from *Ramab*, *Asa* issued out a proclamation, and ordered his subjects, none excepted, to transport all the materials of that fortress to *Geba* of *Benjamin*, and to *Mizpeh* in the tribe of *Judah*, and to fortify those two places with them. In the mean time, the prophet *Hanani* took the liberty to come and reprove *Asa* for his weakness, in seeking help from *Benhadad*, when he had been so lately victorious over the *Ethiopian* host; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reason of a distemper in his feet, probably the gout, was so exasperated at his boldness, that he cast him into prison. He was likewise guilty of some cruelties towards other persons, upon what pretence the text doth not say; but it is likely that his disease had inclined him to it, because it is observed to have lessened his confidence in God, and to have sent him to the physician for help<sup>f</sup>. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoshaphat* (C).

His disease,

and death.  
Year of the Flood, 2085.  
Year before Christ, 914.

Elah, king of Israel, murdered by Zimri.

*Baasha* all this while continued in the idolatries of *Jeroboam*, and in constant war with the king of *Judah*, when *Jebu*, the son of *Hanani*, came from the Lord to tell him, that since he had imitated his predecessor in his sins, he should likewise share in his punishment, and be cut off with his posterity. *Baasha* died soon after, and was succeeded by his son *Elah*, who ascended the throne in the 26th year of *Asa*'s reign; he had scarce reigned two years before he felt the effects of *Jebu*'s prediction; he was then at the siege of *Gibbeton*, where *Zimri*, who commanded over his chariots, slew him, and seized upon his kingdom. *Zimri*'s reign lasted but seven days; *Omri*, another general officer, being chosen king by the army: yet found he time enough in that short space, to destroy the whole race of *Baasha*, even to his farthest relations. *Omri* left *Gibbeton*, and came to besiege him in *Tirzah*; but before he could enter that city, *Zimri* went into the royal palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself in it<sup>g</sup>; however, he reigned long enough to shew himself unworthy of the kingdom, by his propensity to *Jeroboam*'s idolatry.

*Omri* had another competitor, *Tibni* the son of *Ginatb*, whom one part of the people had elected king; but the party of *Omri* being much the stronger, soon persuaded the rest to join with them; so *Tibni* was killed, and *Omri* reigned unrivalled. This happened in the 31st year of *Asa*'s reign.

DURING the first six years of his reign, *Tirzah* being then the royal palace of residence, *Omri* bought the hill of *Someron*, or *Samaria*, of one *Shemer*, for two talents of silver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned another six years in *Samaria*, in all the sinful ways of his predecessors,

<sup>c</sup> 1 Kings xv. 18, & seq. See before, p. 383. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings xvi. 1, & seq. ad 18.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. xvi. 12, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> 1 Kings xvi.

(C) The book of *Kings* doth barely say, that he was buried with his ancestors<sup>a</sup>; but that of the *Chronicles* (70) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a stately bed, covered with spices and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which some have concluded, that the

custom of burning the bodies of princes began from *Asa*, and that they deposited the bones and ashes in their sepulchres. We have endeavoured to confute this notion, and to reconcile the seeming contradiction of these two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader †.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings xv. 24.

(70) 2 Chron. xvi. ult.

† Vid. sup. p. 697. not. V.

a cessors, and was succeeded by his son, who proved still more wicked than any of them<sup>b</sup>.

*Ahab* began his reign in the 38<sup>th</sup> year of *Asa's*; his unlawful marriage with *Ahab king of Jezabel*, the daughter of *Etz-Baal*, king of *Zidon*, proved a constant source of idolatries and wicked deeds in him, and of plagues and misfortunes to his king-<sup>Year of the Flood, 2081, Year before Christ, 918.</sup> dom. His complaisance for her made him suffer her to introduce the worship of the *Zidonian* deities, which consisted in human sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies†. These were at first introduced into his court, for which a sumptuous temple, an altar, and grove, had been built to *Baal* in *Samaria*; but as his weakness suffered him to assist at those hellish ceremonies, his example soon  
b spread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet *Elijah* was sent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courses, by assuring him, that God would shortly punish the land with a grievous famine, during which, there should be neither dew nor rain to refresh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which, he went and concealed himself during the space of three years (D)<sup>i</sup>.

WHILST *Ahab* and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in *Israel*, and murdering all those, whether prophets or others, who dared oppose them, *Jehoshaphat*, who succeeded *Asa* about the latter end of the fourth year of *Ahab's* reign, was destroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worship of God  
c in his own kingdom, with such zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greatest prosperity and success. He was thirty-five years old when he began his reign, and the first thing that he set about was the pulling down all the monuments of idolatry, and sodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to abolish; and in the third year of his reign, he sent some of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of priests and *Levites*, with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to instruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the same time, he fortified all the considerable places of the land, and put garrisons in them, as well as in those which his father had taken from the kings of *Israel*. Besides these, he had the most numerous army of any of his predecessors, it consisting  
d above 11,000,000 fighting men (E). Upon all these accounts, he was so prosperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared molest him; the *Philistines* and *Arabians* were tributaries to him; and his allies were still increasing his wealth by their presents<sup>k</sup>.

THUS

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 21, & seq.  
<sup>k</sup> 2 Chron. xvii. pass.

† See before, p. 401. c. & alib.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Kings xvi. 29, ad fin.

(D) There are many particulars relating to this extraordinary prophet, which have no proper connection with the history of the kings, and yet are too remarkable to be omitted; for which reason, we chuse to give them in a note in their order of time.

As soon then as he had foretold the famine, he was forced to fly from the fury of *Jezabel*, and retired into some cavern upon the border of *Cherith*, a brook which falleth into the *Jordan*, where he drank of the water of it, and was furnished twice a day with bread and flesh by the ravens. He stayed not long there, because the excessive drought had dried up the brook; but went to *Zarephath*, a city of *Zidon*, which laboured also with the famine. There he met with a poor widow gathering a few sticks without the walls of the place, having but so much flour and oil left as would make one cake, which she designed for her son and herself, without knowing how to procure more when that was spent. The prophet, tired with his journey, asked her for a mouthful of bread, and a little water to drink; and she having acquainted him with her condition, he bid her not fear, but bring him what he desired; assuring her, that as long as the dearth lasted, her barrel and cruse should not cease fur-

nishing her with meal and oil enough to support them. The thing happened according to his prediction, and he continued with her till he was commanded to return to *Samaria*. During his abode with this hospitable widow, her only son chanced to die; and she, in the height of her grief, could not forbear accusing the prophet as the cause of her misfortune. Upon which, *Elijah* took the child from her, and carried him up to his bed, and having stretched himself upon him, and prayed to God on his behalf, he restored him alive to her again (71).

(E) We have had elsewhere occasion to speak of this prodigious number of soldiers\*, and to shew that they were not kept like our standing armies, in constant pay and duty, but that their names were set down in the king's muster-rolls, in order to be summoned to arms whenever occasion required it; which, considering the small compass of the land, might be done with great ease, and in a very little space; after which they returned to their families, and followed their usual occupations. We may also suppose, that the garrisons might be relieved in the same manner every three months, more or less, that every one might have time to mind his private affairs between those intervals.

(71) 1 Kings xvii. per tot.

\* Sup. p. 701. a, b. 703. c, d. & alib.

THUS it fared with that religious prince and his subjects, whilst war and famine a were the reward of *Ahab's* impiety in the kingdom of *Israel*.

*Elijah's meet-  
ing with Oba-  
diah :*

and *Ahab*.

*Elijah's zeal  
against Baal.*

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, *Elijah* came and shewed him- self to *Obadiab*, governor of *Ahab's* house, as he was going in search of some fresh springs of water, to save that little cattle they had left, whilst the king himself went another way upon the same errand. *Obadiab* was a pious man, and had shewed an uncommon zeal for the God of *Israel*, by saving 100 of his prophets from *Jezebel's* fury, and supporting them with food in their concealment during the whole time of the famine. As soon, therefore, as he saw *Elijah*, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a respectful welcome ; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modestly excused himself b from so dangerous a message, being afraid lest if the spirit should catch him away, instead of his appearing before the king, his life should answer for the disappointment ; for, added he, there is scarce a nation or kingdom from which *Ahab* has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to *Samaria*, where-ever you were found. At length, upon the prophet's promising that he would shew himself to the king, *Obadiab* went and stopt his farther search, by acquainting him with *Elijah's* return, and his promise of a speedy rain. *Elijah* accordingly appeared, and the first greet- ing between *Ahab* and him was such, as might be reasonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch, and a person of that prophet's character. After some mutual invectives on both sides, *Elyab* desired that all *Israel* might be gathered at c mount *Carmel*, with all the priests of *Baal* whom *Jezebel* maintained ; which being done accordingly, he reprov'd the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their service between God and *Baal*. " You see, said he, that I am " the only prophet of the Lord that is left, and those of *Baal* are 450 ; let them " offer up a bullock to *Baal*, and I will offer another to the God of *Israel* ; and let " the deity whose sacrifice is consumed by a preternatural fire, be henceforth " the only object of your worship." As soon as the people had expressed their assent to his proposal, the priests of *Baal* were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood of the altar, and called upon d *Baal* from morning till noon ; and not finding the least symptom of answer, they d began, according to their custom, to cut themselves with knives till the blood ran down upon the ground \*. All this while, *Elijah* plied them with the most biting sarcasms, bidding them to cry louder, for *Baal*, no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unless he were either asleep, or more advantageously taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening sacri- fice, he reared up an altar of twelve stones, according to the *Mosaic* law, and laid the wood and victim upon it ; and having caused a deep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him that he would shew himself to the whole people, to be the only God in all the e world ; upon which, a fire fell down from heaven, which consumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches ; at sight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The Lord is the only God*. The prophet then, addressing himself to the people, told them, that if they were really persuaded of it, they ought to seize on those false prophets, pointing to the priests of *Baal*, who had seduced them from his worship to serve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook *Kishon*, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the motion ; and *Ahab*, whether the late miracle made him approve their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obstruct it, suffered them to be hurried away to death. *Elijah* then advised the king to make what f speed he could to *Jezreel*, to avoid being caught by the rain, which would shortly come down in great plenty, as it did accordingly. As soon as *Ahab* had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at *Carmel*, and what shameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the sight of all *Israel*. One would expect, that the long-wished-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inspired her with an uncommon respect for his person ; but it happened quite otherwise, and the death of so many of her prophets, threw her into such a rage, that she vowed to send the

a the author of it after them by the next day. And *Elijah* was forced a second time to fly for his life (F)<sup>1</sup>.

By that time *Abab* had reigned 18 years, *Benbadad*, king of *Syria*, came at the head of 32 petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid siege to *Samaria*; where, notwithstanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatened both king and city, he was beat by a handful of men, who sallied out upon him at mid-day, with *Abab* at their head; and forced to fly with a prodigious loss. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the *Israelites* with a terrible slaughter, and himself in danger of being taken prisoner in the city of *Apbeck*; but upon his sending from thence a submissive message, *Abab* received him with an amazing generosity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together; after which, he generously dismissed him without any further ransom. The particulars of these two famous actions, the reader will find in the history of *Syria* †. As soon as *Benbadad* was departed, one of the sons of the prophets presented himself before *Abab*, with his face all besmeared with blood and dirt, and complained, that during the action, a *Syrian* prisoner had been committed to his custody, with a strict charge not to let him escape, under pain of death; but that whilst he busied himself about one thing or other, the prisoner was fled, and himself now in danger of being punished for his neglect. *Abab*, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no scruple to pronounce him guilty of death; but the prophet wiping his face, and disdovring himself to the king, soon let him know that he had passed his sentence against himself, and that since he had let so powerful an enemy of *Israel* go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life should pay for that of his prisoner. *Abab* was struck with such surprize at the boldness of the stratagem, that he went away to *Samaria* full of grief and indignation (G)<sup>m</sup>; nevertheless, he kept his word with the king of *Syria*, till his detaining *Ramoth-Gilead*, a city which belonged to *Israel*, contrary to his promise, obliged him to invade his territories about three years after<sup>n</sup>.

IN

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. pass. xix. 1, 2, 3. † See before, p. 383, & seq. <sup>m</sup> 1 Kings xx. pass. <sup>n</sup> See *Usher's Ann. sub A. M.* 3104.

(F) The prophet seems, at this time, to have been under such apprehensions, that he could not stay till providence directed him what course to take, as he had done in his last flight. He stopped not till he came to *Beersebabab*, a city in the land of *Judah*, and near 150 miles from *Samaria*; where having dismissed his servant, he continued his march one whole day towards the wilderness of *Arabia Petrea*. At length, being quite spent with the journey, and tired with life, he laid himself down under a juniper-tree, and after some bitter complaints, fell asleep. He was soon after awaked by an angel, who bid him refresh himself with some food, and when he looked about, he found a cake of bread, and some water, and did eat and drink, and fell asleep again. The angel awoke him again, and bid him eat once more, before he went on his journey, which he told him would be a long one; and so it proved indeed, for he went, upon the strength of it, forty days, till he came to mount *Horeb*, where he found a convenient cave to lodge in. Here the word of the Lord came to him, and asked him what he did there? and he answered, that he was the only prophet of the Lord whom the idolatrous *Israelites* had not slain, after they had broken his covenant, and destroyed his altars; and that because he had been zealous enough to reprove them for it, they sought his life also. The voice commanded him then to stand upon the mount, where he should hear the Lord pass by him; that he should hear a strong wind, capable of rending the rocks asunder; and afterwards an earthquake, and then a flame; but that the Lord would not manifest himself in any of these, but in a small and still voice. Accordingly, when *Elijah* heard

the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle, and the Lord commanded him to go back by the way of the wilderness, or by desert paths to *Damascus*, and there anoint *Hazael* to be king of *Syria*, *Jehu* to be king of *Israel*, and *Elisha* to be prophet in his room; telling him, that those three should not sheath their swords, till *Abab's* impious race, and his idolatrous subjects, were utterly cut off by one or other of them; all which happened accordingly, as we shall see in its proper place.

In his return, he passed by the grounds of *Elisha*, the son of *Shaphat*, where he and his servants were ploughing, and cast his mantle upon him. *Elisha*, ready to follow him, begged leave to entertain him at a feast, whilst he took his leave of his friends; but it doth not appear that he stayed to partake of it; and indeed the place was too near *Samaria* and *Jezreel*, and it was dangerous for him to stay there; however, he went after him as soon as they had made an end of eating. Neither doth it appear from the text, that *Elijah* went to anoint either *Hazael* or *Jehu*; it is most likely, that that ceremony was not performed till after his translation, as will appear by the sequel.

(G) *Josephus* (73) calls this prophet *Micaiah*, and adds, that the king caused him to be put into prison for his boldness; which is not unlikely, because, when *Abab* was afterwards going against *Ramoth-Gilead*, and had sent for him at *Jehoshaphat's* request, *Abab* expressed a particular aversion against him, because he was ever prophesying evil against him; and when he had foretold him his overthrow at *Ramoth*, he condemned him to the same punishment (74).

(73) *Ant. l. 8. c. 8.*

(74) 1 Kings xxii. pass.



Naboth murdered.

IN the mean time, *Abab* suffered himself to be seduced by *Jezebel* to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and to his whole family. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jezebel*, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which *Abab* offered to buy, or barter for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his house; but as it was reckoned scandalous to sell an inheritance, *Naboth* was uncourteous enough to refuse the offer, to the great mortification of the proud king. *Jezebel* was acquainted with it, and being resolved at once to procure the vineyard, and to punish *Naboth* for his refusal, she sent a letter to the elders of *Jezebel*, sealed with the king's signet, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to hire some loose fellows to swear treason and blasphemy against him, and then to stone him to death for it. The *Jezebelites*, not daring to disobey her orders, sent her word soon after of *Naboth's* death, and she acquainted *Abab* with it; but whilst he was taking possession of the ground, the prophet *Elijah* came to him from God, foretold the destruction that his murder would bring upon him, upon *Jezebel*, and upon all his whole house; that the dogs should lick his blood, where they licked that of *Naboth*, that *Jezebel* should be devoured by dogs, and all his posterity utterly cut off. This dreadful sentence, from so considerable a prophet, did so alarm the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home filled with the deepest grief, and by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious respite; so that the calamities that were to fall upon his house, did not happen till after his death<sup>a</sup>. It is probably about this time, that he is supposed to have made his son *Abaziah* co-partner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy (H), whilst he humbled himself in sackcloth and ashes, to avoid the impending judgment of God<sup>b</sup>; but this change was but short-lived, and he soon returned to his former impieties.

Ahab's expedition against Ramoth.

ALL this while *Jezebel* had enjoyed a profound peace, and spent his time partly in strengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter abolishing of idolatry, and promoting the worship of God. He is blamed only for two things, his not totally demolishing the high places, and his making alliances and affinity with *Abab* (I). It was in consequence of this last, that he came down to *Samaria* to pay a visit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his son *Jezebel*. By this time, *Abab* had resolved upon retaking of *Ramoth-Gilead* from the *Syrians*: he took therefore that opportunity of asking his royal guest to assist him in the enterprise, to which he readily consented, but desired first of all, that God might be consulted concerning the success of that expedition. *Abab* immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of *Samaria*, where the king of *Judah* and he sat, each on a stately throne, and upon his asking the question, they one and all promised him, that he would come off victorious. Some of them pretended likewise to foretel his success, by some antick and awkward representations and gestures; but with such seeming eagerness and assurance, as rendered them suspected to *Jezebel*, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be sent for and consulted. There was indeed such a one as he desired, *Micaiah* the son of *Imlah*; but his strenuous veracity had made him too odious to the king; however, he was obliged in complaisance to *Jezebel*, to send for him, and he being before acquainted with the flattering promises of the false prophets, by the officer who brought him, did likewise answer, in a jocular tone, that the expedition could not fail of success; but the king, observing that he did not speak seriously, adjured him to tell him the truth in the name of God: upon which, *Micaiah* told him,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings xxi. pass.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. ibid. ver. 17, & seq.

(H) At least this is the only expedient by which chronologists can reconcile the anachronisms, which one meets with between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*; the one beginning their reign from the death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being raised to a partnership with them. The reader may see an instance of it proved in archbishop *Usher's* annals (75), both in *Abab* above-mentioned, and in his cotemporary *Jezebel*; who raised also his son *Jezebel* to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further observed, that this method became very expedient, if not absolutely

necessary, in dangerous wars, in which the kings used to lead their own armies, and often lost their lives, to appoint their successors, and to leave them vicegerents of the kingdom during their absence; upon which account, this wholesome custom prevailed also among many other eastern nations.

(I) This affinity was in suffering his son *Jezebel* to marry *Ataliyah*, the daughter of *Abab*, a most wicked princess, who proved the author of great mischiefs in *Judah* (76); and by whom he had a son named *Abaziah*, who afterwards succeeded his father, as we shall see in its proper place.

a him, that he would certainly lose the day, with his life, that his army would be defeated, and that God had suffered his prophets to be possess'd with a lying spirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was so far from being deterred by this speech, from his favourite enterprise, that he caused the prophet to be kept in a dungeon with bread and water, until he returned victorious, and went resolutely upon his own ruin; and *Jehoshaphat* being too easily persuaded to accompany him, did narrowly escape sharing in the same fate: we have seen the ill success of this expedition in a former chapter \*.

*Abab*, wounded by a random shot, died in the evening, and as soon as his death was known, his generals caused a retreat to be sounded through his army, and both sides withdrew before night. The king's corps was brought to *Samaria*, and buried in the royal sepulchre, and his bloody armour, chariot and harness, were brought to a pool in that place to be washed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood, verified *Elijah's* prophecy against him †.

His ill success and death.

Year of the Flood, 3102.  
Year before Christ, 897.

*Jehoshaphat*, on the other hand, having thus happily escaped, returned to *Jerusalem*, and in the way was met by the prophet *Jehu*, who reprov'd him in the severest terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Israel*, and told him, that if God had not had a greater regard for that zeal which he had express'd for his service, than to this last and unworthy action, he would certainly have suffered him to fall with his idolatrous ally. The king, become sensible of his error by this reproof, and by his late danger, endeavour'd to retrieve it by a more assiduous application to every thing that related, either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progress through a great part of it, diligently examined how the priests instructed the people, the judges and magistrates administred justice, and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy so good a prince ‡.

In the mean time *Abaziah*, who had succeeded his father *Abab*, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the second year of his reign, and was so hurt by the fall, that his life was despair'd of. In this extremity, he sent messengers to consult *Beelzebub*, the deity of *Ekron*, about his recovery; but these were met by *Elijah*, who sent them back with this mournful message to their master, that since he had sent to the god of *Ekron*, as if there had been none in *Israel* worth consulting, he should never stir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was surpris'd at the suddenness of it, that they had met a prophet, who sent them back with the sentence of death from the Lord; and upon their describing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be *Elijah*, and died soon after, according to his prophecy § (K). During his short reign, the *Moabites*, who had been tributaries to *Israel*, ever since *Jeroboam's* defection, rebelled against him; wherefore, when his brother *Jehoram* came to the crown, he sent to beg *Jehoshaphat's* assistance, who made no scruple, upon

\* See before, p. 385. 2.

† 1 Kings ult. pass.

‡ 2 Chron. xix. per tot.

§ 1 Kings i. pass.

(K) The text adds, that *Abaziah* sent three officers, one after another, each at the head of fifty men, to fetch the prophet to him by main force, and that the two first companies were devoured by fire from heaven; but the last addressing himself to him in an humbler manner than the two former, not only escap'd their fate, but prevail'd upon him to go to the king; where he only confirm'd his first message, and went his way.

Soon after this, that extraordinary prophet was translated into heaven in a fiery chariot, and left a double portion of his spirit with *Elysha*, who, from that time, became as famous in *Israel* for his zeal and miracles, as his master had been (77), as we shall see in the sequel of this history. As soon as he had lost sight of his master, he took his cloak, which was fallen from him as he was taken up, and with it divided and repass'd the *Jordan*. Here he was met with a company of prophets, who perceiving

that the spirit of *Elijah* rested upon him, prostrated themselves before him; and having observ'd to him the pleasant situation of *Jericho*, whose soil, however, was unhappily barren through the brackishness of its water, he went with them to the fountain-head, and flung a pitcher full of salt into it, from which time it always yielded sweet water, and the land became fruitful.

*Elysha* went from thence to *Bethel*, and, in his way, was met by a parcel of idle boys coming out of that place, who cried to him in mockery, *Come up, thou bald man*. These were, in all likelihood, the children of some of the worshippers of *Baal*, who had been taught to shew an unusual disrespect for the prophets of God. This seems at least very probable, from the punishment which befel them; for the prophet had no sooner curs'd them in the name of God, than forty-two of them were torn in pieces by two she-bears out of the wood (78).

(77) 2 Kings ii. pass.

(78) Ibid. ver. 23, & seq.

upon such an occasion, to go in person to help to reduce them. It was well for *a* *Jehoram* that he had so good a prince with him, for when their army was ready to perish with thirst, *Elisha*, at his request, obtained a miraculous supply of water, which did at once refresh the confederate army, and by the redness which it did cast at sun-rising towards the *Moabitish* host, did so scare them, that *Israel* gained a compleat victory over them, as we have seen elsewhere †.

Judah invaded.

At length, towards the latter end of his reign, *Jehoshaphat* saw his kingdom invaded by the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with such speed, that they were already got as far as *Hazazon-Tamar*, or *Engedi*, that is within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this *b* surprise he had recourse to God, proclaimed a strict and general fast, and went at the head of the people, who were assembled at *Jerusalem* upon that occasion, to the temple, where having implored the divine assistance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was answered by the prophet *Jabaziel*, that God would speedily deliver him from those invaders in such an extraordinary manner, that he should have nothing to do but seize upon their spoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out against them with a small army, whom he still encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon God; but they soon beheld that which did it more effectually, their enemies seized with a kind of pannic phrensy, slaughtering one another with greater fury than themselves could have done; till they were all *c* cut off. The plunder they found among the slain, being more than they could well carry, they only picked out the richest, which they were three days gathering \*, and on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called *Berachab*, or *Blessing* (L). The army, in their return to *Jerusalem*, marched at the sound of musical instruments, accompanied with canticles sung by *Levites*, after which *Jehoshaphat* ended his days in peace †. Some time before his death, *Abaziah*, who was then king of *Israel*, and as impious as his father *Abab*, obtained his consent, to send some ships of his own to *Tarsish* along with his fleet; for which *Jehoshaphat* was severely rebuked by the prophet *Eliezer*, who foretold him at the same *d* time, the loss of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reason he never would let any of the ships of *Israel* mix with his own ‡. He died in the 60<sup>th</sup> year of his age, after he had reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoram*. His history is said to have been written by the prophet *Jehu* §, which book seems to have been lost, with many others, at the captivity.

Jehoshaphat's miraculous success.

His death.

Judah and Israel immersed in idolatry.

*Jehoram*, who, as we observed before, had born a share in the government of *Judah* towards the latter end of his father's reign, did no sooner see himself alone upon the throne, than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himself and his house all the curses that had been pronounced against that of his father-in-law. *Judah* and *Israel* seem now but one kingdom, and one scene *e* of all manner of idolatry and wickedness: they are both governed by kings of the same name; *Jehoram* king of *Judah*, is influenced by his wife *Atalia*, the impious daughter of *Abab*, and *Jehoram*, king of *Israel*, by his mother *Jezebel*; this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been abolished by his two predecessors; both of them bringing down the heaviest judgments from heaven; the one, by forsaking the ways of his pious father, and the other, by continuing in those of his impious one; or what was still more surprising, whilst the king of *Israel* did endeavour so far to reform from him, as to destroy the *Phœnician* idols which *Abab* had reared up, and

† See before, p. 290. e. \* See before, p. 291. c. ‡ 2 Chron. xx. 2, & seq. ad 30. § Ibid. ver. 36, 37. comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49. ¶ 2 Chron. ubi supr. ver 31. & 34.

(L) This valley is supposed, by many *Jews* and *Christians*, to be the same which is mentioned by the prophet *Joel* (79), and that it will be the scene of the universal judgment (80). Others think, that the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, there mentioned, is between *Jerusalem* and the *Mount of Olives* (81), or in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (82); but we can see nothing in that passage, that refers either to

the last judgment, or to this *Valley of Blessing*; and it is most likely, that by the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, the prophet meant no more than the literal sense of the word imports, *Jehoshaphat* signifying the judgment of God, which may be applied to any place where God doth inflict his judgments upon offenders of any kind.

(79) *Chap. iii. 2, & 12.*  
*de locit. & al. in loc.*

(80) *Vid. ABENEZER. KIMCHI. & MUNST. in loc.*  
(82) *CYRIL. ALEX. in loc. & al.*

(81) *BEDA*

a and contented himself with the idolatrous worship of the two golden calves<sup>2</sup>, that of *Judab* was adopting those very deities in his kingdom, and even in *Jerusalem*<sup>3</sup>. Thus whilst the former forsook the God of *Israel*, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the same guilt, and in the same punishment; with this difference however, that that of *Israel* is entirely cut off, with his whole posterity; whereas, in that of *Judab*, an infant is miraculously preserved, to make good God's promise to the house of *David*.

*Jehoshaphat* had left a numerous issue, and disposed of all his sons into several cities of *Judab*, under proper tutors, and with incomes suitable to their rank; but he was scarce cold in his grave, before his impious son signalized the beginning of  
b his reign, with an universal massacre of them, and of all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppose, or dislike his cruelty<sup>4</sup>. After this, being wholly influenced by his impious queen, he gave himself up to idolatry, and set up the worship of *Baal*, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For these he was severely reprov'd, by a letter sent him by *Elijah*, a little before his assumption; wherein that prophet likewise foretold him, among many other evils, the almost total extirpation of his posterity, and his own death by an incurable disease in his bowels<sup>5</sup>.

THE first token of the divine displeasure which he felt, was the revolt of the *Edomites*, who refused to pay him the usual tribute. *Jehoram* went out against  
c them, and beat them; but they soon recovered strength enough to shake off the yoke, and to set up a king of their own over them, as we have seen elsewhere<sup>6</sup>; and in so doing, they verifed *Isaac's* prophecy, that *Esau's* posterity should in time, shake off the yoke of *Jacob*<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, *Lisnab*, belonging to the priests, in the tribe of *Judab*<sup>8</sup>, and upon the frontiers of *Idumea*, revolted from *Jehoram*, probably to *Edom*, though the text says not to whom<sup>9</sup>; but these were but the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was presently after invaded by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, and these penetrated even to *Jerusalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with *Jehoram's* wives and all his sons, except only *Jehoabaz*, who was the youngest,  
d and succeeded him after his death. *Jehoram* was soon after seized with an incurable disease in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which lasted two years, and weakened him to such a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with extremity of his pain. He was buried in a sepulchre by himself, probably by reason of the corruption and stench which attended his disease, and without the usual ceremony of burning spices and other odoriferous drugs about his body, or any other royal pomp. He reigned eight years<sup>10</sup>, four with his father *Jehoshaphat*, and the other four by himself: his disease having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his son *Jehoabaz*, otherwise called *Abaziah*, viceroy, who succeeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of *Jehoram*, king of  
e *Israel*<sup>11</sup>.

WHILST *Judab* was in this dismal plight, *Elisba* was working wonders for *Israel*. We have seen elsewhere, what a miraculous cure he wrought upon *Naaman*, a famous general of the king of *Syria*, and how he discovered all the secret designs of that prince to the king of *Israel*<sup>12</sup>, and by that means prevented the *Syrians*, for some time, from succeeding in their attempts against him. But at length *Benbadad* came up, not by ambushes and stratagems as formerly, but with a numerous host, and besieged *Samaria* so close, that it began to labour under a very pinching  
famine; inasmuch, that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and  
a small measure of pulse (M) for five. How long this siege had lasted, is not easy  
to

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings iii. 1, & seq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. viii. 17, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. i. & seq.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. ver. 12, & seq.

<sup>6</sup> See before, p. 316. a.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxvii. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Josh. xv. 41.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. vi. 57.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Kings viii. 22. 2 Chron. xxi. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. ver. 18, & seq.

<sup>12</sup> Vid.

USSER. Ann. sub A. M. 3115, & 3118. & 2 Kings viii. 25.

† See before, p. 385, & seq.

(M) As most translations have rendered the word *chirionim*, by *doves dung*, they have given commentators a vast deal of trouble to find out such an use for it, as might answer this excessive price that was given for it, that a measure which held but

six eggs should sell for above eleven shillings. It were endless to mention all their various conjectures (83), we have therefore followed the learned *Bochart's* version (84), who proves that the word doth, among other things, signify a kind of peas, common

(83) Vid. lib. LE SCENE. & Essay on a new version, pt. ii. chap. iii. § 2. A. 1. c. 7. § 7.

(84) Hierof. tom. ii.

*A great famine in the land.*

to guess, but what might increase this grievous famine was, that it had began a some years before in the land, inasmuch, that *Elisha*, who timely foresaw it, sent his kind hostels the *Shunamite*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to seek for food where she could get it, whilst himself tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous supply of food<sup>a</sup>, till the *Syrian* army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity to which *Samaria* was reduced, seemed either to have obliterated all the former services of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him suspected of being since gained over to the *Syrian* interest, since he suffered the city to labour under these difficulties, without interposing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occasions. His suspicion at length broke b out with unusual fury, upon the following dreadful occasion: The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him and begged for justice against another woman, whom she had admitted to eat a share of her boiled child, upon condition, that when they had made an end of him, her own should be likewise drest to supply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refused to let her partake of it. Such a shocking story, accompanied with all the tokens of despair, could not but fill the distressed monarch with the utmost horror: he rent his cloaths, and discovered his flesh covered with sackcloth, and not knowing how to vent his grief otherwise, he swore, that *Elisha's* head should pay for the distress of the people; and sent immediately c an officer to take it off. *Elisha* was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty, to the elders of *Israel*, who were at his house just as the messenger of death was entering it. However, the prophet found means to get him stopped at the door, till the king himself appeared, and then, after he had represented to him the unreasonableness of punishing an innocent person, for a calamity which was sent from above<sup>d</sup> (N), he desired him to have but patience till next day, by which time there would be such a supply of provision in *Samaria*, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion. By this means the prophet saved his life, and thought the king could scarce give credit to him, yet he thought it more adviseable to defer his resentment, till he saw the d success of this wonderful promise.

THE thing, however, happened according to his prediction. On that very night some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, resolved, whatever betided them, to go into the *Syrian* camp, in hopes to find either some lucky supply of food, or, at the worst, to be put to a speedier death than that of starving. They were surprised to find their tents full of provisions and baggage, but empty of inhabitants. As soon therefore as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it still the same; and after they had conveyed away a considerable quantity of rich plunder, they began to blame themselves for not e acquainting the famished *Samaritans* with the happy news. The king, as soon as he was acquainted with the story, suspected it to be a stratagem of the *Syrians*,  
continued

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<sup>a</sup> Comp. 1 Kings iv. 38, & seq. with viii. 1, 2, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. vi. pass.

common in all those countries, and which the *Jews* in particular used to parch over the fire for food (85), in the same manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read of further, that an ass's head was sold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of *Moses*, we must attribute the eating of it at that time, to their extreme want of provision, which in all such cases may be allowed to dispense with law.

(N) The text is somewhat obscure here; the words run literally thus (86), and behold the messenger came down unto him, and he [but whether the prophet, or the messenger, or the king, is not easy to determine] said, Lo! this judgment is from the LORD, and what, or why should I wait any longer for the LORD? They seem therefore to be the words of a man in a kind of despair, and to have

been rather spoken by *Jehoram*, and to imply thus much, *If it be true that this evil, or this famine, is sent us from the LORD, it is in vain to wait any longer for a deliverance from him.* It is likely, therefore, that the king had designed, before this unnatural accident happened, to have surrendered the city to the king of *Syria*, and had been dissuaded from it by *Elisha*, with some promise of some speedy relief. Under these dreadful circumstances, therefore, he goes and upbraids him with it; *Has God, said he, reduced us to such extremity, that mothers are forced to eat their children, and wouldst thou still flatter me with vain hopes of some relief, till all my subjects are perished with hunger and misery, when I might, and ought to have saved their lives by a timely surrender?* Whereupon the prophet appoints the precise time of their despaired of deliverance to be on the very next day.

(85) *Ibid.* 2 Sam. xvii. 28. & *HIERON.* in loc.

(86) 1 Kings vi. ver. ult.

<sup>a</sup> contrived to intice him out of the city ; but upon his sending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmost precipitation, and had left their tents, horses, and richest baggage behind them ; *The siege* for, on the foregoing night, the Lord caused them to hear an extraordinary noise *raised.* of chariots, horses, and armour, which made them conclude, that *Jebeoram* had hired the kings of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring nations against them\*. This spread such an univerſal panic through the whole camp, that they did not ſo much as ſtay to mount their horses, but fled in the utmoſt confuſion on foot ; leaving, beſides an immenſe variety of rich plunder, ſuch a quantity of provisions *A great plenty* behind them, that a meaſure of fine flour was ſold for a ſhekel, and the reſt in *in Samaria.* proportion, at the gate of *Samaria*, according to the word of *Eliſha*. At the ſame time a nobleman, who had ventured to declare againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an unexpected plenty, and had been answered by the prophet, that he ſhould ſee it without taſting of it, was appointed by the king to ſtand at the gate of the city, to prevent any diſorders, and was, notwithſtanding his care, trod to death by the preſs, and verified *Eliſha's* prophecy<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Soon after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of diſcontent, or by divine impulse, took the way to *Damaſcus*, where the king lay ſick, being quite exhausted through old age, fatigues, and diſappointments. What the deſign and reſult of that viſit was, the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of *Syria*<sup>k</sup>. In the mean time the king of *Iſrael* entertained himſelf during his abſence, with recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his ſervant *Gebazi* (O) ; who, among other things, was giving him an account of his raiſing the child of his *Shunamitisſh* hoſteſs to life (P), and of his ſending her and her family to ſeek their bread out of

\* See before, p. 387. c.

† 2 Kings vii. paſſ.

\* Ibid. viii. 1, &amp; ſeq.

(O) This ſervant, we read, two or three chapters before, had, for his covetouſneſs, inherited *Naaman's* leproſy (87), which was, according to *Eliſha's* word, to ſtick to him as long as he lived, and ſuch perſons were obliged to live apart from the reſt. It is therefore ſomewhat ſurprizing, that the king of *Iſrael* would converſe with a man whom the meanſt perſon in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be ſaid to it, is, either that he was made to ſtand at a convenient diſtance, and with his mouth covered ; or that the king's curioſity made him overlook ſuch nice circumſtances at that particular juncture.

(P) The occaſion of this miracle was as follows: The woman, who was rich and childleſs, having obſerved the prophet to paſs very often by her houſe, as he went through the city of *Shunem*, prevailed upon her husband to build him a bed-chamber, and to put a bed, table, and candleſtick in it, and to invite him to lodge there as often as he pleaſed. *Eliſha*, deſirous to gratify them for their hoſpitality, asked his ſervant what he might do for them ; and being answered that they had no children, he called the woman, and told her, that in due time ſhe ſhould embrace a ſon, as a reward of her kindneſs to him. She was accordingly brought to bed of a child ; and when he was grown big enough to go and divert himſelf with reapers, he was one day brought home ſick, and expired about noon in his mother's arms. As ſoon as he was dead, ſhe laid him on the prophet's bed, and made what haſte ſhe could to mount *Carmel*, where he then was ; and as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of him, ſhe fell at his feet, and acquainted him with her ſon's death. *Eliſha*, ſurprized that the Lord had not revealed this accident to him, gave *Gebazi* his ſtaff, and bid him run with all poſſible ſpeed, and lay it upon the dead child ; but the woman, not daring to truſt to that, embraced his legs, and begged that he would come with her, which he readily complied with. The ſervant, how-

ever, was got to the houſe long before his maſter, and had laid the ſtaff upon the child, but without any ſucceſs. At length the prophet went up himſelf, and laid himſelf upon the child, mouth to mouth, calling ſtill upon God to reſtore him to his ſorrowful mother, which he at length obtained ; and whiſt ſhe received him with a maternal joy, ſhe owned that ſhe was now more than ever convinced that he was indeed a prophet, and that the words of truth were in his mouth (68).

During the famine, one of the prophet's widows came to *Eliſha*, and complained, that her husband died in debt, and that her two ſons were now upon the brink of being ſeized, and ſold by the mercileſs creditor. The prophet, moved with compaſſion, and unable to aſſiſt her any other way than by a miracle, asked her what ſhe had in her houſe that could be turned into money ; and being answered, that ſhe had nothing left but a poor cruſe of oil, he bid her go and borrow as many veſſels of her neighbours as ſhe could, and to fill them out of the cruſe ; which ſhe did, and the oil did not ceaſe flowing out of it, till ſhe had filled all the other veſſels. *Eliſha* then bid her ſell as much of it as would pay the debt, and keep the reſt for her own uſe †.

After this, *Eliſha* tarried ſome time in *Gilgal* with the reſt of the prophets ; and having one day ordered ſome pottage to be made for them, one of the ſervants went to gather a lapful of herbs, and inadvertently cut ſome wild gourd, or night-ſhade, among them ; as ſoon as they had taſted it, they cried out, that death was in the pot ; but when he was apprized of it, he cauſed ſome meal to be thrown into the pottage ; after which, they eat it without fear or danger (89).

At another time, a man having brought him a preſent of firſt-fruits, being twenty barley-loaves, and ſome new parched corn, *Eliſha* bid his ſervant to ſet it before the company, who were about one hundred

(87) Ibid. v. ver. ult. (88) Ibid. iv. 8, &amp; ſeq. † Ibid. ver. 1, 2, &amp; ſeq. (89) Ibid. ver. 38, &amp; ſeq.



of the kingdom, during the seven years of famine. He had scarce made an end of the story, when the woman herself came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiscated during her absence, and gave *Gebazi*, who presently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumstances could not but render her suit successful; but the king did even grant her more than she asked, and ordered an officer to accompany her, and see that she had not only her land, but likewise the seven years income of it refunded to her<sup>1</sup>.

Jehoram's second expedition against Ramoth.

By this time, *Hazael* having murdered *Benbadad*, and invaded his throne, according to the word of *Elisba*, *Jehoram*, who was then at peace with the king of *Judab*, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune against *Ramoth-Gilead*, b which his father had attempted in vain. He sent at the same time to *Abaziah*, who had succeeded his father in *Judab*, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. *Abaziah*, who was then but twenty-two years of age (Q), being the youngest of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother *Ataliab*, and by such counsellors as she pleased to appoint to him. And as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of *Israel*. This expedition seemed at first more successful than the former; but in the event it proved the fatal source of endless misfortunes to *Israel*, by giving *Hazael* an occasion of exercising all those cruelties which had been foretold by *Elisba*. Neither c did it prove less fatal to *Jehoram*; the city was indeed taken, but himself was so desperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to *Jezreel* to be cured, leaving *Jebu* at the head of a number of forces to secure the place, whilst the king of *Judab* probably returned to *Jerusalem*. In the mean time, *Elisba* sent one of the young prophets to *Ramoth*, where he ordered him to anoint *Jebu* king of *Israel* privately, and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute his vengeance against the whole race of *Abab*, even to the impious *Jezebel*, whose carcass should shortly be devoured by dogs, whilst all the rest of his family were condemned to perish by his sword. The prophet had no sooner executed his commission, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent with all d speed, to avoid being examined about it. When *Jebu* came out, the officers that were with him asked him what business that mad fellow had been transacting with him (R); and as soon as he had acquainted them with the secret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of *Israel* by sound of the trumpet. But *Jebu* did not think it proper to have the conspiracy known, till he had reached *Jezreel*, and surprized the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppose him; he therefore told them, that if their hearts went with their mouths, they should suffer none to get out of *Ramoth*, to go and acquaint the king with the news, whilst he rode with all speed at the head of his men to *Jezreel*, which he did immediately after. As soon as he came within sight of the place, the watch,

He is wounded there.

Jehu anointed.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings viii. 15. See *USSEK*. Ann. sub A. M. 3120.

hundred in number. The servant hesitated some time, thinking it insufficient for such a multitude; but, upon his telling him that there would be more than enough for them, he obeyed, and found it even as his master had said; for they all eat their fill, and left some of it remaining (90).

(Q) The book of the *Chronicles* makes him to have began his reign in the 42d year of his age; but that is allowed to be an error †, unless we will understand those 42 years not of his age, but of the time which had elapsed from *Omer's* coming to the crown, to the reign of *Abaziah*, as *Tremellius* doth, which amount just to that number (91).

(R) The *Jews* rightly observe, that there was something in the looks and gestures of these prophets, which made them pass for mad-men among those who did not know them ‡; which is agreeable enough to what we read of *Saul*, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilst the spirit was upon

him (92). But what might still add to the uncommonness of their figure and behaviour, was the oddness of their dress, their living by themselves, and seldom appearing in places of public resort, but upon some extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under some dread whilst they went about it. Such was this, in particular, which made the young prophet run away with such speed, before any one could know it, but the person to whom he delivered it.

The text adds, that *Jebu's* company took off their upper garments, and laid them under him, to raise him up above the rest, whilst they paid homage to him. The place where this is said to be done, was upon the top of the stairs (93), which, according to the same *Jews*, being out of the house, served also for a sun-dial; the degrees of the shadow being marked against the wall (94), to shew the hours of the day (95).

(90) *Ibid.* xlii. ad fin. † See before, p. 736. d. (91) *Vid.* TREMEL. in 2 *Chron.* xxi. 1. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 731. c. (92) 1 *Sam.* xix. ult. *vid.* sup. p. 765. e. (93) *Vid.* MUNST. in 2 *Reg.* ix. sub not. 1. (94) *Ibid.* ver. 13. (95) *Chald. Paraph.* KIMCH. & al. *vid.* & MUNST. *ubi* sup.

a watch, alarmed at the sight of a troop that drove with such uncommon speed, acquainted the court with it; and the frightened king sent two messengers successively, to enquire whether they came peaceably or not. But *Jebu* having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he sent word of it to the king of *Judab*, who was come to visit him, and these two went with their guard against *Jebu*, who by that time was known by the centinel, by the furiousness of his driving. The place where they met one another was the vineyard for which *Naboth* had lost his life; and here *Jeboram* asked him, whether he came peaceably: but *Jebu* soon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his, and his mother *Jezebel's* murders and idolatries, and by putting himself in an hostile posture against him. The frightened monarch cried out in vain to *Abaziah*, that they were betrayed; before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, *Jebu* pierced his heart with an arrow, The kings of Israel and Judah killed by him. and ordered one of his captains to cast his body in *Naboth's* field, there to be devoured, according to the word of *Elijah*. At the same time, the king of *Judab*, frightened at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid sharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that lead to the garden-house; but *Jebu* commanded a party of his men to ride after him, which they did, and having overtaken him at the ascent of *Gur*, they gave him so many desperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of *Megiddo*, and was carried to *Jerusalem* and buried with his ancestors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one son, a child, who afterwards succeeded him, when he was yet but seven years of age.

WHILST *Jebu's* men went in pursuit of *Abaziah*, *Jebu* himself marched directly towards the royal palace of *Jezebel*, where *Jezebel*, the queen mother, who was by that time informed of her son's fate, was waiting to give him such a haughty welcome, as did not well suit with her present circumstances; but she hoped, perhaps, that he would shew some regard, if not to her quality, yet at least to her sex; perhaps also did she think, that she had still charms enough, in spite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, especially after she had improved them by art, and with the richest ornaments. She was looking out of a window when *Jebu* entered the palace; and, in a haughty tone, asked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predecessor *Zimri* had formerly met with. *Jebu* stayed not to give her an answer, but observing some eunuchs standing d on each side, he commanded them to throw her out of the window, which they did, and in the fall, some of her blood was dashed against the wall, and her body soon after trampled to death, by the horses that were in his retinue. Jezebel killed. As soon as he and his company had refreshed themselves in the palace, he gave orders to some of *Jezebel's* servants to go and bury her corps, seeing she was of the royal blood; but when word was brought to him, that the dogs had devoured it all except her skull, the palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet, he made use of that circumstance, to convince his attendants of the truth of *Elijah's* prophecy<sup>m</sup>.

BUT that prophet's sentence did not stop at these three impious persons, the whole race of *Abab* was included in it, and he had left seventy sons who were all brought up under governors in *Samaria*. *Jebu*, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried whether the chief magistrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the posterity of their late king. To this end, he sent letters to them, seemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the bravest of *Abab's* sons, and to set him upon the throne. But they, who did rightly guess at the meaning of such a message, and were but too much intimidated by his late success against the kings of *Judab* and *Israel*, chose rather to sacrifice that unhappy race to *Jebu's* known valour, than to run the risk of turning it against themselves. They therefore sent a deputation to him, to acquaint f him, that they would do nothing but by his commands, which they were ready to execute, as soon as they should receive them; whereupon, he sent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baskets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody present of seventy heads was sent to *Jezebel* on that very night; and *Jebu* ordered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of *Samaria*; and on the next morning, 70 sons of Ahab killed. the

<sup>m</sup> 1 Kings ix. pass.

the elders of that city came, and presented themselves before him there. As soon <sup>a</sup> as he saw them, he spake to them to this effect: "You do, in all probability, look upon me as the sole author of all this bloodshed, as the murderer of your late king, and the usurper of his throne; but if I conspired against *Jehoram*, did not you murder all these young princes, in whose defence you might have stood, if you had thought fit. Know ye therefore, that neither you nor I have done more than executed the sentence which had been pronounced against *Abab's* posterity. But I have not yet finished my task, as long as there remain any of his kinsmen, counsellors, priests, or any of the abettors of his crimes." This was his next work, and he did not leave *Jezreel* till he had put them all to death.

*Jehu* took then the road to *Samarina*, and in his way he met forty-two princes of the house of *Judab* (S), who were going down to pay a visit to those of the house of *Abab*, all whom he also caused to be slain upon the spot. After this, he met with *Jehonadab* the son of *Rechab* (T), and took him up into his chariot

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to

(S) The text calls them the brethren of *Abaziah* (96), but we have often observed, that it means also brother's children; and these are called so, accordingly, by the author of the *Chronicles* (97). The place where they were slain, is called in the original *בֵּית הַבֵּתֶל* *bet beth-betel*, or, the pit of the house for binding or shearing; which was either a place of sheep-shearing, or, as some fancy, took its name from the young princes being bound and put to death there (98). It is not unlikely, neither, from the text, that they, having heard of the slaughter that had been made in *Samarina*, and that *Jehu* was going thither in person, might hide themselves, either in that pit, or in some of the shepherds huts, to avoid falling into his hands.

(T) The *Rechabites*, so famous in Scripture for the austere singularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world, by a peculiar abstinence from wine, from dwelling in houses, from possessing either houses, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (99).

Who the author of this institution was, whether the *Jehonadab* here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critic (100), he hath found the etymon of *rechab* in the *רֶכֶב* *rekab*, or chariot of *Elijah*; and that of the *harisites*, his supposed disciples, in the *פֶּרָאִשִׁים* *perashim*, or horses of it (1). So that, according to him, the words of *Elisha* should not be rendered as we do, My father, my father, the chariot of *Israel*, and the horses thereof; but, My father *Rechab*, &c. or, at least, the former called themselves *Rechabites*, from the *rechab*, chariot; and the latter from the *perashim*, or horses of it. Pursuant to this, our author observes, that when *Josiah*, king of *Israel*, came to visit *Elisha* as he lay on his death-bed, he addressed him likewise in the same words, My father, the chariot of *Israel*, and so on (2). He even ventures to prove that institution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult task, if we can but suppose that *Enoch* was translated in the same kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critic (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of *Jeremiah*, and that this *Jehonadab*, for whom *Jehu* shewed such regard, was only a person of the same name with the founder of that *Rechabite* life; and

that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of such an unpolite institution. What he offers to prove the one, and disprove the other of these points, having more of oratorical confidence, than solid reasoning, we shall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that those *Rechabites*, whom *Jeremiah* speaks of, express themselves in such terms, as argue nothing less than the recentness of their institution (5).

Between the extremes of those two above-mentioned authors, are those who believe that *Habab*, the son of *Jethro*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, as he was a *Kenite* †, was the founder of the *Rechabites*; that *Rechab* was one of his names, and *Jehonadab* one of his descendants; and lastly, that *Heber* the *Kenite* was also an observer of the *Rechabite* institution (6). *Serrarius* is of the same opinion in most of these points, but distinguishes two sorts of *Rechabites*; the one instituted by *Jethro*, or *Habab*, and the other by *Jehonadab* (7); but all this is said without foundation. We shall say nothing of those who pretend that they were either of the tribe of *Judab* (8), or of that of *Levi* (9); or that they were *Rechabites*, or descendants of *Jethro*, by the father's side, and *Levites* by the mother's; and, as such, that they were employed in much the same offices of the temple with the *Nethinims* (10). It is plain, the author of the book of the *Chronicles* calls them *Kenites*, descended from *Kemath*, the father of the house of *Rechab* (11); though it doth not appear that all the *Kenites* observed the institution of *Jehonadab*, but only those who were his immediate descendants.

For these reasons, we rather chuse the most received opinion, that *Jehonadab*, *Jehu's* friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the Scripture, and nothing urged on any hand that can give any of the contrary opinions the face of probability. *Jehu's* behaviour to him, and his inviting him to be an eye-witness of his zeal for the God of *Israel*, and of the havoc he was going to make among the worshippers of *Baal*, argues him to have been an eminent person, not only for sense and virtue, but also for his uncommon piety and zeal; and, as such, he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the observance of it to his posterity, perhaps, through some disgust which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the *Israelites*, which made it needful to separate from them,

(96) 2 Kings x. 13. (97) 2 Chron. xxii. 8. (98) Vid. TREVELL in 2 Kings x. 12. (99) Jer. xxxv. 6, 7. (100) J. BOLDUC. Eccles. ant. Leg. l. iii. c. 16. (1) 2 Kings ii. 11. (2) Ibid. xiii. 14. (3) Gen. v. 24. (4) SCALIG. Elench. Tribares. Vid. GOODWIN Mos. & Aer. lib. i. c. 9. § 23, & seq. (5) Jerem. ubi sup. ver. 8, & seq. † Vid. sup. p. 301. (6) Vid. in. al. ARR. MONTAN. in judic. 1. SNACTION. in Jerem. xxxv. MINERVA. cap. 13, & seq. (7) SERRAR. l. iii. c. 9. (8) THEODORET. in 1. Paralip. (9) HEGESIP. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 23. Vid. CALMET. sub m. Rechabite. (10) Rabbim. alig. ap. SANCTION. & CORNEL. in Jerem. xxxv. (11) 1 Chron. ii. 15.

a to *Samaria*, that he might be an eye-witness of his zeal against the impious worshippers of *Baal*.

As soon as he was come to that capital, he caused a solemn feast to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal for that deity, than any of his predecessors; and ordered all its priests, prophets, and votaries, to be present at it, none excepted, under pain of death; and as soon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the sword, in the middle of their worship. After this, he took down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, and burnt them out of the temple, and caused that building to be demolished, and turned into a common jakes.

*Baal's priests and temple destroyed.*

b But his metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to *Baal*, for the infection had spread itself throughout the kingdom; wherefore he did not stop his hand till he had entirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry; and this he did with such zeal and diligence, that God, highly pleased with it, sent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of *Israel* should remain in his posterity till

them, by living in the pure and unstained country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for not being so. The *Aenites* not being of the seed of *Israel*, many broils and disputes might have arisen between them about the possession of lands, which might make him disclaim even the use and culture of them. The almost continual depredations to which *Israel* was exposed from their enemies round about, to say nothing of famine and pestilence, made the pastoral life seem to him much more eligible; because, in such cases, it was more easy to remove into better or safer abodes, in imitation of the antient patriarchs. Wine was of too enervating a nature, and might, in time, have tempted his descendants into a looser and more luxurious life; for which reason, he thought it necessary to forbid the use of it. Lastly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he seems chiefly to endear it to his descendants by the prospect of health, ease, and length of days (12). How far the horrid debauchery, both in religion and morals, which reigned as well in *Judah* as in *Israel* for a considerable time, to say nothing of the frequent conspiracies and rebellions which happened in the latter of those kingdoms, might contribute to determine, if not to force a man of his character to this kind of retired life, we need not say.

The question will only be, how he could bind his posterity to the observance of it. But here we need not repeat what has been said upon other occasions, concerning the power of parents in cases of the like nature\*, because we do not find that *Jehonadab* did lay them under any curse, in case of disobedience; on the contrary, we find that the prophet *Jeremy* was directed by God to bring them to an apartment of the temple, to set wine before them, and invite them to drink it; which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indispensable obligation of abstaining from it; and, on the other hand, the *Rechabites* refused it; not because their father had laid them under any curse if they disobeyed him, but because he promised that they should live many days in the land wherein they were strangers, if they obeyed his voice (13); which promise being also made to those who honoured their parents (14), might the more incline them to that strict obedience, for which they are so highly commended by God in the place above quoted. We may add farther, that their retiring into *Jerusalem* during the time of the siege, which

was a breach of the injunction, without being so much as blamed for it by *Jeremiah*; is a proof that they were not under an indispensable obligation to live in tents, and in the country. Though even here we think it had been much better for them to have removed further out of *Nebuchadnezzar's* way, instead of sheltering themselves in the city; where they not only suffered all the common calamities of a long siege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of *Judah*; for we find some of them, at their return from *Babylon*, who settled themselves at *Jabez* or *Jabez* (15); and the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have these words in the title of the *lxxth*, which is our *lxxixth* psalm; *A psalm of David to the sons of Jonadab, and the first captives*; but as they are not in the *Hebrew*, we shall lay no farther stress upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to observe their father's injunction, and whether the *Pharisees*, *Assidees*, and *Essenians* were their followers, is foreign to our present purpose, and may, perhaps, be inquired into, when we resume the *Jewish* history after the captivity. It is true, the *Rechabites* had a promise from God, as a reward of their obedience, in these words; *Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me for ever* (16). But this phrase is far from implying, that they were either priests or *Levites*, and, as such, should continually minister at the altar, as some have fancied (17); or that they should have a seat in the great sanhedrim (18), which we have proved, elsewhere, was not yet in being†. The reader will see some better explications of the words, in the authors quoted in the margin (19), which is out of our province to dwell upon. Sure it is, that if our *Jehonadab* was the founder of this institution, his descendants did strictly observe it during the space of 300 years, whatever became of them afterwards; for so long it was between *Jehu* and the *Babylonish* captivity. A *Jewish* traveller of the 12th century (20), doth indeed tell us, that they are still in being, and strict observers of their old institution. He gives us also a fine description of their country, princes, government, and other particulars; but that author is so well known to deal in fables, and the account itself is so fully confuted by the learned *Constantine L'empereur*, that we shall leave it to his *Jewish* brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of reading it here.

(12) *Jer. ubi sup. ver. 7. Vid. PETER. MARTYR. ALTING. R. D. KIMCHI. & al. in lo. \* Vid. sup. p. 631. c. & 751. not. O.* (13) *Vid. Jerem. ubi sup.* (14) *Exod. xx. 12, & alib.* (15) *1 Chron. ii. ubi.* (16) *Jerem. ubi sup. ver. ult.* (17) *THEODOR. & al. sub citat.* (18) *Vid. KIMCHI, in loc.* † *Vid. sup. p. 525. not. H.* (19) *Vid. SCALIG. Titbaref. c. xxv. ALTING. GOODWIN. ubi sup. & al.* (20) *BEN. de TUDEL. Itinerar. p. 75, & seq.*

till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promise had encouraged him to have extirpated likewise the worship of the golden calves of *Dan* and *Betbel*; but he unhappily followed *Jeroboam's* politicks as long as he lived; for which reason, God began to cut *Israel* short, even from the beginning of his reign, so that *Hazaël* greatly prevailed against them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and half on the other side *Jordan*, besides some other frontier places on this side, and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the sword in the most inhuman manner (V), as we have seen in the *Syrian* history †. *Jebu* died in the 28<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, and was buried in *Samarina*, and was succeeded by his son *Jebobaz*ⁿ

Athaliah's impious reign;

and slaughter of David's race.

Joash is preserved;

WHILST *Jebu* was abolishing the worship of *Baal* in *Israel*, the impious *Athaliah* was using her utmost efforts to root out, not only that of the living God, but even the remembrance of it, out of *Judah*. The death of her son *Abaziah*, and of forty-two princes of his house, followed by that of *Jezebel*, by the hands of a person newly raised to the throne of *Israel* by divine command, filled her with such an abhorrence both for the race, and the God of *David*, that she resolved not to sheath her sword, till she had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promises of the other. But whilst she was wreaking her utmost fury against the sad remains of the house of *Judah*, providence conducted thither *Jezebel's* daughter of the late king *Joram*, who was then married to the high-priest *Jeboiada*⁰; and that pious princess found means to save young *Joash*, her brother *Abaziah's* son, who was then but a year old, from *Athaliah's* sword, and to convey him and his nurse out of the palace, unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was carried into the temple, where he was brought up under *Jeboiada's* care, and kept there with the utmost privacy till he was seven years old. During those six years *Athaliah* tyrannized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jerusalem* with blood, and destroying the servants of the true God, that she might the more effectually establish the worship of *Baal* through the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were grown to such an height, that *Jeboiada* saw himself forced to put a stop to them, by producing the only remains of *David's* race, at once to convince the people that God was still mindful of his promise to that holy monarch, by preserving him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin; and to inspire his desponding subjects with a brave desire of shaking off the bloody yoke of the reigning tyranness. To this end, he privately called some of the chiefs and elders of *Judah*, upon whose valour and fidelity he could depend, and having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he shewed them the young monarch; told them by what means he had been saved; and exhorted them to stand now, if ever, in the defence of their young king, of their religion and liberty. The desponding chiefs, who thought that the cruel *Athaliah* had wholly extirpated *David's* race, and had lost all farther hopes in the promises made to his posterity, received the news of their preserved king with a surprising joy; and, to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and attachment, they paid their homage, and took an oath of fidelity to him, promising the high-priest at the same time, that they would go out of hand, and raise what forces they could, whilst he strengthened himself in the temple, by retaining and arming all the priests, *Levites*, and *Netbinims*, who should otherwise have gone out in their courses, to make way for those who came thither to vacate at the divine service. All this was done with such secrecy and dispatch, that the temple was filled with armed men, unto whom *Jeboiada* appointed their several posts; by which time, the generals without had raised a sufficient number of men, ready to second them upon the first signal. When the day appointed was come, the young monarch f was brought out, and conducted into the priests porch, attended with a numerous train

† See before, p. 388. b.

ⁿ 2 Kings x. per tot.

⁰ Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 3 Chron. xxii. 10.

(V) It is not easy to guess at what period of *Jehu's* reign this cruel war happened; *Usher* doth make no mention of it till the time of his son (21), but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the *Syrian* history (22), which is according to the chronology of our Bibles; for though God had promised, that the

crown of *Israel* should continue in his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal against *Baal*; yet he did not promise him a quiet reign, and his continuing in *Jeroboam's* idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved if he had abolished that also out of his kingdom.



a train of armed *Levites*, and there the high-priest anointed and crowned him, and administred the usual oath to him upon the sacred volumes. He was immediately after seated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that sacred place ring with, *Let us live king Joash.* *and crowned.*

AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noise brought to the temple, was the frightened queen; but whether alone, or attended with her guard, the text doth not say. She ventured directly into the priests porch, from which her sex and idolatry excluded her, and as soon as she saw the young king seated on his throne, attended with such numbers of armed men; she rent her cloaths, and, in a desperate fury, rushed in amongst them, crying out treason; but *Jeboiada*, fearing lest his zealous

b *Levites* should pollute that sacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was soon after conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-priest, who by this time was in the highest esteem, both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worship of *Baal*; he began with exhorting them to renew their covenant with God, to renounce *Baal*, and all other false deities, and to adhere strictly to the Lord. This was also immediately performed with uncommon readiness and zeal; and as a mark of their sincerity, they began with the temple of *Baal*, where having sacrificed *Matban*, the infamous priest of it, at the foot of its altar, they pulled the whole fabrick to the ground; nor did they stop their

c hand, till they had likewise destroyed all the other temples, altars, and other monuments of that idolatrous worship, which *Athaliah* and her predecessors had reared up, both in *Jerusalem* and *Judab*. On the other hand, *Jeboiada*, who by reason of the king's minority, was at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming those who had shewed the greatest bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the highest posts in the government, instead of those of the late usurper; and by restoring that regularity in the divine service, which had been interrupted during the reigns of so many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an express prohibition to all

d strangers, and idolatrous apostates, to enter into the temple of God, and by setting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean persons, of what kind soever, entering into it. This gives us reason to suppose, that it had been exposed to such secluded persons, during the last reigns.

THUS did the divine providence preserve the race of *David* from the brink of destruction; and *Joash*, who was proclaimed king in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and of *Jebu's* reign, continued to testify his grateful sense of it, by his uncommon zeal for the worship of God, during the good high-priest's life. One of his first cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end, he ordered the priests and *Levites* to take their yearly

e circuits through all the cities of *Judab*, and to raise voluntary contributions among the people, besides the pole and redemption money (W); to be employed in finishing of those repairs. But the priests, who looked upon the latter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his orders with such shameful slowness, that he was forced to send for them, and to reprove them for their negligence, and for their misapplying of the sacred money; and to discharge them at once, both from the repairing of the temple, and from receiving any further sums towards it. The whole care of the work was committed to the high-priest, and other proper officers; and to prevent all further delays and misapplication, a capacious chest was ordered to be set up in some public place in the temple, where the

f money was deposited, till it amounted to a sum sufficient to set about the work; which it very shortly did, through the generosity of the chiefs, elders, and other wealthy men of *Judab*, who poured in their presents with uncommon readiness and munificence.

¶ 2 Kings xi. pass. 2 Chron. xxiii. pass.

(W) The pole-money is supposed to have been the half-shekel which every soul was obliged to pay, first to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, which continued to be paid till the destruction of it. As for the redemption-money, it was such as was to be paid to the priests; either to be acquitted from certain oaths or vows, or for exchanging one beast for another, and such like; of which we have spoken

at large heretofore. This latter was certainly one part of the priest's income, which the king had no power to alienate from them, unless it were by way of reprisal for the former, namely, pole-money, which ought to have been employed in keeping the temple in repair; and which, it seems, they sunk into their own pockets, leaving that building to go to ruin.



science. This money was immediately distributed among faithful workmen, who <sup>a</sup> carried on the work with so much uprightness and diligence, that without being called to any account for the sums they received from time to time, they finished it to the satisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the king's hands. This, together with what was left in the chest, was by *Jeboiada's* direction, employed in making gold and silver vessels for the use of the temple, such as censers, trumpets, spoons, forks, and the like (X), instead of those which *Athaliah* had conveyed from thence into the temple of *Baal*<sup>a</sup>. But *Joash's* zeal did not long survive *Jeboiada's* life. That good old priest died in the 130<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and for his faithful counsel, as well as signal services to the king and nation, was buried in the royal sepulchre of *Jerusalem*, and with him seemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the base princes (Y) of *Judah*, tired with dissembling a zeal for God, which that pontiff's authority had only forced from them, came and prostrated themselves before the king, desiring that they might have leave to return to the old way of worship, which they had been used to in former reigns; which the easy king, pleased, perhaps, with their uncommon submission, having too readily granted, they immediately forsook the temple and worship of God, and set up new altars to those filthy idols which they had formerly been used to worship in their groves, with the most abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after so signal a deliverance, was not however punished, till they had been often forewarned by several <sup>c</sup> prophets, of the mischiefs which it would bring upon them. But when they proved deaf to all those divine admonitions, God stirred up the *Syrian* king against them, who began to pour some small number of troops into the land, and to commit severe outrages in *Judea*, whilst the cowardly *Jews*, though much superior in number, were delivered into their hands, as a punishment for their idolatry<sup>a</sup>. Among those prophets who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to assure them, that these would prove only the preludes of worse mischiefs, was the high-priest *Zechariah*, the worthy son and successor of the late *Jeboiada*; but his zeal cost him his life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard to either the sacredness of the place, or of his character, as <sup>d</sup> a prophet and high-priest, or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, *Zechariah* being full of the spirit of God, foretold to them, as he was dying, that God would speedily punish the murder upon the king and them, both which happened soon after accordingly: for *Hazael*, flushed with the success he had had against *Judah*, and with the vast quantity of spoil which he had sent from thence to *Damascus*, came up against *Jerusalem*, and made a terrible slaughter among those *Jewish* princes, who had been the first authors of that defection. The king himself found no other way to escape, either sharing of their fate, or a shameful slavery, but by stripping the temple and his own palace of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the *Syrian* conqueror, who thereupon left *Jerusalem*, and returned to *Damascus*<sup>a</sup>. *Joash*, however, did not escape the divine vengeance, and though he then laboured under some grievous disease, his own servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed, in the 40<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, and crowned his son *Amasiah* in his stead. *Joash* was by this time in such abhorrence for the murder of the high-priest, that it proved not only the occasion of his own, but also of his being deprived of the royal sepulchre; for though he was buried in the city of *David*, yet the text says, that

*Joash and his chiefs forsake God.*

*Zechariah is slain.*

*The king of Syria invades Judah.*

*Joash is murdered.*

<sup>a</sup> Vid. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7, 13, 14. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 24: <sup>c</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xii. pass. & 2 Chron. xxiv. pass. See also before, p. 388. e.

(X) There seems to be a contradiction between the book of *Kings*, and that of the *Chronicles*; the former tells us, that none of this money was employed in making vessels for the temple (23), and the latter affirms the contrary (24), but the matter is easily reconciled, by supposing that the first means only, that none of that money was used to those purposes till the repairs of the temple, for which it was raised, were fully finished.

(Y) The author of the book of *Chronicles* calls them by that name (25), not as being of the royal blood, for those had been all destroyed by *Athaliah*, so that there were none then alive but *Joash's* children; but here is meant only the chief of the families of that tribe, which, as well as those of the other tribes, are often disguised with that title (26).

(23) 2 Kings xii. 13. (24) 2 Chron. xxiv. 7, 14: Numb. vii. 2, & seq. xxv. 14. & alib. pass.

(25) Ibid. ver. 17. (26) Vid. inter al.

a that they did not deposit his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, but in some place a-part <sup>1</sup>.

*Amasiab* succeeded him in the twenty-fifth year of his age, by which time *Jeboabaz*, the son of *Jebu*, having reigned 17 years in *Israel*, had left the kingdom to his son *Joash*. During this time, nothing considerable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had also exposed them to the cruel oppressions of the king of *Syria*, till *Jeboabaz*'s repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance <sup>2</sup>; for the fuller account of which, we shall refer the reader to a former chapter <sup>†</sup>. What happened during his son's reign, we shall see in its proper place; in the mean time, the young king of *Judah* had no sooner

*Joash* succeeded by *Amasiab*.

Year of the Flood, 2160, Year before Christ, 839.

b settled himself upon his throne, than he caused the murderers of his father to be put to death. However, it is here observed, that he spared their children, accordingly to the law of *Moses*, which forbids them to be punished for their father's crimes <sup>3</sup>; from which one may reasonably suppose, that all his predecessors were not equally strict observers of it. The truth is, that *Amasiab* had seen such severe judgments inflicted upon *Joash* his father, and his apostate chiefs, as made him a long time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too soon, and, like *Joash*, having began his reign piously and successfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His signal success against the *Edomites*, of which an account has been formerly given <sup>4</sup>, promised to him by God himself, did but too much

c swell the heart of that young monarch; he had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of *Israel*, when he was going upon that expedition. But a prophet came to him, and commanded him, in the name of God, to dismiss those auxiliaries, assuring him, that such idolatrous troops would only be an invincible obstacle to his success, if he persisted in making use of them. The king, upon the point of obeying, was only solicitous how to get back the 100 shekels of silver which he had already paid for them; but the prophet having told him, that God was able to repay them to him with advantage, he dismissed the *Israelitish* troops, not without great resentment and heart-burning on their side, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the

*Amasiab*'s success;

d countries they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendship between those two monarchs, and proved the source of a bloody war. Happy had it been for *Amasiab* if this had been all, but that infatuated prince, after his victory over *Edom*, became so stupidly fond of the idols, which he had taken from them, that, as if all his success had been owing to them, he caused them to be set up in *Judah* at his return, and went so far as to burn incense himself before them. He was severely rebuked for this by a prophet, who asked him, among other things, what assistance he could hope for from those false deities, which could neither deliver their votaries, nor themselves from his hands? But the king, who was then too elated to bear either his advice or reproof, asked him, who made him his counsellor? and in a threatening tone, commanded him to hold his peace, and not provoke him to punish his insolence. After such monstrous instances of his folly and ingratitude, we need not wonder if he was abandoned by God to rush into his own ruin.

and idolatry.

*Amasiab* had indeed cause to resent the ravages which the disbanded *Israelites* had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition against *Edom*, and had he been less proud of his success, he might have taken more proper measures for doing himself justice for them; but he seems to have been above all these considerations, and the insolent challenge which he sent to *Joaz*, the then king of *Israel*, and grandson of *Jebu*, *Come and let us see one another in the face*, doth plainly show, that he wanted only to try his valour or fortune with him. On the other hand, *Joaz* had no less reason to trust to his own; *Joaz*, soon after his accession to the crown, had been paying a mournful visit to the prophet *Elisba*, who was then lying on his death-bed, to represent to that holy person, the melancholy state in which he was going to leave the kingdom, which had already suffered the greatest calamities from the kings of *Syria*, during the two last reigns; and the prophet, touched with a sense of it, had prophesied to him, that he should gain three succeeding victories over that domineering nation <sup>5</sup>. *Joaz* therefore, who had by this

Is defeated by the king of *Israel*.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. <sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6. <sup>†</sup> See before, p. 389. a. under note B. <sup>3</sup> Deut. xxiv. 16. <sup>4</sup> See before p. 316. b. <sup>5</sup> 2 Kings xiii. 14, & seq. See also before, p. 389. b.

this time given such signal proofs of his courage and conduct, by those three victories, which he had gained over the Syrians, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predecessors (Z), could not forbear expressing the utmost indignation at the receipt of this arrogant cartel. The answer he returned, was couched in the most scornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a despicable thistle, which having aspired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been crushed under the feet of a wild beast; he concluded with advising him to rest contented with his late petty victories, and not suffer his ambition to drive him into a desperate attempt, which would end, in all likelihood, in the total loss of his kingdom. But *Amasiah*, who was not to be humbled by words, was only the more exasperated at this answer, and hastened to go out against his rival: the two armies met in the neighbourhood of *Besthemesh*, where *Judah* was totally routed. *Josephus* adds, that they were seized with such a panic, at the very first onset, that they turned their backs without striking one stroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror. *Amasiah* was actually taken prisoner, and *Joaz* marched on with him, and his own army, to *Jerusalem*, where he obliged him to buy his freedom, at the expence of all the gold and silver which were found, either in the temple or in his own treasury; after which, having demolished about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken some hostages with him, he returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above one year, after which he was succeeded by his son *Jeroboam*, the second of that name, after he had reigned 16 years. As for *Amasiah*, though he outlived his disgrace above 15 years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign; when having discovered a conspiracy, that was formed against him at *Jerusalem*, he was forced to flee to *Lachish*, where, notwithstanding his precaution, he was pursued and murdered by the conspirators. He was carried back upon horses to *Jerusalem*.

*Amasiah*  
taken prisoner.

2

1<sup>st</sup> Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

(Z) It is not easy to determine the time when *Joaz* won these three victories; but however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received this proud challenge from *Amasiah*, when he was then in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the Syrians soon after the beginning of it (28). Archbishop *Ussher* places it in the sixth and subsequent years of his reign, when having, as he supposes, taken his son, the brave *Jeroboam* II. into consorship with him, he left the kingdom under his care, whilst he went out against the armies of Syria (29).

The manner in which the good old prophet did foretell these signal victories, is too remarkable to be past by. The king having express'd his sense for the loss of so great a protector, in the most pathetic terms, *Elisha* bid him take his bow and arrow in his hand, and put himself in a posture of shooting out of his window eastward towards Syria; which being done, he put his hand upon that of the king's, and bid him shoot; and as the arrow went, he cried out, *The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria*; and then told the king, that he would beat the Syrians in *Aphrek*, till he had quite consumed them. But when he bid him afterwards to smite upon the ground with another arrow, and the king had done so three times, the prophet was displeased at it, and told him, that if he had happened to have struck the ground five or six times, it would have been a certain sign of his totally defeating his Syrian enemy; but since he had stayed his hand at the third stroke, he should gain but three battles against him (30). The thing happened accordingly, and Syria, after having been kept under during *Joaz*

and *Jeroboam*'s reign, began to recover itself again, after the death of the latter, as we have seen elsewhere †.

As for *Elisha*, he died soon after; and before the year was out, some Israelites going to bury a corpse in the neighbourhood of *Samaria*, perceived a band of Moabites coming towards them, for fear of whom, they cast the dead body into *Elisha*'s tomb, and fled; but as soon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived, and ran after them. What use a neighbouring church has made of this miracle, in favour of the relics of their saints, is foreign to our subject: we have *Elisha*'s panegyric in few words in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*; "*Elisha*, says that author, was filled with the spirit of *Elijah*; whilst he lived, he was not over-awed by any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection; no word could overcome him; and after his death he prophesied, &c. (31)." The Jews add, that the man thus miraculously raised, was called *Sallum*, and that he begat sons and daughters afterwards. Some are of opinion, that he had been a wicked man, and, as such, unfit to lie near the sacred remains of that prophet; others think otherwise (32); neither is it worth enquiring which of the two is most in the right.

Some authors, however, not content with the miracles that he wrought during his life, and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one; namely, that one of the golden calves bellowed out these words, with such a loud voice that it was heard from *Gilgal* to *Jerusalem*; *This is he that is to destroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces* (33).

(27) Vid. *Usser. Ann. sub A. M.* 3178.

(28) Vid. 2 Kings xiii. 22, & seq.

(29) Ubi sup.

sub A. M. 3168.

(30) 2 Kings xiii. 14, & seq.

† Vid. sup. p. 389. b, c.

(31) Ecclef.

xlviii. 12, & seq.

(32) Vid. *Munst. in 2 Reg. xiii. sub not. F.*

(33) Vid. *Doroth. Eri-*

*phan, & Isidor. de mort. prophet. & Chron. paschal. ap. CALM. sub voc. Elisee.*

a *salem*, and buried with his ancestors; and his son *Azariab* proclaimed in his stead<sup>a</sup>.

In the mean time, whilst *Amasiah* spent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive security in *Jerusalem*, *Jeroboam II.* the brave great-grandson of *Jehu*, *Jeroboam II.* seemed ordained by providence to restore the kingdom of *Israel* to its pristine splendor and greatness. His reign, which lasted 41 years, besides those 10 which he had spent in copartnership with his father, gave him time more than sufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophets *Jonah* the son of *Amittai* (A), and *Hosea* the son of *Beeri*, who were contemporaries with him, and foretold, that he should compleat the deliverance of *Israel* which his father had began, notwithstanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predecessors. Accordingly, he took the Syrian capital, *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to *Judah*<sup>a</sup>, and all the country on the other side *Jordan*, from *Hamath* to the sea of the plain, or the dead sea<sup>b</sup>. The particulars of all these glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of *Israel*, long since lost. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was buried with his ancestors in *Samaria*, and succeeded by his son *Zechariah*<sup>c</sup>. *Jeroboam's* reign was indeed a glorious one, with respect to his conquests; but it stands branded for various idolatries, and for the injustice, luxury, rapine and other immoralities which reigned at that time; inasmuch, that the prophets *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the disorders and debauchery, which were committed both in *Samaria* and in *Israel* (B), and were sent to foretel the sad and total ruin, which their sins would

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xiv. pass. to ver. 21. 2 Chron. xxv. per tot. <sup>a</sup> See 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Numb. xiii. 21. <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xiv. pass. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. ult.

(A) This is the same *Jonah*, or *Jonas*, as he is called in the Gospel (34), who was afterwards sent to preach repentance to the *Ninevites* (35). *Usher* justly observes, that he was a native of *Gathhepher* (36), a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* (37) in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles* (38), against that false affirmation of the *Jews*: That out of *Galilee* there never arose a prophet (39). It is uncertain whether those glorious successes, which he foretold to the king of *Israel*, were committed to writing, and since lost; or, which is more probable, were only delivered by word of mouth. We have nothing left of him but the book that bears his name, which relates to his being sent to preach repentance at *Nineveh*, the metropolis of *Assyria*, and is therefore foreign to our present subject.

(B) The former of these prophets seems to accuse the *Israelites* (40) of the same enormities as had been formerly committed in *Gibeath*, where the *Levite's* concubine had been abused to death (41). He speaks of their having multiplied their idols to a shameful degree all over the kingdom, for which, and for all their other abominable practices, he denounces a total ruin and desolation to the king and people; which he also lived to see accomplished in the sixth year of *Hezekiah*, when *Israel* was carried away captive (42).

*Hosea's* prophecy begins with the command which he received from God, to go and marry a common prostitute, and to adopt her spurious brood (43); a command, which has given so much offence to the pious, and has administered such occasion of ridicule to the libertines, that we hope it will not be thought improper to set the matter in a true light, for the benefit of those who have not leisure, or opportunity, to consult the best commentators upon it. And here we may safely reject the solution of those subtle doctors, who pretend,

that God may dispense with the laws of purity; or of those who look upon this marriage to have been transacted only in a vision; or that it is only a parable; such evasions do often leave a greater difficulty than they endeavour to remove.

Nothing is more obvious than that the Scriptures, we may add all languages, give to men and things the qualities they formerly had; thus the blind and deaf are said to see and hear, the dead to live, sinners to be reformed, and publicans and harlots [not those certainly who continued such, but those who were converted] to enter into the kingdom of God, before the priests, elders, and outwardly sanctified *Pharisees* (44). Will it not therefore be more natural to think, with better commentators (45), that the woman whom the prophet is commanded to marry, had been a common prostitute before she became his wife? The priests, indeed, were forbid to marry such women, but none else; and provided they were reclaimed by it from their wicked lives, there was nothing in such marriages unworthy of a prophet. On the contrary, it was the properest emblem of God's merciful dealings with the *Israelites*, whom he espoused and adopted, notwithstanding all their former wickedness; and from whom he might justly challenge the suitable returns of obedience, faithfulness, and gratitude; but which if they failed of, they could expect nothing but divorcement and rejection; such as a woman in *Gomer's* case would deserve, if she should relapse into her former vices, after she had been so kindly reclaimed from them (46).

We may add, that *Hosea*, or as the original calls him *יְהוֹשָׁעָה* *Hosheah*, which word implies a Saviour, was a kind of type of Christ, who, we know, came to espouse to himself a church, consisting not of righteous, or of those that thought themselves such, but of repenting sinners, of all kinds and nations,

(34) *Matt. xii. 41.* (35) *Jonah iii. pass.* (36) 2 Kings xiv. 25. (37) *Job. xix. 13.*  
(38) *Isai. ix. 1.* (39) *John vii. 52.* *Vid. Usher. Ann. sub A. M. 3197.* (40) *Hosei. x. 9.*  
(41) *Judg. xix. 14, & seq.* (42) *Conf. Hof. i. 1, & 2 Reg. xviii. 10.* (43) *Hof. ibid. pass.*  
(44) *Matt. xxi. 31, & alib.* (45) *Vid. de LYRA. RIBER. PISCAT. & al. in loc.* (46) *Vid. PLEISER. Dubia S. Script. LE SCENE. Essay on a new ver. p. 1. chap. 10.*

would shortly bring upon the whole kingdom. *Amos*, in particular, was sent from a *Judah*, where he was a common shepherd, to denounce the most severe judgments against *Israel*, even to the total dispersion of it; which he did under the types of grasshoppers, which destroyed all the fruit of the land; of a devouring fire; and lastly, of a plummet line and tottering wall, ready to bury the idols of *Israel* under its ruins<sup>d</sup>. For these prophecies he was accused to the king, by *Amasiah*, one of the idolatrous priests of *Bethel*, and by him commanded to return into *Judah* and prophesy there; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment against the messenger *Amasiah*, that his wife should become an open prostitute in the city, that his sons and daughters should fall by the sword, and himself die in a polluted land<sup>e</sup>, namely, that of *Affyria*; whither the ten tribes were soon after carried away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them (C).

Zechariah.

Year of the  
Flood, 2227.  
Year before  
Christ, 772.

*Zechariah* succeeded his father *Jeroboam*: he was the great-grandson of *Jehu*; and so far was God's promise to this last fulfilled, that the kingdom should continue in his family to the fourth generation; but his threatnings against that kingdom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfall of *Israel* from the reign of *Zechariah*. From that time, we read of nothing but treasons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (D), and universal desolation: *Zechariah* had scarce reigned six months, before he was publicly massacred by *Shallum*, one of his own domesticks, according to *Josephus*<sup>f</sup>, who seized upon the kingdom, and after a reign of thirty days, was himself murdered by *Menabem*, *Zechariah*'s general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. As soon as this last was seated upon the throne, he returned to *Tirzah*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly the residence of *Jeroboam I.*<sup>g</sup>, which place refusing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and committed the most horrid cruelties on their pregnant women that ever were done by the vilest barbarians. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by *Pul* king of *Affyria* (E); and as he was not in a condition to make

I

<sup>d</sup> *Amos* vii. pass.    <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* ver. ult.    <sup>f</sup> *Ant.* l. ix. c. 11.    <sup>g</sup> See 1 Kings xiv. 17.

nations, and to reclaim them from their sins by his precepts and example, as well as by his grace and holy spirit. This typical marriage might therefore have a view to him, as well as to the literal salvation of *Judah*, and ruin of *Israel*, with which his prophecies are filled. This may further appear to be the case, if we consider the names, character, and other circumstances, relating to the children which the prophet had by this woman; particularly, their changing their names from *Lo! Ammi*, thou art not my people; into *Ammi*, thou art my people; and from *Lo! Ruhamah*, she shall have no mercy, to *Ruhamah*, she shall obtain mercy; as also, their becoming as numerous as the sands of the sea; all which seem chiefly to relate to the conversion of mankind to the Christian religion. But these are out of our province.

*Hosea* is the first, whose prophecies we have had transmitted in writing; he continued in the exercise of his prophetic office near the space of seventy years, during the reigns of *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, *Jotham*, *Abaz*, and *Hezekiah*. His prophecies are divided into fourteen chapters; in the four first, he exposes the various iniquities of the ten tribes; from thence, to the twelfth chapter, he denounces the punishments impending on them, particularly their destruction by *Shalmanezzer*. The remainder is full of comfortable promises to the godly and penitent: What became of him at last, the text doth not tell us, and it is dangerous to trust to any thing else.

(C) As for *Amos*, as he was neither priest nor prophet, but only called, upon this extraordinary case, to the latter, it is probable, that after his return into the land of *Judah*, he retired into the city of *Tekoa*, where he continued to prophesy

against *Israel*, for silencing and expelling him out of their kingdom (47). He foretold, in particular, the calamities which they would fall into after *Jeroboam II.*'s death; the murder of his son and successor; the coming of *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileser*, kings of *Affyria*, against *Israel*; and the captivity of the ten tribes. Some other of his prophecies are levelled against *Syria*, *Tyre*, the *Philistines*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*; and some against the kingdom of *Judah*. His style is plain and low, and his expressions such as one might expect from a rustic or shepherd. Other particulars relating to his life and death, which we meet with in ancient fathers, we omit, because we neither think them material nor certain.

(D) Our archbishop *Usher* (48) observes here, that there must have been an *inter-regnum* of eleven years and half before *Zechariah* ascended the throne; without which supposition, it will be impossible to make his death, and *Shallum*'s short-liv'd reign, to co-incide with the 39th year of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, in which it is said to have happened (49).

(E) The same prelate (50) thinks, that this *Pul* was the father of *Sardanapalus*, called from him *Sardan-Pul*; as *Merodach*, king of *Babylon*, was called *Merodach-Baladan*, from his father *Baladan*. *Pul* is the first king of *Affyria* we find named in Scripture, from the time of *Nimrod*, and may be reasonably enough supposed to have reigned in *Nineveh* at the time of *Jonah*'s preaching; and to have been converted by him.

Those who follow the version of the Seventy, believe that *Pul* was invited by *Menabem* to come to his assistance. One of the prophets upbraids, indeed, the king and people of *Samaria*, with sending to *Affyria* for help, for which he threatens them with

(47) *Amos* ii. 13, & seq. iii. pass. & alib.    (48) *Ann. sub A. M.* 3220.    (49) 2 Kings xv. 2, 17.    (50) *Ubi sup.*    (51) *Hos.* v. 13. viii. 9, 13. x. 6, 13.



a make head against him, he was forced to buy his friendship at the price of 1000 talents of silver, which he levied upon the wealthiest of his own subjects, whom he obliged to pay 60 shekels per head; upon which *Pul* returned homewards, and *Menabem* reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was succeeded by his son *Pekabiah*, in the 50<sup>th</sup> year of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, king of *Judah*<sup>b</sup>.

The kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace, *Azariah*, whom the people had set upon the throne, immediately after his father *Amaziah*'s murder, (that is, as the text expresses it) in the 27<sup>th</sup> year of *Jeroboam II*'s reign<sup>c</sup> (F), was then but sixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by *Zechariah*, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for the great wisdom and piety of his counsels to the young monarch; so that during the life of that faithful counsellor, *Azariah* became equally conspicuous for his zeal against idolatry, for his pious imitation of his best predecessors, and for his great success against several of his neighbours, especially the *Philistines*<sup>k</sup>. He likewise fortified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demolished by the king of *Israel*, and built several fortresses and magazines in several parts of his kingdom, and in those countries which he had taken from the *Philistines*, *Arabians*, and *Mebunims* (G). His army consisted of 307,500 brave men under the command of two expert generals, *Maasiah*, and *Hananiah*, and of *Jebiel*, his scribe, or secretary of war, who appointed each band

c their respective turns, according to the muster-rolls. Besides these, he had also 2600 officers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all sorts, to supply his army with, and which he kept in several strong store-cities all over his kingdom. To these he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large stones, and other destructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks; which are said to have been contrived by some of his expert engineers. Whilst he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the business of agriculture; on the contrary, the text says, that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of husbandmen and vine-dressers; and that he built towers and cots, and

d digged wells, every where, for the convenience of his servants and cattle. So that whether we look upon him in peace or war, he seems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth.

But all this he unhappily lost by one rash act, his attempting to infringe upon the priestly office, and to burn incense upon the sacred altar. He was, however, strongly opposed by the then high-priest *Azariah*, at the head of fourscore other zealous priests, who represented to him, in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the sons of *Aaron*; the infatuated king would not desist from it, till he felt himself smitten with leprosy in such a sudden and extraordinary manner, as made him sensible that it was sent from God, as a punishment for his presumption. The priests, as soon as they perceived the first tokens of that polluting disease appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but

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<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xv. 13 ad 22. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. 1. <sup>k</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & seq. See before, p. 358. d.

with being sent thither captives (52); but the original affirms, that he came against, or invaded the land; and the book of *Chronicles* says expressly, that God stirred up the spirit of *Pul* against him, as he did afterwards that of *Tilgath-pileser*, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond *Jordan* into captivity (53). *Josephus* reckons this invasion of *Pul* to have happened towards the latter end of *Menabem*'s reign (54); but *Usher*, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(F) That is, as the same *Usher*, and the margin of our Bibles rightly observe, the 27th year from his being admitted co-partner with his father *Jeroboam*, though but the 16th from his reigning sole monarch.

(These *Mebunims* the *Chaldee* paraphrast renders *בְּשֵׁיטֵי הַמִּדְבָּר* the inhabitants in the wilderness of Mahon, which was in that part of *Arabia-petrea* toward *Gerar* and *Pharan*; for which reason, they seem joined with the *Arabians* of *Gur-baal*, who dwelt in another canton of the same province; and as both were in the same neighbourhood of *Egypt*, therefore the text adds, that *Uzziah*'s fame was spread abroad, even unto the entering into *Egypt* (55).

We ought to observe here, that these wars of the king of *Judah* are not recorded in the book of *Kings*, where his history seems strangely curtailed, but only in that of the *Chronicles* (56).

(52) *Chron.* ix. 3, & alib. pass. (53) *Conf.* 2 Kings xv. 19. & 1 Chron. v. ult. (54) *Ant.* l. ix. c. 11. (55) *Vid.* BOCHART. *Phaleg.* l. ii. c. 23. LE CLERC. *Com. in loc.* & al. (56) *Comp.* 2 Chron. xxvi. 1, & seq. & 2 Kings xiv. 21, & seq.



His death.

but *Azariah* was by that time struck with such terror and remorse (H), that he saved them that trouble, and made what haste he could, not only out of that sacred place, but even out of the city, and went to live in a separate house, where he continued, infected with that distemper, secluded from common society, and deprived of the regal power, unto the day of his death, and was buried in a sepulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his ancestors<sup>1</sup>. He died in the 52<sup>d</sup> year of his reign, and the 68<sup>th</sup> year of his age<sup>m</sup>, and was succeeded by his son *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's seclusion. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that *Uzziah's* history was written by *Isaiab* the son of *Amos*<sup>n</sup>; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name<sup>o</sup>.

Pekejah king of Israel murdered, and succeeded by Pekah.

Jotham king of Judah.

Two years before *Azariah's* death, *Pekejah* succeeded his father *Manabem* in Israel;<sup>b</sup> and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by *Pekab* the son of *Remaliab*, one of his generals, who ascended the throne about a year before *Jotham* succeeded his father in *Judah*. The character of these two princes was very opposite; *Pekab* was a wicked prince, and followed the steps of his predecessors, so that his reign proved troublesome and unsuccessful, and ended in a violent death: *Jotham* was 25 years old when his father died, he was a wise and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his father's virtues, without any of his vices, and was blessed with extraordinary success. *Pekab* having made a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, made an attempt against *Judah*; but he was soon forced to go back, and defend his own territories against *Tilgath-pileser* king of *Assyria*, who had invaded the land of *Naphtali*, took the most considerable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom; whilst *Jotham* gained several considerable advantages against his neighbours, especially against the *Ammonites*, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley<sup>p</sup>; as we have seen elsewhere<sup>†</sup>. At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other publick acts, *Jotham* died in peace, after he had reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son *Abaz*. As for *Pekab*, after he had had the mortification to see one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the last ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion; he was murdered and succeeded by *Hoshea* the son of *Elah*, in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of his reign<sup>q</sup>, and about three years after *Jotham's* death.<sup>d</sup>

HOWEVER, he was more successful, during those three last years, against *Jotham's* unworthy son, whose impieties made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and successful. He was scarce seated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of *Israel* and

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. per tot.    <sup>m</sup> 2 Kings xv. 2.    <sup>n</sup> 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23.    <sup>o</sup> See *Iſai.* i. 1, vii. 1.    <sup>p</sup> 2 Chron. xxvii. 5.    <sup>†</sup> See before, p. 297. d.    <sup>q</sup> 2 Kings xv. pass. 2 Chron. xxvii. per tot. See also *USHER. AN. sub A. M. 3245.* and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings xv. 30.

(H) The reason of *Uzziah's* being thus miraculously smitten with leprosy, is only found in the book of *Chronicles*. *Josephus* (57) adds a very remarkable circumstance which accompanied this punishment, if we may take his word for it; namely, that while the king persisted to threaten the priests who opposed his impious design, God sent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light got entrance which lighted upon his face, and covered it with leprosy; and 2. That it rent a mountain in two which stood at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, one half of which having rolled about four furlongs, stopt against another mountain, choaked the highway, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbish.

Some of the prophets do, indeed, speak of an earthquake, which happened in *Uzziah's* days; but besides that, neither they, nor the sacred historian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects against that monarch; it is plain, *Josephus* must be out in

his chronology, because he makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life; (for he says expressly, that he died of grief soon after his misfortune) whereas the former of the prophets above-mentioned says, that the earthquake happened in the days of *Uzziah*, and of *Jeroboam II.* Now it is plain, as the learned *Usher* observes, that this was long before *Uzziah* was smitten with leprosy, because his son *Jotham*, who took the government upon him immediately upon his seclusion, was not born till some time after *Jeroboam's* death (59). This remark will also hold equally good against the rest of the *Jews*, who, to make the earthquake and the king's punishment meet, affirm, that they happened in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, that is, before *Jotham* was born. Both, therefore, *Josephus* and they have joined two events together, to make the king's punishment appear more wonderful; which, it is plain from what has been said above, happened, the one about the middle, and the other towards the latter end of that prince's reign, that is, at about 25 years distance from each other.

(57) *Ant. l. 9. c. 12.*    (58) *Amos i. 1. Zachar xiv. 5.*    (59) *Vid. USHER. AN. sub A. M. 3221.*

<sup>a</sup> and Syria. *Abaz* was then under the utmost consternation, at the news of two such <sup>Ahaz's idolatrous and unsuccessful reign.</sup> powerful enemies coming up against him, and seems to have expected nothing less than the total dissolution of the *Jewish* monarchy; when *Isaiab* the son of *Amos* (I), who had begun to prophesy even from the latter end of *Uzziah's* reign, came to him from the Lord, to assure him that those two princes should try their strength in vain against *Jerusalem*, which they were then about besieging<sup>1</sup>. At the same time to assure him, that the final end of the *Jewish* monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him ask a sign of God, though never so hard, and it should be granted to him. Here the king, whether out of respect, or despondency and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured <sup>b</sup> him, from the Lord, that before that time came, *a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name Himmanu-el or God with us*, and so on (K).

No sooner had the first part of the prophecy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin, than the impious *Abaz* gave himself up to the vilest impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worst of his predecessors; burning incense to every deity, in groves, high places, and in the valley of *Hinnon*, and burning his very children in the fire, after the manner of other nations<sup>2</sup>, till God was pleased at last to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin*, to make himself amends for his ill success against *Jerusalem*, went and recovered *Eloth*, a considerable sea-port town upon the *Red-Sea*, which *Uzziah* had <sup>c</sup> taken from him; he repaired and fortified it, drove the *Jews* out of it, and peopled it with his *Syrian* subjects; and from that time the *Jews* never could retake it from his successors<sup>3</sup>. What havoc he made in his territories, we have already partly seen in the *Syrian* history<sup>4</sup>.

THE king of *Israel* was still the more inveterate and successful of the two, and it is not easy to say how far he might have carried on his conquests against him, had not a prophet been sent from God to put a timely stop to them. He had already killed in one single battle 120,000 of his bravest subjects, besides *Maazaiab*, <sup>A great slaughter of his subjects.</sup> *Abaz's* son, his subjects.

<sup>1</sup> See *Isai.* i. 1. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 1, 2, & seq. <sup>3</sup> *2 Kings* xvi. 5. See also before; p. 389. b. <sup>4</sup> *2 Chron.* xxviii. 3, & seq. <sup>5</sup> *2 Kings* xvi. 6. <sup>6</sup> See before, p. 390. a.

(I) *Isaiab*, called from the womb to be a prophet (60), and endowed with singular courage and eloquence for that important office (61), is affirmed by the *Jews*, and believed by many *Christians*, to have been the grandson of *Joash* king of *Judah* (62). His first vision was about the latter end of *Uzziah's* reign (63), but his prophecies relate to his successors; namely, the first six chapters to *Jotham*, the six next to his son *Abaz*, and the rest to *Hezekiah*; excepting, that several of them are interspersed, which relate to the *Messiah*, and to the fate of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed the prince of the prophets, for the inimitable loftiness and majesty of his style, as well as for the clearness of his prophecies.

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by *Hezekiah*, who sent to consult him upon all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, especially by *Manasseh*, by whom he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elsewhere<sup>7</sup>.

(K) This we take to be a much more natural sense of that prophecy, than to suppose, as some have done (64), that such a miraculous child was really born in *Abaz's* time, to assure him of the promised deliverance; for as there is not the least mention of such an extraordinary birth, so neither do we see that there was any necessity for it, in order to convince the desponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of *Jacob*, that the sceptre should not depart from *Judah*—till *Shiloh* was come (65); much less, that he was to spring of the lineage of *David*. But what staggered *Abaz's* faith, and made him fear that the regal

power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to set up a stranger upon his throne (66). All, therefore, that was wanting to dispel his present fears about it, was for the prophet to assure him from God, that this *Shiloh*, promised to *Judah* and *David*, who was to fore-run the total excision of the *Jewish* polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character; and other remarkable circumstances, such as he might be easily satisfied had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the prophecy which is commonly urged on the other side, namely, *Before this wonderful child shall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings* (67); we think that, if it be rightly understood, it will rather confirm our sense of the prophecy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: *For* (or rather, as the particle *כי* seems to import here) *may, before this child can know good from evil, this land which thou (V) dost not abhorrest, as our version renders it, but art so solicitous about, or givest up for lost, shall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be understood, not the kings of Syria and Israel, for the former could not be called her (Canaan's) king; and the latter had but a share in it at best; but the kings of Israel and Judah, as it really was before the coming of the Messiah.*

However, though we have delivered this our own private opinion, we shall venture no further upon the argument, much less upon some other parts of this prophecy, lest we should be thought to expatiate too far out of our province.

(60) *Vid.* *Isai.* xlix. 1, & seq. (61) *Ibid.* i. 4. (62) *Ita Rabbin. Omn.* *Vid.* *U. Hieron.* in *Isai.* pass. (63) *Ibid.* vi. 1, & seq. <sup>†</sup> *Vid.* sup. p. 674. not. D. (64) *Whitb.* in loc. *Literal. proph.* & al. (65) *Gen.* xlix. 10. See before, p. 462. not. G. (66) *Isai.* vii. 6. (67) *Ibid.* ver. 16.

son, and some of the noblest that were next his royal person; and had likewise a taken 200,000 captive women and children, whom they were carrying away to Samaria; when Obed, that was the prophet's name, stopped them short, and asked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made such a horrid and universal slaughter of their brethren, unless they carried away a much greater number into slavery? He added, that though the idolatries of Judah had drawn those heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet if they persisted to carry those innocent prisoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much severer ones upon themselves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to send their captives back to Jerusalem; which they at length complied with. This speech did even work so far upon them, that they did not dismiss them without some signal tokens of pity and humanity<sup>a</sup>.

Edom and the Israelites invaded him.

WHILST Abaz's affairs were in this dismal plight, the Edomites and Philistines did invade other parts of his land; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered several considerable frontier towns from him<sup>a</sup>. In this extremity, he had recourse to his old ally the king of Assyria, whom, to gain to his assistance, he made no scruple to strip both temple and city of all the gold and silver. Tilgath-pileser received his presents, but, instead of coming to assist him against the confederate kings, he turned his whole strength against that of Syria, under pretence of causing a diversion (L); and having killed Rezin, and seized upon his capital †, Abaz came thither to pay a visit to him, upon what c design is not easy to guess. Among the curiosities which he saw at Damascus, he was so taken with the elegance of a heathenish altar, that he caused a model to be taken from it, and to be sent to Urijah the high-priest, with orders, that he should cause one to be made after it, and to be set up in the temple. Urijah dared not disobey, but caused the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been set up by Solomon; which last was put by on the north side of it. At his return, the king, highly pleased to see his orders so punctually executed, offered up incense, and a vast quantity of sacrifices upon it: but he soon after caused the temple to be shut up, whilst he reared altars in every corner of Jerusalem, and every where else, to the Syrian gods, which he said had been so d successful against him; and having abandoned himself to the most abominable idolatries, he finished his impious reign in the 36<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Hezekiah; he reigned sixteen years<sup>y</sup>, and was buried in Jerusalem, not in the sepulchre of David, of which he was esteemed unworthy, but in some other place by itself<sup>z</sup>.

His idolatry;

and death.

THE kingdom of Israel, all this while, was in no better plight than that of Judah: Pekah had paid dear for his success against it, being murdered by Hoshea soon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of Abaz (M). This revolution, however,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6 to 16. before, p. 359. a. <sup>y</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 2.

† See before, p. 389. b. <sup>z</sup> Ibid. ver. 17, 18. See also 2 Chron. xxviii. ult.

(L) This is, at least, the best way to reconcile the book of Kings and that of Chronicles; the former of which says, that he came to Abaz's assistance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather straightened him (68).

Some indeed (69) think, that Abaz put himself too much in his power, and was become a kind of dependant upon him, living in continual fear of being invaded by him †. This is indeed far from improbable, since he left his successor under an obligation of paying a tribute to the Assyrians, whose general taxed him with rebellion for not paying it accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel. This made Tremellius conjecture to be the reason, why he is said to have turned the outward entry, which led from the royal palace to the temple (70), namely, lest Tilgath should assault him that way, and so break into his palace (71). Another author (72) thinks, that the same fear made him remove the מוסר *mussac*, or covering of the sabbath: which he agrees, with us, was the throne on which the

kings used to seat themselves during the service of the temple; and caused it to be hid, lest that prince should carry it away with him. There might, indeed, be some ground for it, if we had the least hint in the text of his coming towards Jerusalem; but as that is not the case, we may suppose that Abaz did remove both that, and all that was valuable in the temple, only to convert it all to his own use.

This Tilgath-pileser is the same with Nimus the younger, who reigned in Assyria nineteen years, as will be seen in its proper place.

(M) The text says (73) in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Jotham; but as he reigned but 16 years (74), it can mean no more than 20 years, from the time that he began to reign; that is, in the fourth year of his son and successor. In the same manner we must understand what is said in another place (75), that Hoshea began to reign in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Abaz; by which is meant, that he did not properly begin to reign till then, by reason of the civil and tumults which arose after the murder of his predecessor.

(68) Conf. 2 Kings xvi. 7, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21.

(69) Vid. Usser. An. A. M. 3265. & sup. A. 389 b.

(70) TREMEL. in loc.

(71) 2 Kings xvi. 18.

(72) CALM. Hist. V. T. l. v. c. 44, & al.

(73) 2 Kings xv. 13.

(74) Ibid. ver. 33.

(75) Ibid. xvii. 1.

a however, proved so distasteful to the *Israelites*, that it caused a kind of anarchy, which lasted almost nine years; during which time, *Hoshea* found it a difficult task to keep himself upon the throne: and after he had quelled these commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find that he made any hostile attempt, either against *Abaz* or his successor. He had, indeed, other business upon his hand; *Shalmanezzer* had, by this time, succeeded *Tiglat-pileser* in *Assyria*; and whether *Hoshea* had been forced to make use of his assistance to settle himself upon his throne, or whether his predecessor had committed any hostilities against *Israel*, during his alliance with *Abaz*, *Hoshea* was, by some means not mentioned in the text, become tributary to *Assyria*<sup>a</sup>, and was endeavouring to free himself from that yoke, by courting *So*, king of *Egypt*, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the source of new troubles, which ended at last in the total excision of the *Israelish* monarchy, as we shall see very soon.

In the mean time *Hezekiah* had ascended his father's throne, in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and in the 12<sup>th</sup>, or as the text hath it, in the third year of *Hoshea's* reign, that is, abating the first nine years of anarchy, mentioned in the last note. It was not difficult for him to discover the source of all *Judah's* misfortunes, and the most effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he set about with the utmost diligence and application. He began with opening the temple, which his impious father had caused to be shut up, and commanded the priests and *Levites* to purify themselves and it, and to renew the daily worship of God, according to the law of *Moses*. This good work was begun upon the first day of the year, being the sabbath<sup>b</sup>, and was finished on Saturday the 16<sup>th</sup> of the same month. The king then assembled the elders of *Judah* on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the priests and *Levites*, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the sins of the nation; after which, they sacrificed such numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the priests who assisted at the ceremony, being insufficient for the service, were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their assistance, and these accepted the office with the utmost readiness and joy (N). All this while, the air was filled with the sound of the trumpets, and other musical instruments, and with the voices of the singers, who accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to that extraordinary solemnity, which was concluded with expressions of the utmost joy and satisfaction, both in the king and people. It could not, indeed, but be a pleasing sight, to see a king and nation so suddenly turned from the worship of the filthiest idols, to that of the living God<sup>c</sup>. One misfortune there was however, that the season was past for celebrating the passover; that solemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14<sup>th</sup> day of that month, and it was now the 17<sup>th</sup>; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of *Moses*, where it is prescribed that those, who by reason of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that festival on the first, should do it on the second month<sup>†</sup>. The good king postponed it accordingly, and made use of that interval, to send circular letters through his whole kingdom, to invite his subjects to be present at that feast, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of the next month. His piety went further; and the miseries under which the idolatrous *Israelites* groaned, inspired him with a desire of endeavouring, at least, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end, he wrote a most pathetic letter to them, which he sent by proper deputies, wherein he discovered to them the source of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worship of the true God, and to present themselves before him at the ensuing solemnity, as the most effectual means,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 3, & seq. & not. P.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. xxix. 3, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. per tot.

<sup>†</sup> See before, p. 604.

(N) It appears by the text, that a great number of priests had proved tardy in obeying the king's command, so that they could not vacate at the service of the temple, for want of being purified; whilst the *Levites*, who had shewed a more than ordinary diligence in complying with it (76), were honoured with that office, from which their inferior rank

excluded them. What part they did bear in it, doth not appear; but we may reasonably suppose that they helped to kill, and prepare that vast number of victims which were then offered; whilst the priests were taken up with making the proper aspersions with the blood, and offering the fat and flesh of them, as they received them at their hands.

(76) 2 Chron. xxix. 34. xxx. 15, & seq.

means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of *Assyria* had carried into captivity <sup>d</sup> (O).

Several of them  
came to the  
feast.

WHILST the king's messengers took their progress from *Dan* to *Beerseba*, the *Jews* were taken up with burning and demolishing of all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in *Jerusalem*, and flung them into the brook *Kedron*; so that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed festival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but also from that of *Israel*, out of the tribes of *Asser*, *Zebulun*, *Manasseh*, and *Issachar*. These did not indeed come in such numbers, there being many, even of these four tribes, as well as of the other five, who made a jest of the king's pious invitation; not that *Hoshea* did in any way oppose it, for it doth not appear that he did. On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far less wicked than any of his predecessors <sup>c</sup>, it is probable the bad situation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means that would render providence more propitious to him. However, those of his subjects who came to the feast, either had not had time enough to purify themselves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of those necessary preparatives had been quite obliterated in *Israel*, during so long an interval of disuse, so that they ventured to eat the passover with the rest, without regard to the illegality of it. Some therefore acquainted *Hezekiah* with it; but the king, who had nothing more at heart than to cherish their pious zeal, easily overlooked that circumstance, and only prayed to God to do the same. However, for the sake of those of his own people, who were also unpurified, among whom were several priests and *Levites*, he ordered the festival to be celebrated another seven days, that none might be excluded from it. This solemnity, the like to which had not been observed since the latter end of *Solomon's* reign <sup>f</sup>, inspired the people with such uncommon zeal, that as soon as they were dismissed from it, they went about destroying all the old relicks of idolatry, each in their respective countries, the king himself encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very brazen serpent, which *Moses* had caused to be set up in the wilderness <sup>e</sup>, did *Hezekiah* cause to be broken in pieces, because he found that the people had offered incense to it, and, in contempt, called it *Nebushtan*; that is, a piece of brass <sup>h</sup>.

HIS next care was to restore all the branches of the worship of God, to make an exact scrutiny into the genealogies of the priests, *Levites*, and musicians, in order to settle their several classes, according to *David's* model. He provided for their maintenance, by reviving the laws of *Moses* concerning the first-fruits, tithes, redemption, vows, and such-like, relating to the *Levitical* revenues, and appointed proper officers for receiving them; so that by *October* following, by which time all the fruits are brought in, they had received their income, and proper distribution had been made of it among them <sup>i</sup>. *Hezekiah*, all this while, was blessed with success equal to his piety; and as soon as he found himself strong enough to free himself from the tribute which the *Assyrians* had forced from his predecessor, he withheld his hand from paying it, and turned his forces against the *Philistines*, over whom he got such considerable advantages, that he regained, with usury, all that they had gotten during *Ahaz's* unhappy reign <sup>j</sup>.

Hezekiah's  
success.

Israel invaded.

IT fared quite otherwise with the kingdom of *Israel*, and *Hoshea*, little thinking how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the *Assyrian* bondage. But *Sabalmaneser*, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, did soon discover and break all his measures. To work his overthrow more effectually, and that he might leave no enemy behind to stop his progress, he took care to secure the land of *Moab*, by razing their two chief cities <sup>k</sup>, according to

*Isaiab's*

I

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & seq.    <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 2.    <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. xxx. pass.    <sup>d</sup> Numb. xxi. 8, & seq.  
<sup>e</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 4.    <sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. xxxi. pass.    <sup>g</sup> See before, p. 359. b.    <sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 292. a, b.  
See also *Cler's* Ann. sub A. M. 3280.

(O) This shews that *Tiglath-pileser*, or his successor, had invaded part of *Hoshea's* kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unless we will suppose, with some authors (77), that it had began in *Pul's* time: See the next note.

*Isaiab's* prophecy denounced three years before<sup>1</sup>, and laying waste all that land and that of *Israel*, till he was come to the gates of *Samaria*, and had laid close siege to it. *Hoshea*, who had not been able to make head against him, had how-<sup>Samaria be-</sup>  
ever so well fortified himself in that city, that it held out almost three years against<sup>sieged and</sup>  
the *Affyrian* king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this siege or<sup>taken,</sup>  
war, except, that after the taking of that metropolis, the rest of the kingdom  
was forced to submit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his subjects  
were carried away into captivity, and disposed of into the same provinces of that  
empire, whither their brethren had been sent in a former reign (P); but we have  
a dreadful account of it in some of the prophets, who describe the distress of the  
b people in the strongest terms<sup>m</sup>. The *Affyrians* committed the most horrid cruelties  
against their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and dashing their children  
against the ground<sup>n</sup>; and having reduced *Samaria* into a heap of rubbish<sup>o</sup>, and  
laid waste all the land, returned home laden with the spoil of *Israel*. As for the  
land into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been sought in vain by the  
learned of all ages: what the most probable conjecture is concerning it, will be best  
seen in the next chapter. This was the sad and fatal end of the *Israelitish* kingdom<sup>p</sup>,  
after it had stood divided from that of *Judab* 254 years<sup>q</sup>. It happened in the 6<sup>th</sup>  
year of *Hezekiab*, and in the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Hoshea*. A great number, however, of the  
*Israelites* did escape with their lives, some into *Egypt*, and a much greater number  
c into the kingdom of *Judab*; where they weaned themselves by degrees from their  
former idolatries and rebellion, and became subjects to *Hezekiab* and his successors.  
On the other hand, the *Affyrians*, *Josephus* says *Shalmaneser*<sup>r</sup>, but it was more prob-  
ably his successor, sent colonies from several of their provinces, but chiefly from  
*Cutbab*, to repopulate the land of *Israel*, from whence these new inhabitants came  
to be called *Cutbeans*<sup>s</sup> (Q).

*Hezekiab* all this while had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom; and  
*Sennacherib*, the new king of *Affyria*, contenting himself with the tribute which  
both he and his predecessor paid to him, had suffered him to enjoy the fruits of  
his piety and conquests; but as soon as he found him to fail in it, he came against  
d him with such a powerful army, and took from him a great number of fortified  
cities, in so short a time, as seemed to threaten nothing less than the total ruin of  
the whole kingdom. *Hezekiab*, who saw his error too late, had no way left to  
retrieve it, but by a speedy submission; he sent an embassy to *Sennacherib*, acknow-  
ledging his fault, and promising him to submit to whatever terms he should impose  
upon him; and accompanied it with the richest presents, for which he was forced  
to strip the temple and his own treasury of all their silver and gold. This wrought  
so well upon the conqueror, at least for the present, that he returned with his  
army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of  
silver, and 30 talents of gold. But this respite, though so dearly bought, did  
not

<sup>1</sup> *Isai.* xv. 1. <sup>m</sup> *Hosha.* pass. <sup>n</sup> *Ch.* x. 8, 14. <sup>o</sup> *Micah* i. 6, & alib. <sup>p</sup> *2 Kings* xvii. pass.  
<sup>q</sup> *Vid.* *USSER.* *Ann.* in A. M. 3283. See also before, p. 733. c. <sup>r</sup> *Ant.* l. ix. c. 14. <sup>s</sup> *2 Kings* xvii.  
24. *Vid.* *JOSEPH.* *ubi sup.*

(P) The first book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that  
God stirred up *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileser*, kings of *Affyria*, against the impious *Israelites*; and that the  
latter did carry away the two tribes and half from  
beyond *Jordan*, and sent them into the countries of  
*Hala*, *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river *Gozan*  
(78). And the book of *Tobit* adds, that the tribe  
of *Naphthali*, of which *Tobit* was, being carried a-  
way by *Enemasser*, who is the same with *Shalma-*  
*neser*, was placed in the province of *Media*, and  
himself in the capital of it, called *Rages*, where he  
left ten talents with his kinsman (79). What those  
countries were, which we mentioned out of the *Chro-*  
*nicles*, and how they are understood, belongs to an-  
other chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was  
at least a double invasion of the land of *Israel* by the  
*Affyrians*, and a double captivity.

(Q) The text adds (80), that these new colonies

were like to have been destroyed by lions; *Josephus*  
says by pestilence (81), upon their very first settle-  
ment, for their disregard to God; so that they were  
forced to send into *Affyria*, to desire the king to send  
them some *Israelitish* priests, to instruct them how to  
worship and appease him. This being complied  
with, they set themselves immediately about it, but  
without forsaking that of their own gods, which  
they had brought from their respective countries.  
And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike  
that of the *Israelites*; consisting in the worship of  
the true God, and of a number of false deities.  
Hence sprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews*  
and *Samaritans*, the former abominating even the  
name of the latter; and these always disclaiming  
any kindred with them, in time of adversity, tho'  
forward enough to claim it in time of prosperity  
(82).

(78) *Chap.* v. ult.  
l. 9. c. 14.

(79) *Chap.* i. pass.  
(82) *Idem* *ibid.*

(80) *2 Kings* xvii. 25, & seq.

(81) *Ant.*



not last long; for the treacherous *Assyrian* king, who continued still at *Lachish*, did a soon after send his army, under the command of *Tartan*, *Rabsharis*, and *Rabshakeh*, directly against *Jerusalem*; so that *Hzekiab* saw himself in much greater danger than ever of losing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST these were coming against him, the king made all proper preparations for a brave defence; he fortified the city, repaired the wall of it, surrounded it with another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good store of arms and provisions for the siege. He likewise caused all the fountains about the city to be stopped, and the course of the brook *Gibon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off as much as possible all supply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city; b and exhorted them, in a grave and pious speech, to rely wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be discouraged at the number and strength of the faithless *Assyrians*†. It is not, indeed, easy to determine, whether a) this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illness, or after it; more probably the latter, and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of *Sennacherib*, brought it upon him; for about this time he was seized with a dangerous disease (R), and forewarned by the prophet *Isaiab* to set his affairs in order, since he would certainly die of it. The good king, who about a year or two before had received a severe reproof from that prophet, and probably also about the same time from *Micub* the *Morashite*, for trusting too much upon *Egypt*, and seeking for help from thence<sup>c</sup>, received the dreadful summons with inexpressible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but that he had provoked God by it to shorten his days, he being then but in the 38<sup>th</sup> year of his age<sup>u</sup>. *Jesphus* attributes this excessive sorrow to another cause, namely, his dying then without an heir to succeed him<sup>w</sup>; which is not at all improbable, because his son was but twelve years old when he ascended the throne<sup>x</sup>. As soon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, *Hzekiab* turned himself towards the wall, and addressed himself to God in the most humble and pathetic terms, accompanied with a flood of tears, which proved such powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the prophet, who was scarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, and carry the dying d monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove so speedy, that he should be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer, *Isaiab* was bid to assure him, that his life should be prolonged fifteen years, and himself and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger (S)<sup>y</sup>.

THESE glorious promises did not, however, gain credit with the desponding king; he could not easily reconcile two such different messages from the same prophet, and therefore thought that he had a right to insist upon some more signal proof to assure him of the last. The prophet soon obtained, by his prayers, such an authentick proof, as should at once convince, both him and his whole e kingdom, that it was backed with the divine sanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the sun's shadow, by the dial of the royal palace (T); after which, a cata-

† Kings xviii. 13, & seq.    <sup>c</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 21.    2 Chron. xxxii. 24, & seq.    *Isai.* xxx, & seq. & *Jerem.* xxvi. 18.    <sup>u</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xviii. and the last note.    <sup>w</sup> *Ant.* l. x. c. 1.    <sup>x</sup> See 2 Kings xxi. 1.    <sup>y</sup> 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq.    *Isai.* xxxviii. per tot.

(R.) This disease, if we may guess at it by the remedy which the prophet applied to it, and by the speediness of the cure, seems to have been a kind of quincy, or imposthume in his throat, which was happily broke by the lump of dried figs.

(S.) This sickness of the king is, indeed, postponed in the sacred history, and related after that of his deliverance from the *Assyrian* host (83); but it is plain, that it must have happened before it; 1. Because the prophet assures the king from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and 2. Because he promises him an addition of fifteen years reign (84). Now *Hzekiab* reigned but twenty-nine years in all (85), from which the fif-

teen being subtracted, it is plain that he fell ill in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of *Assyria* began to invade his kingdom (86).

(T.) The text runs literally thus in the original; *And the Lord brought back the shadow of the steps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial, or degrees of Abaz, ten degrees or steps* (87), which we purposely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel miracle †, to shew that the sacred historian had expressed him in such terms as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the solar system now commonly received.

It

(83) 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq.    *Isai.* xxxviii. 1, & seq.    (84) 2 Kings *ibid.* ver. 6.    (85) *Ibid.* chap. xviii. 2.    (86) *Ibid.* ver. 13.    *Vid.* *UssER.* *sub A. M.* 3291. p. 70.    (87) 2 Kings xx. 11.    † *Vid.* *sup.* p. 558. not. G.

a cataplasm of dried figs was effectually applied by the prophet's direction; and the king, thus happily recovered by the time appointed, composed that noble psalm wherein he expresses the exquisiteness of his anguish and grief, acknowledges the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer, and promises to be everlastingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promise, the deliverance from the Assyrian power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals presented themselves at the

It is true that *Isaiab*, who relates the story in almost the same words, and mentions only the shadow, when he puts it to the king's option, whether it should go backwards or forwards, doth add, that the sun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (88). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the Psalmist says, *The sun shall not hurt thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89); and in *Jonab*, that *the sun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. There is nothing more common than that expression in all languages, the sun comes in at such a window, or such a part of the house, and the like. The words, therefore, of the prophet, may be naturally rendered thus; and the beams of the sun (being miraculously inflected) caused the shadow to go back over ten of the degrees, or steps, which it had past upon *Ahaz's dial*, or flight of steps. This was miracle sufficient to convince the doubtful king, without magnifying, or rather multiplying it, as many of the fathers, and others after them, have done.

For to suppose, as they do, that the whole fabric of the universe went back, or even that the earth alone did so, was not only needless, because the business was not to lengthen the day, as it was in *Josua*, but only to put the shadow back so many degrees: but it seems to carry a further absurdity; for either this extraordinary motion must have been caused all at once, which, considering the velocity of the earth's motion, much more that of the universe round it, is scarcely conceivable; or if it was done gradually, it would hardly have been perceived, in case *Hezekiab* had chosen to have the shadow go forward instead of backward. By the tenor, however, of the whole history, it seems as if the thing was done in an instant, and not gradually. What need then is there to suppose that God did interpose his miraculous power, to cause such a retrogression, even in the bare earth, when the end might be answered by the sole inflection of the sun's rays? To say that either of them was equally easy to an omnipotent power, is too unphilosophical to deserve an answer, because it were absurd to suppose, that God acts with less economy in his supernatural, than he doth in his natural works.

This hypothesis of the inflection of the rays, which is now the most received, because attended with fewest difficulties, will save us a great many needless inquiries, such are those that follow; What portion of time is implied by those ten degrees: How much the day was lengthened by it: Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the course of nature was again hastened, by the same miraculous power, to its pristine harmony, either by subtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way: Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in *Judea*? And many more of the like nature.

The Jews, indeed, who are ever ready to help us at a pinch, do tell us, that God, who had already shortened one day by ten hours, when wicked *Ahaz*

died, that there might be no mourning made for him, did only restore the universe *in statu quo* upon this occasion. But such an expeditious way of answering all those enquiries, will scarcely be allowed of by any but Jews. However, Archbishop *Usher*, who believed that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet observe, that the divine providence so ordered it, that the constant and ever self-like motion and harmony of heavenly bodies, did receive no hinderance from it: he proves it by three previous eclipses of the moon, out of *Ptolemy*, whose calculation being traced back from this time, coincide as exactly with the *Chaldean* account, as if no such retrogression had happened in nature (91). But is not this multiplying the miracle without any necessity?

But what confirms still farther our opinion, that all the whole miracle consisted in the bare reversion of the sun's beams, is, that if either the sun or the earth be supposed to have gone back so many degrees, it must have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary seems plain to us, from the embassy which *Meredach-Baladan* sent to *Hezekiab*, to inform himself about this miraculous phenomenon (92); for if it had been seen at *Babylon*, there would have been no necessity for sending into *Judea* to know the truth of it; and it is hardly to be supposed, that he sent thither to be informed about the cause of it. The *Babylonians* were much better astronomers than the Jews, or rather, these last were known to be perfectly ignorant of that science, as we have seen elsewhere †. It seems then much more probable, that this retrogression was only felt about *Judea*; and if so, it cannot be better accounted for, than by supposing an inflection of the sun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond *Judea*, we should certainly find some footsteps of it in profane history; it being hardly to be supposed, that so remarkable a change could go unobserved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world did yield so many good astronomers and historians; or that the memory of it should be since entirely lost, when we can find so many footsteps of the sun's standing still in *Josua's* time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For these reasons, we shall wave all farther enquiries which result from the other side of the question, and only add some few remarks concerning the most probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here let it be considered, 1. That the original מַעְלִילִית *me'aloth*, doth signify no more than steps or stairs. 2. That the *Septuagint* and *Chaldees* paraphrasts render it, the former ἀνακαθήμενος, and the latter by אֶבֶן שְׁעוֹרָא *a stone of time*, accordingly. 3. That the Jews did not reckon by, or had even a name for hours, before the captivity (94). 4. That the invention of *gnomon* dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to *Anaximander*, who did not flourish till almost 200 years after *Hezekiab*. And lastly, that there is not a word of a sun-dial in all the writings of *Homer*. All these will, at least, amount to a strong presumption, that it must have been a kind of steep ascent, leading

(88) *Cbron.* xxxvi. 8. (89) *Psal.* cxi. 6. (90) *Jonab* iv. 8. (91) *Sub A. M.* 3291. p. 71. (92) *Vid.* 2 *Cbron.* xxxii. 31. † *Vid.* *sup.* p. 729. c. d. (93) *Josb.* x. 12. See also before, p. 558, & seq. (94) *Vid.* *sup.* p. 729. c.

the foot of the city wall, to demand a parly with *Hezekiah's* ministers; and as soon as these appeared upon the battlements, attended with vast crouds of people, who came to hear the purport of their message, *Rabshakeb* addressed himself to them in a haughty and threatening speech, filled with the bitterest invectives and opprobrious language, not only against the king, but even against the God of *Israel*. It was spoken in the *Hebrew* tongue, to inject the greater terror into the listening people; and when they were desired to speak in *Syriac* to them, instead of complying with their request, they only renewed their threatnings of reducing the kingdom to the worst extremities, unless they prevented it by a timely yielding of themselves captives to the great *Sennacherib*.\*

THIS vapouring speech was, by the king's order, answered only by a deep b silence; but the *Assyrian* generals being soon after informed, that their master was forced to go back to defend his own territories against *Tirbaka*, king of *Ethiopia*, who was then invading him, they left *Jerusalem*, and marched directly after him. But before *Sennacherib* departed from *Lacish*, he sent a threatening letter to *Hezekiah*, to assure him, that if he still persisted in his refusal of yielding himself his captive, he would shortly come again with double fury against him, and make him severely feel the effects of his own folly and vain confidence in his God, whom he should find as weak and impotent against his irresistible power, as those of many other nations had hitherto proved. As soon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied with his chief ministers, and spread it before the Lord, and, c in the humblest terms, besought him that he would make good his late promises, and vindicate his honour against his insolent and blasphemous enemy, who had dared to level the God of Heaven to the senseless idols of the more senseless heathen. He had scarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious answer by the prophet *Isaiab*, importing, that though *Sennacherib* would certainly bring back his forces against *Jerusalem*, yet God would so protect it against them, that they should not shoot an arrow against, nor open a trench before it; that this proud insulting enemy should be forced to flee with shame and loss, and fall at length by the sword in his own land. This prophecy was likewise soon after verified. *Sennacherib* returned against *Judab*, flush'd with his late victory over the *Ethiopians*\*, and d breathing death and destruction against the whole kingdom; but before he could have time to commit any hostilities against it, the best part of his army was smitten by an angel in one night, *Josephus* says with pestilence<sup>b</sup>, inasmuch that 185,000 of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful judgment did so alarm the proud *Assyrian* monarch, that he retired with the utmost confusion and speed into his own capital, where he was soon after assassinated by two of his sons, and succeeded by a third<sup>c</sup>. Thus was *Isaiab's* prophecy exactly fulfilled against that blasphemous tyrant<sup>d</sup>, and the kingdom delivered from the most imminent danger. As for *Hezekiah*, though one would expect that so many extraordinary blessings

*Sennacherib's  
proud letter.*

*His miracu-  
lous over-  
throw.*

2

would

\* 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, & seq. *Isaiab* xxxvi. 2. & seq. xxxvii. 1 ad 10.  
<sup>b</sup> See *Usher's* sub A. M. 3292. ex *Isaiab* c. xviii. & xx. <sup>c</sup> Ant. l. x. c. 2. <sup>d</sup> 2 Kings xix. 1, & seq. to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 1 ad 22. *Isaiab* xxvi, xxvii. per tot. <sup>e</sup> Ibid.

ing up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper distances with figures, shewing the division of the day, rather than a regular piece of dial-work.

We have, indeed, a much finer description of it in *Grotius*, out of one Rabbi *Eliab Chomer*, who pretends, that it was a regular globe placed in the center of a hollow hemisphere, on which were drawn, at proper distances, the several lines which divided the day into twenty-eight parts (95); but who can believe, after what has been observed above, that such a curious and compound piece of art could be the product of those early times? for our part, we cannot think that even this slight of steps was originally designed by the architect to serve both for that and for a sun-dial: On the contrary, it seems to us more probable upon the whole, that the latter use was owing to observation. Some ornaments, such as pyramids, obelisks, flower-pots, and the like, might have been placed

upon the rails or battlements of the ascent, whose shadow being in time observed to go over those steps at proper periods of the day, might naturally induce some curious observer to mark down the several portions of the day; first into four parts, according to the *Jewish* custom of dividing it, and then into as many sub-divisions as was thought proper; so that all that we think is meant in the text before us, is, that the shadow of the obelisk, or whatever other ornament did serve instead of a gnomon, went back again over ten of those steps which it had already past. But what portion of time the shadow did usually take in going over those steps, is impossible to determine; however, though we have ventured to deliver this our opinion, as the result of what we find written upon the subjects; yet, for the satisfaction of such of our readers as desire to be further informed about it, we shall refer them to the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(95) *Vid. GROT. in loc.* (96) *CYRIL. ALEX. & HIERON. in loc. & in Isaiab xxxviii. 8. SCALIG. GROT. VATABL. MÜNST. SALMAS. GASPAR. SANCTIUS. LE CLEBER, CALMET, & al.*

a would have inspired him with sentiments of the deepest gratitude, yet they wrought a quite different effect upon him; so that instead of acknowledging the amazing goodness of his great deliverer, he suffered himself to be so elated, that he brought a train of evils upon himself and kingdom, which, however, upon his repentance, were adjourned till after his death\*. *Hezekiah* was a pious prince, but vanity seems to have been his predominant passion, and to have been swelled to an unreasonable height by such a wonderful series of successes; and God made use of the following juncture, at once to make him sensible, and to cure him of it.

The king had, about this time, received a special embassy from *Berodach*, or, as *Isaiab* calls him, *Merodach Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to congratulate him upon his late success and recovery, and to inform himself about the prodigy of the sun's retrogression†; and as his success and the spoils of his enemy had made him exceedingly rich, he took a particular pleasure in entertaining the ambassadors with a sight of all the wealth, grandeur and strength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought *Isaiab* to the king, who had no sooner acquainted him with his own weakness and ostentation, than he received this dreadful message from God; that those very *Babylonians*, whose eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a short time, not only strip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive some of his off-spring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace; at which *Hezekiah* was brought to such a sense of his oversight, that he acknowledged the mildness of the sentence, since he was suffered to end his days in peace‡. Among others of his publick acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool and a conduit, to supply *Jerusalem* with water; and to have been an encourager of husbandry, himself having numberless flocks and herds in his own pasture-grounds, besides vines and other grounds. He died in peace, in the 54<sup>th</sup> year of his age and 29<sup>th</sup> of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and was buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David. His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole kingdom§ (W).

Year of the Flood, 2306.  
Year before Christ, 693.

*Manasseh* was but 12 years of age when he succeeded *Hezekiah*; and whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counsellors, we may date the ruin both of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his ascending the throne. He seems not only to have strove to outdo all his predecessors in wickedness, idolatry, tyranny and sacrilege, but even to have shewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct opposition to him. *Hezekiah's* first care had been to root out all idolatry out of his kingdom, and to restore the worship of God, and the service of the temple, to its pristine order a splendour. His graceless son, on the contrary, made it his study to banish religion and morality out of it, and to revive all the old idolatry, and to introduce new and unheard-of deities, idols and ceremonies; besides witch-craft, forceries, and every wicked custom that was used among the *Heathen* far and near. *Baal* became now the favourite object of his worship; the sun, moon, planets, and a vast multitude of other heathenish gods had also their altars and groves erected to them, both in *Judab* and in *Jerusalem*. *Moloch* and the valley of *Hinnon* became more frequented than ever, the impious king encouraging his subjects to sacrifice their children there as *Abaz* had done before. But the most execrable piece of wickedness and sacrilege was, his introducing the vilest of idolatries into the very temple of God, and causing a graven image of the grove, a filthy idol, worshipped with

*Manasseh's* wicked reign

idolatries;

sacrilege.

\* 2 Chron. xxxii. 25, 26. † Ibid. ver. 32. ‡ 2 Kings xx. 12, & seq. Isaiah xxxix. per tot.  
§ Comp. 2 Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, & seq.

(V) The jubilee year seems likewise to have been about this time (97), at which solemnity there flocked a vast concourse of people to *Jerusalem*; which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court, and metropolis, because, upon such occasions, the wealthy men of the kingdom were used to pour their rich presents into the temple, especially after such signal successes and deliverances as they had lately had; and the text says, that they did so accordingly (98).

(W) Besides the prophets *Isaiab* and *Micah*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, *Nabum* did likewise prophesy in the days of *Hezekiah*. It is he who foretold the dreadful destruction of *Nineveh*, which happened afterwards in the days of *Josiah*, and describes it in the most lively colour, comparing it to that of *No*, a populous city in *Lower Egypt*, lately taken by the *Assyrians*, who committed the most horrid cruelties against her inhabitants (99).

(97) *Vid. UssER. in A. M.* 3295. (98) 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, & seq. (99) *Nab. pass. &c.* 3, 8. & seq.

with the filthiest ceremonies, to be set up in the most sacred (X) place; as if he<sup>a</sup> had designed to drive the God of *Israel* out of his habitation, and to disclaim at once all those great blessings which he had made to *David* and *Solomon*, and to all that did worship him there<sup>1</sup>.

His murders  
and tyranny.

For these abominations he was often and severely reproved by several prophets, who foretold him, that he was provoking God to bring such dreadful desolations upon him and his kingdom; that *Jerusalem* would become like a dish that is wiped clean and turned upside down. But these threatnings were so far from reforming, that they hardened him the more, and made him seek only for the most violent means to silence not only those prophets, but all that dared to express a dislike to his impieties. *Jerusalem* became soon after the scene of the most horrid cruelties, b which *Manasseh*, now become a tyrant of the first magnitude, caused to be exercised on prophets and priests, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had filled that metropolis with blood, and with butchered bodies, from the one end to the other<sup>k</sup>. At length, providence was pleased to put a signal stop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of some of the chief commanders of the *Assyrian* army, who came upon him so suddenly, that seeing no way to escape, he went and hid himself in a thicket. He was, however, soon brought out of it, and laden with chains, carried away into *Babylon*, and there cast into a dungeon by *Esar-baddon* or *Assaradin*, king of *Assyria*, who, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, had made himself master of *Babylon* about six years before, and was by this time c become sole monarch over both empires<sup>1</sup>.

His miserable  
captivity.

THE text doth neither tell us how this was done, whether by an open invasion, or, which seems more likely, by some sudden incursion, nor in what year of *Manasseh's* reign it happened; the *Jews* affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in which they are followed by the generality of our annalists. However that be, the distressed king soon opened his eyes to all his miscarriages and impieties, which his prosperity would not suffer him to see; and in the bitterness of his soul, did send so many deep sighs to heaven, so humble an acknowledgment of his fault, and such earnest prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, and a happy deliverance out of his captivity. How long his imprisonment lasted d (Z), or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not say; thus much is plain from it, that from the greatest sinner, he returned the greatest penitent (A), and from the bloodiest tyrant, became one of the best monarchs. So that

Restored to his  
liberty.  
His repentance and re-  
formation.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. vii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3. & al. pass. xxxiii. 1 ad 10. <sup>1</sup> See *USSEK* sub A. M. 3323.

<sup>2</sup> See 2 Kings xxi. 1 ad 16. 2 Chron.

(X) Some think that he did even cause the ark to be taken out of the most holy place, to make room for his molten idol; because it is said in the *Chronicles*, that *Josiah* did order the *Levites* to deposit it again into its place (100); but from the words which do immediately follow, *it shall be no longer a burden upon your shoulders, or unto you*, we are more inclined to think, that the priests had timely conveyed it out of the sanctuary, before the idol was brought in; and that it had been kept in their custody till *Josiah's* reign.

(Y) These remarkable circumstances are not mentioned in the book of *Kings*, which says only, that he reigned fifty-five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All these particulars are only found in the *Chronicles* (1).

Archbishop *Usher* observes (2) from the following chapters out of the same author, that the kingdom of *Israel* had not been so far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a considerable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the same time, and perhaps, by the same forces which took *Manasseh* prisoner. This last and total captivity, that prelate thinks to have been foretold by *Isaiah* about

sixty-five years before against *Israel*, under the name of *Ephraim* (3). We read, indeed, of several *Israelitish* tribes being invited to the passover at *Jerusalem* in a succeeding reign; but we take them to be those who came and sheltered themselves in the kingdom of *Judah* during the siege of *Samaria*, to escape being carried into bondage by the *Assyrian* king; as we hinted under the last reign.

(Z) Some will have it, that it lasted as long as *Esar-baddon* lived; that is, as our *Chronologers* compute it, about six years (4). *Josephus* only says, that the king of *Babylon* gave him his liberty after some time, but doth not say how long (5); but the general opinion is, that he was set free in the very same year that he was taken prisoner. This is also the opinion of the *Talmudists*, who place both his repentance and imprisonment in the 34th year of his age; and this seems the more probable of the two, because the author of the book of *Kings* makes no mention of this captivity, but allows him his fifty-five years reign, as if no such thing had happened to him.

(A) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the old testament, intituled, *The prayer of Manasseh king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon*, which, if it was penned by him, expresses the

(100) 2 Chron. xxxv. 3. (1) *Ibid.* xxxiii. 11, & seq. (2) Sub A. M. 3327. (3) *Isaiah* vii. 8. (4) *Vid.* *USSEK. ubi sup.* CALMET. *Hist.* V. T. sub A. M. 3310. (5) *Ant.* l. x. c. 4.



a that after his return, he bestowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages which his impiety had caused, both in religion and in his kingdom. One of his first cares was to clear the sanctuary, and the court of the temple, of those idols which he had caused to be set up there, and which the priests had not had the courage, or power to remove during his absence; and to restore the service of it to its antient order and splendor. He then sent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his subjects to follow his example, and to demolish all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign, and this was readily complied with also by the people every where; only the b high places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal to go through with these, by reason of the peoples obstinate fondness for them. He took the same care to repair and fortify the city and other places of his kingdom; and having reigned peaceably about 33 years after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, and 67<sup>th</sup> of his age. He was buried in his own garden, probably by his own choice, the sense of his former miscarriages not suffering him to think himself worthy to be deposited among his ancestors; and was succeeded by his son *Ammon*<sup>m</sup>.

*His death.*  
Year of the  
Flood, 2356.  
Year before  
Christ, 643.

*Ammon* was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, so that he could have observed nothing in his father's example, but the greatest tokens of piety and goodness; and yet so infatuated was he, that he gave himself up to all the vile idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give some early proofs, c that he designed to outdo him in his most abominable debaucheries; but before he had reigned two years, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his chief officers, who assassinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the same garden with his father. They did not however go long unpunished: the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who had had no share in this rebellion, rose up in arms immediately upon the news of it, and having revenged their king's murder by that of the conspirators, they placed his son *Josiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age<sup>n</sup>.

*Ammon's  
idolatry,*

*and death.*

It is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be so soon over-run with d all kind of wickedness and idolatry in the short time of *Ammon's* reign, after it had been so thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to such a degree of impiety when *Josiah* came to the crown, that the prophet *Zephaniah*, who was cotemporary with him, gives us a most dreadful catalogue of the licentiousness and irreligion, that then reigned through the whole kingdom. Among the princes, judges, and magistrates, reigned injustice, oppression, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the priests, pride, avarice, corruption, and a shameful traffick of religion; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men swearing with the same breath by the Lord and by *Malcom*; altars reared every where to *Baal*, to the whole host of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen<sup>o</sup>; the very sanctuary itself was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furnished with male prostitutes, and with women who wove hangings, and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries<sup>p</sup>.

In this sad and horrid condition was the kingdom, when the infant monarch took the reins of it; so that it required nothing less than a miracle to reform it. But as *Josiah* had been miraculously promised above 300 years before, by a prophet sent on purpose to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel* †, one who was to work the greatest reformation that ever

*Josiah's good  
reign.*

<sup>m</sup> 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ad 20.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. xxxiv. ver. 21, to the end.

2 Kings xxi. 19, & seq.

<sup>o</sup> Zephani. pass. iii. 1, & seq.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, & seq.

† See before, p. 805. d.

the greatness of his guilt, repentance, and misery, in the strongest terms; particularly with respect to the last, it has this expression, that he was so loaded with iron bands, that he could not lift up his head. But we have a more authentic proof of these, the wonderful change that was wrought in him; though we should be loth to deny that this prayer was composed by him during his imprisonment, because we find an expression in the book of *Chronicles* (6), which shews, at least, that there was some

such prayer of his composing kept upon record; and it is scarce possible to pen one more expressive of his misery and repentance, than this we are speaking of.

It was also about this time, or soon after it, that the siege of *Bethulia* happened, at which *Holofernes* was treacherously murdered by *Judith*; but as the story is apocryphal, and has no connexion with the history of the kings of *Judah*, we shall say no more of it here.

(6) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.



A total reformation in his kingdom.

ever was done in the land, since it was to reach through the two kingdoms, and a this *Josiah* was the person designed by God for that glorious work. However, his tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps advising with such pious counsellors, as could best instruct him, both about what was to be done, and the properest means of accomplishing it. He married in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and in the 16<sup>th</sup> he had a son and successor born unto him, whom he named *Eliakim* (B); after which he set himself about his premeditated design, with a zeal, diligence and intrepidity, which, considering his years, and the arduousness of the task, could be owing to nothing less than a supernatural impulse. His extraordinary success and expedition, and the universal destruction he made both in *Judah* and *Israel*, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and other idolatrous monuments, but also of the high places, which several of his predecessors had in vain attempted to abolish, do shew, indeed, that he was assisted by the same divine power that had inspired him with the design. This last kind of worship was not indeed an idolatrous one, because it was directed to the God of *Israel*, to whom the priests, the sons of *Aaron*, offered sacrifices upon those altars which had formerly been reared by *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; but it was afterwards expressly forbid by the law of *Moses*, and the tabernacle and temple ordered to be the only places for such sacrifices, unless it was otherwise commanded by inspired persons, and upon some particular occasions, as we have elsewhere hinted \*. The more effectually therefore to cure this obstinate evil, *Josiah* caused all those places to be polluted with dead mens bones, and ordered all those priests who had vacated at that unlawful worship, to be for ever excluded both from all sacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating of any holy things. He likewise ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combustible materials, which had served to any idolatrous purposes, together with the chariots and horses which had been dedicated to the sun (C), the vessels where the perpetual fire was kept to his honour, the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the ashes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries; and those that could not be burnt, he caused to be flung into the river *Kidron*.

FROM *Jerusalem* he went to the mount of *Olives*, called also the mount of corruption, from the great number of idolatrous altars which had been set up there by *Solomon*, and repaired, from time to time, by several of his impious successors, and demolished and defiled them all. He did the same at the valley of *Hinnon*, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practised by the worshippers of *Moloch*; and thence marched directly to *Bethel*, the place where *Jeroboam*, the first king of *Israel*, set up one of his golden calves; which he destroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, causing the bodies of the idolatrous priests to be digged

\* See before, p. 662. not. H:

(B) Probably, in full confidence that God would prosper his design; *עֲלִיָּאִים* *Eliakim* signifying, God shall establish, make to prosper, &c. the text doth not indeed mention the time of his birth, but it is easily inferred, from his being 25 years old when he began to reign (7); for his father died in the 39<sup>th</sup> year of his reign (8), and was succeeded at first by *Jehoahaz*, who was younger by two years than *Eliakim*, whom *Pharaoh-Necho* set upon the throne some three months after (9).

(C) These chariots and horses, the text says (10), stood at the entrance into the house of the Lord; but whether they were real, or only carved or molten, is not easy to determine. The ancient *Persians*, we are told, did indeed use to consecrate white horses and chariots to the sun, with which they adorned their processions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other nations (12). We can see no reason, therefore, why so many learned commentators should scruple to suppose that the *Jews*

had adopted this, among other far worse heathenish idolatries, and rather chuse to fancy, that these chariots and horses were only carved, or cast, and set up in a chapel dedicated to the sun, or barely carved in bass-relievo, or even painted against the walls of it; especially, considering how soon the prophet *Amos*, and from him *St. Stephen* (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of *Moloch*, that is, of the sun, as we have shewed more than once, and the star of their god *Remphan*.

What convinces us farther that these were real chariots drawn by horses, and bearing some image of the sun, is, that the text expressly says here, that *Josiah* did not burn chariots and horses, as he would have done, if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horses, and burnt the chariots (14). The reader may, if he pleases, see what we have observed concerning this kind of idolatrous processions in another place, out of some verses of the xviii<sup>th</sup> psalm †.

(7) *Vid* 2 *Kings* xxiii. 36. (8) *Ibid.* xxii. 1. (9) *Ibid.* xxiii. 31, & seq. (10) *Ibid.* ver. 11. (11) *Vid.* *HERODOT.* lib. 7. *XENOPH.* Q. CURT. al. & *QVID.* *Fist.* lib. 1. *JUSTIN.* l. 1. § 10. *Vid.* & *BOCHART.* *HIEROZ.* pt. I. l. 2. c. 10. & al. (12) *Vid.* *HINDS.* *Rel. vet. Pers.* *KOPPING.* *Ant. Rom.* (13) *Amos* vi. 25. *Acts* vii. 43. (14) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 11. † *Vid.* *sup.* p. 531. not. O.

a ged up, and burnt upon them. It was upon this occasion, that having observed a kind of monumental inscription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet who came from Judah, to denounce to Jeroboam that total destruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard should be paid to his ashes; by this means, those of the lying prophet, who had been the cause of his disobedience, and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried close by him, escaped being disturbed, and, perhaps, being burned with the rest. After this, Josiah took a circuit through all the cities of Israel, many of which lay almost desolate, and destroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the Israelites or the Assyrian colonies had set up, and put all their idolatrous priests to death; and having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he returned to Jerusalem, and set himself about restoring the worship of God, and the usual service of the temple (D).

By this time Josiah had attained to the 26<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and 18<sup>th</sup> of his reign, and beheld, with regret, the dilapidations of that sacred place, which made it necessary to have them repaired before all things. To this end, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings used to be deposited, to be opened, and the money to be distributed among such faithful overseers, as would set about the work out of hand; and to encourage them to be doubly diligent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilst this was doing, the high-priest, who probably presided over the work, sent word to the king that he had found the book of the law (E), which he had sent to him by the secretary of the temple.

(D) It is very likely that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet Jeremiah, who began to prophesy in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of his reign (15). Jeremiah was a prophet altogether miraculous, being chosen to this office even from the womb, and called to the exercise of it whilst he was but a child; he was the son of Hilkiah, not the then high-priest of that name, as some have imagined, but of the race of Ithamar, and lived at Anathoth (16), a place within two or three miles from Jerusalem, it being the seat of one of their ancestors (17); so that it is hardly possible that he should be unknown to so pious a prince. It is true, we find nothing like it in his writings; but it must be remembered, that he delivered his prophecies at first only by word of mouth, and did not begin to pen them down till the fourth year of Jehoiakim; but we find him very early at the gates of the temple, denouncing God's heavy judgments against Judah, and exhorting them to avert his anger, by abandoning their impieties and idolatries (18). As he continued to prophesy till the taking of Jerusalem, and was often consulted by several kings and nobles, we shall have occasion more than once to speak of him in the sequel.

Zephaniah did likewise prophesy in the same reign, and much to the same purpose with what we mentioned of Jeremiah; the main scope of their prophecies being chiefly levelled against the various abominations committed in Judah and Jerusalem (19); and both were probably designed to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent their murmuring against, or obstructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype, written by Moses, and by him ordered to be deposited, with the ark, into the most holy place (20), but which some pious high-priest had

caused to be thus hid, in the reign of Abaz or Manasseh, to prevent its being destroyed with all the other copies of it; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the history, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much disputed, whether it was the whole Pentateuch, emphatically called *התורה* *hatorah*, the law, or only Deuteronomy; or even barely the 28<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>, and 31<sup>st</sup> chapters of it. Josephus, by calling it the sacred books of Moses (22), seems to declare intirely for the first; others have declared for the second (23), because the book of Deuteronomy is a kind of repetition, or epitome of the Mosaic law; lastly, a late commentator, among some others, holds the last of these three opinions (24); and thinks that nothing more is meant here, than that short summary which is found in the 28<sup>th</sup>, and three following chapters of that book, in which are contained all the blessings and curses which so alarmed the pious monarch. This is, indeed, that part, which we observed elsewhere, Moses enjoined their future kings to write, and preserve a double copy of, to regulate their conduct by (25), and which he commanded Joshua to set up upon mount Garizim (26); perhaps it might also be all that he ordained to be read by the priests, in the audience of all the people, every seventh year, at the feast of Tabernacles (27); though it is called the law in all those places.

But if either this short epitome, or even the whole Deuteronomy, was all that the high-priest found hid in the temple, when was the rest of the Pentateuch recovered? If it be said, that there might be some copies of this last still extant, then this summary must have been in it; and it will be surprising that some one or more should not have been brought to so good a king, after he had given such signal proofs of his piety and zeal; and if any such had been presented

(15) Jerem. i. 1. (16) Ibid. & ver. 5, 6. (17) Ibid. 2 Kings ii. 26. (18) Jerem. c. vii. & seq. (19) Zeph. i. 1, & seq. ii. iii. pass. (20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & seq. (21) 1<sup>st</sup> Jud. ser. omn. Vid. lib. NITZACHON. (22) Ant. l. x. c. 5. (23) PROCOPIUS. GAZEN. & al. ap. PATRIC. in loc. (24) CALMET. Comm. in loc. & Hist. V. T. l. 5. c. 8. (25) See before, p. 540. in fin. not. F. (26) Ibid. & alib. (27) Ibid. p. 541. c.

temple. *Josiah* delayed not to read it; and when he found what dreadful judgments were denounced in it, against those very abominations with which he had found the whole land over-run at his first coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expressed the most lively tokens of grief, not doubting but both he, and his whole kingdom, would soon feel the effects of those threatenings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of *Jerusalem*, a famed prophetess named *Huldah*; to her therefore *Josiah* dispatched some of his prime officers, with the high-priest at their head, to inquire what would be the fate both of the king and people, seeing they had incurred the curses contained in that sacred volume; and these brought him word back from her, that God would not fail to inflict all those severe punishments upon his faithless and ungrateful subjects; but that as for himself, the concern and remorse which he had lately expressed for it, had so far suspended the divine vengeance, that he should be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of them.

The passover kept.

It was in this same year, and probably upon the reading of this sacred book, that *Josiah* became sensible, that they had been guilty of a shameful neglect of the three grand festivals enjoined by *Moses*. To retrieve this fault, he assembled all the heads of the people from all parts of the two kingdoms to the temple, where having mounted the royal tribune, he acquainted them how they had happily recovered the volume of the *Mosaic* law, and read it himself before them; he then acquainted them with his design of expiating as much possible their former neglect, by a more careful observance of it; and, as the solemn feast of the passover was near at hand, which he was resolved should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themselves for that grand festival. Whilst the people were purifying themselves, *Josiah* commanded the priests to make a more strict search into the temple, and to cast out and destroy all the prophane and idolatrous lumber that was found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the sacred utensils, which had been removed out of it in some former reigns, and to deposite them in their former place and order: All these were readily complied with both by priests and people; after which, they went in due time, about killing the paschal lamb. This is again noted to have been observed with greater zeal and magnificence than had been done by any of his predecessors since *Samuel's* time. After this, the king took a second progress through the kingdom, to purge it of all those abominations, which he might chance to have overlooked at the first circuit; he expelled all the vizards, enchanters, and such-like dealers in dark practices, out of the land; settled courts of judicature every where, giving strict charge, both to the magistrates, and also to the priests and *Levites*, to see that the people were instructed in, and kept obedient to the law of *Moses*.

Thus did that good monarch endeavour, with the sincerest zeal, to restore the pure worship of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of superstition and idolatry; in hopes, if possible, to avert his impending judgment from

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxii & xxiii. pass. 2 Chron. xxxiv & xxxv. pass.

sent to him, he must either have shamefully neglected the reading of it, or if he had not, he could never have been under such surprise and fear, at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of *Jews* and *Christians* (28), that it was the whole *Pentateuch*; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was now brought to light.

If it be asked, how the king could run over those five books so quickly as to come presently to those blessings and curses, which are contained in the very latter end of the last of them; it may be answered, that that might be the very reason; for as their manner was to write upon volumes of a considerable length, which were rolled up round one or two sticks, it might so happen that these last chapters proved on the out-side, and that the king, impatient to know the contents of it, might have cu-

riosity to read in it, before he had unfolded a round or two. We are, however, very far from rejecting the notion of the *Jews*, who believe, that providence directed him to that very part (29). Something like which we find happened under the gospel (30).

What appears most surprizing, is, that all the copies of the Scriptures, which the good king *Hezekiah* seems to have caused to be written and dispersed about his kingdom (31), should be so soon vanished, that neither *Josiah*, nor the high-priest, had ever seen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be said in the case is, that *Manassah*, during the former part of his reign, had made such havock of them, that if there were any left, they were only in few private hands, who preserved them with the utmost caution and privacy. The *Jews* do even add, that he caused not only the Scriptures, but all the books that had the name of God in them, to be destroyed.

(28) *Ibid.* MUNT. GROT. JUN. USSER. LE CLERC. PATRIC. PRIDEAUX. & al. mult. (29) *Ibid.* MUNT. *in loc.* PRID. *Conn. lib. i.* (30) *Acts viii. 26, & seq.* (31) *Ibid.* *Prov. xxv. 1.*

a from falling upon them. But for all this, the text observes, that his anger was not abated in the least against the people; and we need not wonder at it. They were, as their whole history shews, ready for every market. They could so far comply with their pious monarchs, as to shew an outward zeal for God, and a dislike for idolatry; but what proves their want of sincerity, whenever they acted such a part, is, their readiness to relapse into the vilest abominations; whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. These forced reformations therefore could not but render them more odious in the sight of God; so that having denounced a total destruction against the land, by his prophet *Zephaniah*<sup>a</sup>, and by the prophets *Huldah*, he hastened to take the good prince to himself, according to his promise, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

*Josiah* had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, when *Pharaoh Necbo* came up against the *Affrians*, or rather *Babylonians*, as far as the city of *Carchemish*, which was situate upon the river *Euphrates*<sup>b</sup>. It is not easy to say, whether *Josiah* looked upon the design of this expedition to be levelled against his own territories (G); or, which is still more probable, whether the kings of *Judah* were under a kind of tribute and obligation to those of *Babylon*, ever since *Manasseh* had been restored to his kingdom; which would have made it a breach of faith in *Josiah*, to have suffered an enemy of theirs to pass through his territories in an hostile expedition against them; or, lastly, whether he had entered into some alliance with them; he came with a powerful army against him, and encamped in the valley of *Megiddo*. Here *Pharaoh* endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from concerning himself in the war between him and the *Babylonians*, by assuring him by his ambassadors, that he had no hostile design against him; *Josiah* would not be persuaded, but disguised himself, and drove directly against him. The text seems even to intimate, as if his chief design had been to fight him in person; but before he could reach him, he received a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as soon as he had reached *Jerusalem*<sup>c</sup>, in the 39<sup>th</sup> year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good subjects; particularly by the prophet *Jeremy*, who is supposed to have composed that most excellent elegy, known to us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death<sup>d</sup>; wherein he expresses the mournful state of the kingdom, with an energy and pathos, which we can better feel than describe. This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method; the composition is of the acrostic kind, and as the subject of the whole is mourning, which is always most naturally and freely vented and expressed, when confined to number, so here every verse is a sentence, which abounds still with some new, strong, and lively image of the deepest grief (H). There was indeed the greatest cause to lament so good

*Josiah mortally wounded at Megiddo.*

Year of the Flood, 2389.  
Year before Christ, 610.

<sup>a</sup> Zeph. i. 1, & seq. <sup>b</sup> See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. <sup>c</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 29, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, & seq. See also before, p. 267. c, d. <sup>d</sup> Vid. Hieron. præf. in thren. Usser. & al.

(F) This place, *Isaiah* tells us, had formerly belonged to *Sennacherib* (32), and was now under the *Babylonians*; for these had, ere now, reduced the *Affrian* empire under their yoke, as we have hinted in some former note.

(G) This valley being in the tribe of *Manasseh* (33), *Josiah* might not only resent his passing thro' his territories without his leave, but also think that his design was to invade them, notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary, and his pretended commission from God to make war against the king of *Babylon* (34). It is likely, indeed, that this last pretence, from an *Egyptian* prince, could not make any great impression upon him, because he had only his bare word for it; and, if real, might be supposed to come not from the true God, but from his *Egyptian* deities. But *Josiah* was given up to die by this expedition, and was suffered to rush into it, without consulting the Lord about the justice or success of it.

(H) The text says, indeed, that *Jeremiah* composed a lamentation, which was sung by a number of singing men and women, both at his funeral, and passed into use afterwards upon all mournful occasions, and that they are written in the *Lamentations* (35). And *Josephus* adds (36), that they were still extant in his time; by which one would be induced to think, that he meant the same with those we have now under that name.

But as *Josiah's* death was sudden and unexpected, it is hardly credible that such a long elegy as this, could be composed, and set to music, against his funeral; and it is more probable, that that which accompanied his obsequies was much shorter; such, perhaps, as *David* made upon the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* (37), and was since lost; and that this we are speaking of, was composed in some subsequent reign, or perhaps, more probably, upon occasion of the *Jerish* captivity (38); we find likewise, that the prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded by

(32) Chap. x. 9. (33) Vid. Jos. xvii. 11. (34) 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. (35) Ibid. ver. 25.  
(36) Ant. l. x. c. 6. (37) 2 Sam. i. 17, & seq. (38) Vid. int. al. Lament. i. 3.

good a prince's fall, since with him expired at once the religion, happiness, and a glory of the nation.

*Josiah* was succeeded by his son *Jeboabaz*, whom the people set upon the throne in the 23d year of his age; not in right of succession, for he was the youngest of *Josiah's* sons (I), but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs that he designed to reign as wickedly as some of his predecessors had done, but it was soon put out of his power: however, *Jeremiab* was at first sent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, instead of making a shew of bewailing his death; adding, that if he did not, he should be carried away captive, and die in a strange land\*. *Pharaoh Necho* came accordingly against *Jerusalem*, in his return from the *Assyrian* expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and having set his elder brother *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into that of *Jeboiakim* (K), upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver, and one talent of gold, he put the captive prince in bands at *Riblah*, and carried him into *Egypt*, where he ended his days† (L).

*Jeboiakim* was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways: For this *Jeremiab* was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this, was the feast of tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom; and the place, the court of the temple. He threatened them, among other things, with the destruction of the city and temple; and for this he was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a seditious person, worthy of nothing less than death. He was, however, acquitted and set at liberty by the more equitable princes and elders of the court; who, being persuaded that he spoke by divine command, reminded his accusers of some other prophets, who had formerly denounced the same heavy judgments unpunished and unmolested\*. *Jeremiab* was not the only one who was sent upon this dangerous errand; *Uriah*, another prophet, was forced to fly towards *Egypt*, for having dared to utter much the same prophecies against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; but the king was so exasperated at him, that he sent some of his men to fetch him back; and as soon as he was come to *Jerusalem*, he ordered him to be put to death, and his carcass to be thrown among those of the viler sort. *Jeremiab* had doubtless undergone the same fate, had he not

\* See *Jerem.* xxii. 1, & seq. † 2 *Kings* xxiii. 31, & seq. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, & 4. and *Ezek.* xix. 1, 2, 3, 4. \* *Jerem.* xxvi. 1 ad 19.

by God to compose such another *Lamentation* upon this last occasion\*, though not equal to it in beauty and eloquence.

(I) It appears by the first book of *Chronicles* (39), that *Josiah* left four sons; the youngest is there, and by *Jeremiab*, called *Shallum*, but is the same with *Jeboabaz* (40); it is plain, moreover, that he was at least two years younger than his brother *Eliakim*, who was twenty-five years old when he succeeded him, which he did three months after. Archbishop *Usher*, who thinks that the people chose him in haste, lest *Pharaoh-Necho* should surprise them without a head, supposes that they exchanged his name *Shallum*, which they thought unfortunate, because the only king of *Israel* of that name had been murdered in the first month of his reign; for that of *Jeboabaz*, which they thought carried a more promising omen (41).

(K) The same learned prelate supposes this change of names to have been designed by the *Egyptian* king, as an acknowledgment that he owed his victory over the *Assyrians* to the God of *Israel*, by whose command he had undertaken that war against them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יהוה יהוה *Jeboiab-Jakim*, that is, the God of *Israel* hath, or shall make it prosper, &c. But as it was the custom of conquerors to give new names to

those whom they thus brought under tribute, in token of subjection, this last seems as likely to have been the motive of that change.

(L) It is not easy to guess what induced the *Egyptian* monarch to shew such preference to *Eliakim*, and to use *Jeboabaz* with such severity. It can hardly be supposed, that he laid so much stress upon the right of primogeniture, as to punish this last for his having usurped his brother's crown; perhaps the *Jeus* have found out, for once, the reason of it from the words of *Ezekiel*; the prophet represents that young prince as a courageous, undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey; and concludes with this expression, *The nations heard of him, he was taken in their snare, and brought into Egypt, laden with chains* (43).

From this passage they conclude, that as soon as he had got himself chosen king, he put himself at the head of an army, resolving to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpowered by him; but whether *Pharaoh* came against him to *Jerusalem*, or *Jeboabaz* went out against him to *Carchemish*, they are not agreed; but either of these was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away prisoner, lest he should, in time, undertake the same exploit against him (44).

\* *Ezek.* xix. 1, & seq. (39) *Ch.* iii. 15. 3371. (42) *Sub A. M.* 3394. p. 82. *MUNST.* in 2 *Reg.* xxiii. 33.

(40) *Jerem.* xxii. 11, 12. (41) *Sub A. M.* (43) *Ch.* xix. 2, 3, 4. (44) *Vid.* *SANCT.* &



- a not had a powerful protector with the king, *Abikam*, the son of *Shaphan*, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under *Josiah*, who found means to screen him from the fury of the king and people<sup>a</sup>; though he had foretold, about the same time, the accession of *Zedekiah* to the crown of *Judah*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* to that of *Babylon*<sup>b</sup>.

ABOUT four years after, finding that his prophecies had had no effect either upon the king or people, he foretold the destruction of *Jerusalem* and of the temple, and the *Babylonish* captivity under *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he said would last seventy years, soon after which that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become desolate<sup>c</sup> (M). And in the same year, being shut up in prison, either  
 b for that or some former prophecy, he caused *Baruc*, who was his scribe, to write from his mouth the tenor of the same threatnings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then assembled at the temple, it seems, upon some solemn fast (N). *Baruc* obeyed, and some of the chief ministers being informed of it, got the roll from him and brought it to the king, who was then sitting by the fire. He had scarce read a column or two in it, before he cut it in pieces, and flung it into the fire, notwithstanding the endeavours of those that were pre-  
 sent to prevent it. *Jeremiah* and his messenger had doubtless felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpunished. The prophet was ordered to write the  
 c same denunciations again<sup>d</sup>, which were soon after fulfilled by the coming of the *Babylonish* king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commission from God against him and his whole kingdom; as we shall see in due time.

NEITHER were idolatry, and contempt of God's worship, the only crimes with which *Jeboiakim's* reign is branded; he added to them the most horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapines and bloodshed; building and adorning the most sumptuous palaces by violence and oppression; perverting justice, inventing crimes against the innocent to put them to death, and many more such like impieties; besides his being deaf to the admonitions of so many prophets. For these, *Jeremiah* pronounced at last this dreadful sentence against him; That he should be given up  
 d into the hands of his most dreaded enemy, even of *Nebuchadnezzar*; that he should die unpitied and unlamented; that he should have the sepulture of an ass, and that his carcass should rot upon the ground<sup>e</sup>. By this time also, two singular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the rest, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. *Jeremiah* had some time before forewarned him from relying upon the assistance of the king of *Egypt*, whose army was still at *Carchemish*, since it would be totally overthrown by the more successful arms of the young *Nebuchadnezzar*<sup>f</sup>, the prince pointed out by providence to subdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the *Jews*. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of *Jeboiakim's* reign, when that young  
 e victorious prince, having been taken into partnership of the empire with his father, and sent against the king of *Egypt*, gave him an entire defeat at *Carchemish*, took the place, put the whole garrison to the sword, and beat back the troops that came to its assistance<sup>†</sup>.

THIS

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. xxvii. 1 ad 11.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xxv. 1, 2, & seq.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. xxxvi. 1, & seq.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid. ver. 30, 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver 13, to the end.    <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xli. 1, & seq.  
 † See before, p. 267. f. UssER, sub A. M. 3397.

(M) This captivity was likewise foretold, though not in such plain terms, by *Isaiab* (45), under the type of *Tyre*; and also by *Habakkuk*. This last, expostulating with God about the incorrigible hardness of the *Jews*, is answered, that they would be shortly invaded, and captivated by the *Chaldeans* (46). He likewise foretold the vast successes of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when he repined at the prosperity of that wicked prince and people, he is answered, that they also should in due time become the scorn of other nations, and a prey to those whom they had subdued.

(N) Probably, that of expiation, which, as we observed elsewhere, happened on the 10th day of

the month *Tisri*, answering to the latter end of our *September*; for it is here observed to have been towards winter, and we do not find that they had any other fast before the captivity<sup>†</sup>; neither do they seem to have been sensible enough of their approaching calamities, to have appointed one for that purpose. It is, indeed, said there, that it was in the 9th month that the king flung the book into the fire (47); but that interval may easily be supposed to have elapsed, before those nobles were acquainted with the matter, or could find a proper time to inform the impious king with such disagreeable news.

(45) *Cb. xxiii. 15, & seq.*  
 UssER. sub A. M. 3397. p. 83.

(46) *Habak. i. 2, & seq.*  
 (47) *Jerem. xxxvi. 22.*

† *Vid. sup. p. 617, & seq. & UssER.*



Jerusalem  
taken.

THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of *Judah's* misfortunes: the conqueror <sup>a</sup> marched directly against *Jerusalem* and took it (O); rifled the temple of its most precious furniture, and the royal palace of its most hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to *Isaiah's* prophecy to *Hezekiah*<sup>c</sup>; and the city of all its choicest youths, whether for blood, learning, wit, or beauty, to be likewise sent to *Babylon*. Among these last was *Daniel* and his three companions: *Jehoiakim* was at first put in bonds, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was taken up with his other conquests, he found means to rebel against him, after a three years subjection, <sup>b</sup> and continued about three years without paying him any tribute; his rebellion cost him dear, for that prince, exasperated against him, instead of coming in person, sent an army into *Judea*, consisting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who wasted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 prisoners; among whom, *Josephus* says, was the prophet *Ezekiel*<sup>h</sup>; but it is more likely that he stayed at *Jerusalem* till the next reign; took and murdered the unfortunate *Jehoiakim*, and dragged his carcass out of the city gates, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah's* prediction (P).

Jehoiakim's  
death.

Jehoiachin's  
wicked reign.

Year of the  
Flood, 2400.  
Year before  
Christ, 599.

and captivity.

He was succeeded by his son *Jehoiachin*, called also *Jechoniah*, and in contempt <sup>c</sup> *Coniah* (Q), who was then but 18 years old; whether he took the crown contrary to *Nebuchadnezzar's* mind, or had endeavoured to shake off his yoke, the text doth not say, but only observes, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch came up against him before he had reigned three months: *Jehoiachin* came out to him, not in an hostile, but submissive manner, attended with his mother and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all sent away captives into *Babylon*, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction, mentioned in the last note. The temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city were a second time ransacked and stripped of all that was valuable in them; even many precious ornaments and utensils of the temple, which continued there ever since the time of *Solomon*, became a prey to the conqueror: he likewise transported 10,000 men, <sup>d</sup> famed either for their valour or wisdom; besides 1000 of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals and materials; in a word, he left scarcely any behind but the very common people, to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note, was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*. After this he set *Mattanab*, who was the son of *Josiah*, and uncle to the unhappy *Jehoiachin*, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of *Zedekiah*; and having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection<sup>i</sup>, returned into his dominions.

*Zedekiah*

<sup>a</sup> Dan. i. 2, & seq. <sup>2</sup> Chron. xxxvi. 7. <sup>b</sup> Ant. l. x. c. 8. <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 10, & seq.

(O) This *Usher* proves to have happened in the ninth month from the anniversary fast, which the *Jews* have kept ever since in memory of that calamity. This is the more worth observing, because the seventy years captivity foretold by *Jeremiah*, must be reckoned from this epocha (48).

(P) This last circumstance of the king's death, is only inferred from the tenor of the prophecy above-mentioned; for neither the book of *Kings*, nor that of the *Chronicles*, make mention of it; the former of which doth even say, that he slept with his fathers (49); by which must be only meant, that he died as they did. *Josephus*, who relates this story a little differently, and throws the fault upon the perfidy of the *Babylonians*, doth however own, that his body was cast out of the city, and left exposed in the field (50). Other *Jews* think, that he died as they were carrying him pri-

soner into *Babylon*, and that they left his body in the high-way, without farther care (51).

The last quoted place out of the *Chronicles*, says, that his acts and abominations were recorded in the book of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah*. These abominations may be reasonably supposed to be his idolatries, murders, oppressions, and rebellion; but the *Targum* mentions, moreover, his having the image of *Baal* upon his forehead; others say, that he had several charms and stigmata found upon his body, which proved that he dealt in devilish arts (52); and much more to the same purpose.

(Q) He is called by this last name in *Jeremiah*, who uttered this dreadful prophecy against him (43). —That he should be given into the hand of the king of the *Chaldeans*; —that he and his mother should end their days in a strange country, wishing still in vain to return into their own land; as it happened accordingly not long after.

(48) *Vid* *Usher. ubi sup.* (49) *Conf.* 2 *Kings* xxiiv. 6. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 8. (50) *Ant.* l. x. c. 8. (51) *ABARBAN. ap. PATRIC. in 2 Kings* xxiiv. 6. (52) *Vid. de his. ant. tradit. Hebr. in paralip. HIERON. in sec. EUSEB. TOITAT. & al.* (53) *Ch.* xxii. 24, & seq.

- <sup>a</sup> Zedekiah began to reign in the 21st year of his age, and proved as impious as his Zedekiah's late predecessors; however, he continued faithful to the king of *Babylon* some few years, during which, he received some embassies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, who were all under the same yoke with him; seemingly indeed to congratulate him upon his accession to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him against the *Chaldeans* †. The young prince gave but too much heed to their proposal; but *Jeremiah*, who was warned of it, sent to every one of the ambassadors, chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their respective masters, advising them in the name of God to submit themselves willingly to the king of *Babylon*, and not provoke him to lay a much severer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying sooth-sayers and star-gazers <sup>k</sup>. There were, at the same time in *Jerusalem*, several pretended prophets, who endeavoured to persuade the too credulous king, that in spite of *Jeremiah's* predictions to the contrary, the captivity would be shortly at an end, and that the sacred vessels which had been carried away, would be all restored to the temple; to which *Jeremiah* replied, that those few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the rest. Thus for some years, there was nothing scarcely to be heard but victory and deliverance on the part of the false prophets, and desolation and ruin from the mouth of *Jeremiah*. This raised him many a bitter enemy, not only in *Judea*, but even in *Babylon*: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as *Zedekiah* sent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the seventy years were expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into *Judea*, to desire that he might be apprehended and punished as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the God of *Israel*, but the king of *Babylon*, dictated to him <sup>l</sup>.
- THIS contest lasted some years, during which, his enemies had in vain essayed to stop his mouth, by causing him to be apprehended and imprisoned. The infuriated king was at length persuaded by his false prophets, to shake off the *Babylonish* yoke, and that rash enterprise completed both his own and his kingdom's ruin, and hastened the total destruction of the temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army, wasted the whole country, seized upon his fortresses, and at length laid close siege to *Jerusalem*, before *Zedekiah* could make any provision either for his own defence or escape <sup>m</sup>. It was then, that seeing his error too late, he sent privately for *Jeremiah*, to consult with him what to do; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be destroyed, and himself and all his subjects carried into captivity (R); which answer did so exasperate the king, that he ordered him to be immediately carried into prison <sup>n</sup>. In the mean time *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, came with an army against the besiegers: *Josephus* says, that *Zedekiah* had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke <sup>o</sup>; if so, he was the only one that kept it with him; for as for all those other princes, who sent their ambassadors to him at the first, it is plain that they were so far from assisting him, that they rather became his enemies and accusers. However that be, *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think fit to let the *Egyptians* come up to him, but raised the siege for the present, and marched directly against them. This spread such an infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themselves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their service those very servants whom they had but lately dismissed, it being the sabbatic year; not so much out of regard to the law of *Moses*, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the *Chaldeans*.

† See before, p. 292. c. <sup>k</sup> Jerem. xxvii. pass. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. <sup>m</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 1, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. 1. & JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 10. <sup>n</sup> Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & seq. <sup>o</sup> Ubi sup. p.

(R) About the same time, *Ezekiel* prophesied at the captivity (54) much the same things that *Jeremiah* did at *Jerusalem*; only with this difference seemingly, that the one said, the king should never see *Babylon*; whereas the other said expressly, that he should be carried thither prisoner, and end his days there. This seeming contradiction, *Josephus*

tells us (55), staggered the king's faith, and made him give less heed to them; but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile *Ezekiel* to himself, who adds, that he should die there, though he did not see it. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* found out the way of doing it, by putting that unfortunate prince's eyes out.

(54) Ezek. xii. 13. xxiv. 1, & seq. (55) Ant. l. x. c. 10.

*Chaldeans.* The king, however, was not so sanguine, but sent to desire *Jeremiah* <sup>a</sup> to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation; but was answered by him, that the *Chaldeans* would renew the siege with fresh vigour, and that his *Egyptian* allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Soon after this, the prophet attempted to make his escape, but was caught in his flight, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be scourged and flung into a dungeon. In the mean time *Nebuchadnezzar*, having routed the *Egyptians*, returned to the siege, and carried it on so vigorously, that the inhabitants began to labour under such great scarcity of provisions, that they found it impossible to hold it out longer. During this last siege, the king sent often to *Jeremiah*, in hopes of receiving at length some comfortable news; but neither his resentment, nor the grievous things <sup>b</sup> which he was made to suffer, could make him send a better answer, than that they must be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them if they had taken his counsel, and tried to soften their conqueror by a timely submission; but instead of it, the king, to avoid the threatened captivity, endeavoured to make his escape by night, attended by his nobles and guards. The *Chaldeans*, who were soon apprised of it, pursued after them, and brought them back to their exasperated monarch, at *Riblah*; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of *Judah* with the utmost cruelty, by causing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and ordering them immediately after to be put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that bloody scene. This happened towards <sup>c</sup> the end of the eleventh year of his reign; he was soon after sent into *Babylon*, laden with chains, and ended his days in a prison.

*Zedekiah's  
miserable end.*

Year of the  
Flood, 2411.  
Year before  
Christ, 588.

*The city plundered,*

*and burnt.*

In the mean time, the *Chaldeans* having entered the city, fell a plundering the temple, palaces, and noblemen's houses, and seized every where upon the richest spoil. *Nebuzar-adan*, who commanded them after *Nebuchadnezzar's* departure, caused the two brazen columns, that stood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, silver, and costly furniture to be taken away, whilst the rest of his army made the same havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, answering to our *August* 27<sup>e</sup>, and a sabbath-day; he ordered the temple, palace, and the whole <sup>d</sup> city to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers and other fortifications were next ordered to be demolished, and all the *Jews*, down to the very common people, to be carried away prisoners, except some few of the baser sort, whom he left to till the land<sup>e</sup>. As for *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had given his general such charge concerning him, that he was well treated and set at liberty, and went and lived with *Gedaliah* (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miserable remnant left behind.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Israelitish* monarchy, after it had stood 468 years from the time that *David* began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and 134 years from the ex- <sup>e</sup> cision of the *Israelitish* commonwealth; and had continued under the sun-shine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipsed, but their almost constant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations: crimes which though become as abominable to God, as they were universally practised by mankind, yet seem to have flowed from a purer source, though corrupted by degrees to this vast height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind;

<sup>a</sup> USSER. sub A. M. 3416. p. 91. <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xrv. pass. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. pass. JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 11. <sup>c</sup> See USSER. ub. sup.

(S) The same which *Solomon* had caused to be made by the famous *Hiram* (56), and which we have spoken of in the description of the temple. These, together with the large molten sea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, though all of them master-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been spared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the *Babylonish* general, who caused them to be all carried away, with a vast multitude of other sacred utensils, such as cauldrons, censers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whether of gold, silver, or copper.

(T) This *Gedaliah*, was the son of *Abican*, a person in such credit in all the latter reigns, that he had been able to screen that prophet from the resentment of the king, and fury of the people; so that it is very probable *Jeremiah*, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from *Nabuzzar-adan*. And this might also be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in *Judea*, rather than to go into *Babylon*, when that general put it to his option, not without some considerable encouragements, to invite him to the latter.

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, & seq.

a mankind; but for this we shall refer the reader to the appendix here annexed: How the *Jewish* captives fared in *Babylon*, will be seen in the next chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with respect to the *Jews* that were left in *Canaan*, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon *Gedaliab*, the *Jewish* deputy, by one of the princes of *Judab*.

His name was *Ishmael*, he had escaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of *Ammon*. After *Nabuzar-adan*'s departure, he observed that great numbers of dispersed *Jews* flocked to *Gedaliab*, who gave them a kind reception and plenty of provisions to subsist upon, till they could come to till the land; and being moved with envy, and instigated by the *Ammonitish* king, came b to him with ten resolute fellows to *Mizpab*, with a design to assassinate him. *Gedaliab* was indeed warned of his intent, but was so far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendship and respect, and gave thereby the treacherous *Ishmael* an opportunity of murdering both him, and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourscore *Israelites* clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there; he by some means enticed them to *Mizpab*, where he murdered them, and threw their carcases into a well. He was returning into the land of *Ammon*, with a number of prisoners which he made at *Mizpab*, among whom were some princesses of *Judab*, whom the *Babylonish* general had left with *Gedaliab*; but was pursued by *Jobanan*, and some other *Hebrew* captains, who rescued all the prisoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only c eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the *Jewish* officers, and the rest of the people, so afraid of the *Chaldeans* resentment, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for safety. They consulted *Jeremiab* about it, who gave them this answer from the Lord ten days after, that if they tarried in *Judea*, they should be protected from the *Chaldeans*; but that if they persisted in their design of going down into *Egypt*, they should all inevitably perish there, and share in the dreadful calamities of that perishing kingdom. This speech, however, was so far from deterring them, who d were always bent upon disobedience and contradiction, that, suspecting him to have been instigated by *Baruc*, rather than inspired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force them two to go along with them. As soon as they had reached the city of *Taphnes*, *Jeremiab* began to foretel the taking of that place, and the desolation of that kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar*<sup>a</sup>; which happened accordingly soon after, as we have seen elsewhere<sup>†</sup>, and shall have occasion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of *Jeremiab* is not known; some suppose him to have been stoned by his countrymen: but that is meer guess-work, and it is not material enough to enquire further about it.

## AN APPENDIX,

### Concerning the Rise and Progress of IDOLATRY and WITCHCRAFT:

WE hope our readers will not think it amiss, if we close this *Jewish* history with a short enquiry into the origin and progress of those two epidemic evils, *idolatry* and *witchcraft*, which had so long and so universally infected the e world, and more particularly the *Israelites*; and proved so obstinately rooted in the latter, as to bring a total excision of one of their kingdoms, and so long and severe a captivity upon the other.

WE shall, however, forbear descanting upon the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter, because we think that they have gone a great way for the causes of it, and overlooked those more natural ones which were just at their elbow. But here, with respect of the first of these evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of some judicious men<sup>a</sup>, which fetches its origin from the promise made to *Adam*, of the seed of the woman, or the *Messiah* and Mediator; from the

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 23, & seq. 2 Chron. ubi sup. ad fin. Jerem. xl. & seq. pass. p. 269. e. <sup>a</sup> Vid. inter al. ALIX. in Pentateuch.

<sup>†</sup> See before,

the progenitorship of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors suppose *Canaan* might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loss and disgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophecy; and instead of one mediator, to be born in alter-ages, of the line of *Shem*; to introduce the worship of a multiplicity of them, not of human race, but of some superior nature, among their posterity. And if it be at least a very probable opinion, that it was this very *Messiah* who appeared in some visible shape, and had frequent intercourses with *Adam* and the patriarchs; or though even these apparitions were, as others will have them, only those of angels, deputed by God, and speaking in his name †, but from whose intercourse he and his cursed posterity may be reasonably supposed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a superiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of those heavenly visitors, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them. Thus, for instance, *Egypt* was the place where *Canaan*, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode; and how thriving a soil it proved for them, needs not to be repeated here; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their sacrifices to the true God upon those altars only, which they occasionally reared in those places where he appeared to them, having but a very small number of them, appeared vastly inferior to them in this respect in the eyes of an ignorant world.

BUT though this accounts probably enough for the rise of polytheism, yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more absurd and unnatural worship of stocks and stones under various figures of the planets, and of several parts of the animal and vegetable creation; which is more particularly the subject of our present inquiry. For we cannot see which way these can be said in any sense to have been introduced in consequence of the former. As for those who derive them from the custom of deifying their heroes, and erecting statues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worshipped, instead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them; because it doth not appear to us that those *Apotheoses* began any thing so early as the times we are speaking of; they seem rather to have been introduced in consequence of the notion of polytheism; so that we must seek elsewhere for the source of idolatry. For as for what we have said on this head in the history of *Egypt* \*, the reader may remember that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the best account, which the priests of that nation could give for their various kinds of worship to *Herodotus*, or as the conjectures of that or other authors, concerning their superstitious and nonsensical mythology.

BUT as to us, we rather think that the origin and progress of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us, in the account which *Moses* gives us of *Laban* and *Jacob's* parting †. The reader may remember that these two, after a sharp contest, being ready to depart, the one into *Mesopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind themselves and their posterity, by a solemn oath on both sides, to live in peace and friendship with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up a heap of stones in the place; which seems, therefore to have been founded upon some antient and common custom of that nature, and well known to them both, and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worshipper of the true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-bed*, a heap of witness, that is, an authentick record, of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement on his part: This was the pure original sense of this ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect; this heap be both a *Galeed*, or record of our mutual oath; *בִּמְצָה* *Ve-bammitzpah*, and also a watchman, or rather a watch-tower, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or those, of *Nabor*, may behold and punish the aggressor, when we come to be at such a distance from each other that there will be none else to see and judge between us.

IT is true, indeed, that *Laban's* words might be capable of a more figurative construction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods ‡ shew him to have been such a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being understood in any

† Vid. sup. p. 429. not. T. & 484. not. S.  
44, & seq. ‡ Ibid. ver. 30, & seq. pass.

\* Ibid. p. 209. f. & seq.

‡ Gen. xxi.

a any other sense. This made *Jacob*, who doubtless could best judge of his meaning, carefully avoid swearing by any other oath than by the dread, that is, by the God, of his father *Isaac*<sup>d</sup>.

HOWEVER, not to lay greater stress upon this than we need, it is plain, that if such a custom as this was once introduced, of erecting monuments in memory of any solemn covenants, the transition was easy into the notion that the godhead, or rather some deity, took its residence in it, in order to punish the first aggressors; and how soon this might be improved by an ignorant and degenerate world, till not only birds, beasts, stocks and stones, but sun, moon, and stars, were called into the same office; though used perhaps at first, by the designing part of mankind, as scare-crows, to over-awe the ignorant. This is indeed the most that it ever did, even whilst idolatry was at the height; whilst the more cunning sort laughed at it, and only made it to serve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft, and the same kind of policy might oblige those *Matchievel's* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as must naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of astrologers, enchanters, forcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar spirits, sooth-sayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the same nature, who were all greedily resorted unto by the populace upon all occasions; though in matters of greater moment they were forced

c to receive their directions from their principals. HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cause of all these mischiefs; if he was really so, what we have said will only shew how easy it was for him to compass his end. But tho' the scriptures seem plainly to intimate some kind of intercourse between some men and women, and some kind of spirits, as in the case of *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor*; yet we do not find that the devil is any where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready soever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purposely take notice of, because the hypothesis we are speaking against, supposes such an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory of the divine goodness, whilst it left the bulk of mankind under a kind of inevitable necessity of falling into all his snares, with those little assistances they had, either from the dim light of reason, or the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between supposing that the devil first blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedness; and saying, that men having shamefully corrupted themselves, proceeded from one wickedness to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable lusts, they became the slaves of that evil spirit, and were easily enticed by him into this excess of impiety.

e WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their insatiable desire after wealth, their care of preserving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of superstitious trash, we have been speaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Israelites*, too prone to imitate them in all these, than to make their worldly happiness rise and fall, according as they shewed the greater abhorrence or fondness for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft.

f THUS then the antient and truly religious custom of ratifying oaths and contracts by such monuments, which was only an appeal to God's all-seeing eye, insensibly degenerated into the grossest and absurdest idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houses, lands, kingdoms, &c. thence sprung the trades of conjuring each respective deity to its particular idol, and use; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with those deities; the art of star-gazing and astrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offensive and defensive, under their proper constellations; with the whole train of heathenish superstition forbid under such severe penalties by the *Jewish* law-giver.

BUT if this should not sufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we shall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmention'd, may perhaps do it more effectually; we mean the heretofore so much boasted craft of enchanting of

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 53.



serpents, infomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it; and some <sup>a</sup> learned fathers seem to exprefs such an admiration of it, as if they had really seen, or had been some other way fully convinced of it. But the notion must have been of much older date, since the psalmist, speaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the sad mischiefs of an evil tongue to the poison of the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ears against the charms of the most cunning enchanter<sup>c</sup>. What pains hath it not cost some antient fathers<sup>d</sup>, and of late, especially, the learned *Bobart*<sup>e</sup>, to find out a serpent that answered the character given here by the psalmist. Deaf ones we need not be at a loss for; we have a sort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the same colour with those of our author, but rather of a reddish copper hue, seem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* speaks of <sup>b</sup> one that stoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice; and this has given occasion to various conjectures, which may be best seen in the author himself. For our part, we see no reason to understand these words literally any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a syren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a basilisk, or of any other fabulous creature; we hope that in neither case there is now any necessity, either for disproving the reality of such creatures, or for vindicating the sacred poet's allusion to them. All that we pretend here, is to enquire how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and so universally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old serpent in paradise<sup>h</sup>.

AND here we need not observe, how much every circumstance in the history of his seducing the woman; his being, according to the common version, called the most subtle of all creatures, his being chosen by the devil, as the fittest instrument to deceive her, the curse pronounced against him by God, and the enmity entailed between his and her seed; might contribute to the notion of serpents being infected with some diabolical pestiferous quality, which made them thus strangely destructive to mankind. But what we would first of all take notice of, is, that though in our former account of our first parents seduction<sup>†</sup>, we followed the current of all versions which represent that reptile as the most subtle of all living creatures, yet the term חָרָם *Harum*, which *Moses* there makes use of, signifies <sup>d</sup> quite another thing, namely, in its primitive signification, *naked*; accordingly he says, in the preceding verse, that our first parents were חָרָם *Harumim*, *naked*; so that in a figurative sense, it may properly enough signify a harmless inoffensive creature. It seems even probable that the sacred historian takes notice of this circumstance, as one main reason of *Eve's* being so easily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpose than such a one, which was furnished with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one single part, even for its own defence? Had it indeed been really the craftiest of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, seeing he gave them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly mistrustful of him, so that he would have been <sup>e</sup> the last that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would observe, 1. That it was chiefly this naked defenceless and inoffensive, appearance, though adorned perhaps with all those beauties of shape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before, under that head<sup>\*</sup>, that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the same term is used afterwards to signify *cunning*, as it sometimes doth; it is only the word *Harum*, *naked* or *simple*, ironically applied.

HERE was then a creature which, from being originally harmless and inoffensive, became the most dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of shape; a power to kill infused into it, without the addition of any offensive part; inflicting a sure and <sup>f</sup> speedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a seemingly slight prick. What could an infant world attribute all these surprising effects to, but to some deadly occult quality which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the first rise to it, than the enmity intailed between mankind and the serpent, after the prophetic sense of it had once been obliterated with the far greatest part of the world? and whence should they expect a remedy against this supposed <sup>g</sup> preter-

<sup>a</sup> Psal. lvi. 4, 5. <sup>†</sup> ORIG. EUSEB. in Ps. lix. AUGUST. de Genes. ad litt. lib. ix. Respons. ad quest. 44. vid. & SCALIG. de Animal. lib. 1. <sup>h</sup> De Animal. sacr. lib. iii. c. 6. <sup>b</sup> Gen. iii. 1. <sup>†</sup> See before, p. 59. c. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 61. d.

- a preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? So that though we are far from thinking that it sent men to the devil for help, for charms and enchantments, yet it might easily induce those, who first found out a cure for the bite of those venomous creatures, to assume to themselves some supernatural skill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their secrets. How much farther these pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural, or diabolical virtue in serpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vast variety of surprising tricks, which they attributed to them<sup>1</sup>; one of which, and that not by far the most extraordinary, was that of stopping their ears, that they might be proof against all enchantments;
- b and it is this, we shall now endeavour to account for.

- It is not to be doubted, but these cunning artists had acquainted themselves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of serpents; some of which, such as our common snakes, being found to be perfectly harmless, might serve them to amuse the ignorant, by pretending that they had charmed them into that inoffensive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmost wonder; others, of a more dangerous nature, such as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle usage, or rendered harmless by breaking those two teeth, through which they inject their poison; the latter therefore might be used as an amusement, and the former, to try experiments, to find
- c out remedies; and both together, to deceive the world, by shewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, enchanted. But as they found their remedies ineffectual in many cases, and against the bite of some kinds of serpents, they had no other way to save themselves, than by pretending, that those had a particular virtue, which was proof against their charms; and as the deaf kind is the most deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural than for the pretended enchanters to affirm, that their charms consisted in the sound of certain words, pronounced in the hearing of those reptiles, which could therefore have no effect against them, because they had the skill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing
- d but with one ear, which they stopped either with the end of their tail, or by laying it close to the ground, whenever they found themselves in danger of being enchanted; and many others equally absurd, invented on purpose to account for the pretended superiority of skill in this creature, above that of the enchanter.

- Thus we hope that the history of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at least very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and absurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at first foisted into the world from the primitive notion of God's omnipresence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the possibility of the deity being present and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itself out into that
- e infinite multitude of deities, of various sizes and natures, as best suited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preserved this pure and primitive notion; since, as we observed formerly†, the inhabitants of *Thebais*, or upper *Egypt*, did worship none but the *Cnef* or supreme deity, whilst the lower part of the country was immersed in the grossest idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad spirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive sense of God's omnipresence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief that they were, if we may be allowed the expression, the eyes and hands of the deity, and the instruments of his favour or justice, we need not say; and if this was the case, how easy was
- f it for the corrupt physiologists of those times to turn them all into deities, and even assign them their several provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind. Hence proceeded, most likely, the worship of crocodiles, ibis, rats, onions, garlick, and many more among the *Egyptians*; and of the heavenly bodies, both by them and the rest of the world\*.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of superstitions was owing to that insatiable desire after those various kinds of happiness, which their vitiated taste made them seek after, according to their different inclinations, from those imaginary dispensers of them. So that if the *Israelites* could but have

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Auct. sup. citat. & POMFONAC. de incant. TRITHEM. Steganogr. TEXIR. Hist. Pers. DEL-  
RIO. Disquisit. magic. & al. mult. † See before, p. 14. b. \* Ibid. p. 12. b. & not. 1.

serpents, inſomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it; and ſome learned fathers ſeem to expreſs ſuch an admiration of it, as if they had really ſeen, or had been ſome other way fully convinced of it. But the notion muſt have been of much older date, ſince the pſalmiſt, ſpeaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the ſad miſchiefs of an evil tongue to the poiſon of the deaf adder, that ſtoppeth her ears againſt the charms of the moſt cunning enchanter<sup>e</sup>. What pains hath it not coſt ſome antient fathers<sup>f</sup>, and of late, eſpecially, the learned *Bochart*<sup>g</sup>, to find out a ſerpent that answered the character given here by the pſalmiſt. Deaf ones we need not be at a loſs for; we have a ſort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the ſame colour with thoſe of our author, but rather of a reddiſh copper hue, ſeem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* ſpeaks of one that ſtoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice; and this has given occaſion to various conjectures, which may be beſt ſeen in the author himſelf. For our part, we ſee no reaſon to underſtand theſe words literally any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a ſyren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a baſiliſk, or of any other fabulous creature; we hope that in neither caſe there is now any neceſſity, either for diſproving the reality of ſuch creatures, or for vindicating the ſacred poet's alluſion to them. All that we pretend here, is to enquire how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and ſo univerſally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old ſerpent in paradise<sup>h</sup>.

AND here we need not obſerve, how much every circumſtance in the hiſtory of his ſeducing the woman; his being, according to the common verſion, called the moſt ſubtile of all creatures, his being choſen by the devil, as the fitteſt inſtrument to deceive her, the curſe pronounced againſt him by God, and the enmity entailed between his and her ſeed; might contribute to the notion of ſerpents being infected with ſome diabolical peſtiferous quality, which made them thus ſtrangeſt destructive to mankind. But what we would firſt of all take notice of, is, though in our former account of our firſt parents ſeduction<sup>†</sup>, we followed the current of all verſions which repreſent that reptile as the moſt ſubtile of all creatures, yet the term ערומ *Harum*, which *Moses* there makes uſe of, ſignifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive ſignification, naked; according to what ſays, in the preceding verſe, that our firſt parents were ערומים *Harumim*. ſo that in a figurative ſenſe, it may properly enough ſignify a harmleſs creature. It ſeems even probable that the ſacred hiſtorian takes notice of this circumſtance, as one main reaſon of *Eve's* being ſo eaſily deceived by it: it could be more fit for the devil's purpoſe than ſuch a one, which was void of both with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one ſingle part, even for its ſhape. Had it indeed been really the craftieſt of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, ſeeing he gave them all names according to their nature; he could not but have been particularly miſtruſtful of him, ſo that it was not till the laſt that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. We obſerve, 1. That it was chiefly this naked defenceleſs and inoffenſive, though adorned perhaps with all thoſe beauties of ſhape, colour, and ſound, as we mentioned before, under that head<sup>\*</sup>, that gained the victory. 2. That whenever the ſame term is uſed afterwards to ſignify a ſerpent, it ſometimes doth; it is only the word *Harum*, naked or ſimple.

HERE was then a creature which, from being originally innocent, became the moſt dangerous and deadly one in the world, by the change of nature, to all outward appearance, without any deadly ſtill kill inſufed into it, without the addition of any other quality. It ſeemeth ſpeedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and a greater wound, than that of a ſeemingly ſlight bite. We attribute all theſe ſurpriſing effects to, but to the ſerpent; the devil left behind him with it? or what could it be, if not to give the firſt riſe to it, than the enmity between the ſerpent, after the prophetic ſenſe of it had taken place in that part of the world? and whence ſhould it have been ſo ſoon introduced?

\* Pſal. lviii. 4, 5. † ORIG. EUSEB  
ſponſ. ad quaſt. 44. vid. 10. de An  
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(3) ARRIAN. *Exped. Alexand.* l. 7.  
(1) JUST. l. 1. c. 2. See before, p. 360. (6)

have kept themselves wholly free from it, it would have proved the most effectual a means, perhaps, of recovering the rest of mankind, by setting before their eyes a whole nation, enjoying the height of grandeur and happiness, not from those fancied deities which engrossed the worship of other nations, from whom they were so far from expecting any blessings, that they had both them, and their stupid votaries, in greatest contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only supreme creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the source of their guilt and unhappiness, that they thwarted, instead of complying with, the designs of providence; and by their shameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their delusions and idolatry, whom they were designed to cure by their utter detestation of them. b

BUT there was still a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety, the inhuman cruelties which were practised at the worship of some, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were used at that of other of these false deities. All these may be reasonably supposed to have been invented by crafty and designing men, merely to gratify the depraved appetites of a senseless vulgar, in order to make it subservient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people in spite of all his most express prohibitions and threatnings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, because they tended to cast a double dishonour upon him, among those wiser heathens, who were ignorant of his laws against them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifestly contrary to his nature. For what opinion could they have of the God of *Israel*, or how could they believe him to be the supreme being, and yet suffer his people to commit such abominations? What must even the very *Israelites* themselves think of him, if they could suppose that he would indulge them in those very impieties, for which he had so severely punished the nations, whose land they now inhabited?

To all this let us add their obstinate unbelief, which hardened them against the most pathetic remonstrances, and dreadful threatnings of their prophets, whom God still sent to them upon all such defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did towards the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties was hastening upon them, and proved at last the only effectual means of d curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the severity of their thralldom, the monstrous variety of superstition which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the continued exhortations of *Ezekiel*, and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed most to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to say; but this is plain, that ever since their return from thence, they always expressed the greatest abhorrence to those two crimes. Yet even in these two respects, they seem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have strove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at least equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we need but refer the reader to what we have had frequent occasion to observe concerning them. Thus, e for instance, idolatry, once their most favourite vice, has been since had in such abhorrence among them, that they would not stoop before a statue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot\*; and may we not reasonably suppose, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they so greedily swallowed down such a number of monstrous fables, of which, those we have quoted in this history out of their *Talmud*, are but a small scantling; and prefer that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find such plenty of materials to exercise their faith, to the sacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it? well might our Saviour charge those of his time with *straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel*†; and an honest rabbi of theirs advise them to insert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the shameful and almost universal breach of it amongst them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to spare and pity them in this respect, since it was their unaccountable fondness for these traditions above the sacred writings, that inspired them with that bitterness and malice against the *Messiah*, the redeemer of mankind, which made them persecute him to that slavish death, from which we derive our freedom and assurance of a better life; especially, since their continuing to this day in unbelief, affords us so irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Testament, and consequently for the truth and divinity of the New; into which we are not without some sure hopes of their being admitted in God's good time ‖.

CHAP.

\* See before, p. 598. not. F. † Matt. xxiii. 24. ‖ Vid. Rom. xi. pass.

# C H A P. VIII.

## *The History of ASSYRIA.*

### S E C T. I.

#### *The Description of ASSYRIA.*

<sup>a</sup> **W** E have already accounted for the name of this country, and shown it to *its name.* have been derived from *Asbur*, its first planter after the flood<sup>a</sup>, and have observed<sup>b</sup>, that its name extended very far westward over the whole country of *Aram*, or *Syria* (A), which at this time gives appellation to most of the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*. Eastward, southward, and northward it must also have extended its name where-ever its monarchs had established themselves by the fortune of their arms (B).

If we consider the monarchy of *Assyria* geographically, we have already done much towards a description of it, in what we have formerly said of the several countries whose histories go before, and who may, in this light, be considered as <sup>b</sup> provinces of *Assyria*, and more we shall do towards this work in our descriptions of several other countries, whose histories are to follow, and which the order we have hitherto observed requires us to defer to the places naturally belonging to them; and the same order obliges us here to confine ourselves to the *proper Assyria*.

<sup>c</sup> **T**HE precise extent of this country may not exactly be known, and it would be labour quite in vain to attempt to settle it; but taking it to have been the same with the province of *Curdestân* at this day, it lay eastward of the *Tigris*, and extended almost north-east, and south-west from the springs of that river and the lake *Van*, to the province of *Kbuzstân* in *Persia*; or, according to *Ptolemy*, it lay along the eastern banks of the *Tigris*, from mount *Niphates* to mount *Zigros*, being bounded on the east by mount *Choatras*. Such was its situation and boundaries, as should seem, and is agreed upon by geographers; but for its exact extent we chuse to pass that over, as a thing uncertain and not within the compass of our knowledge. *Extent.*

**T**HIS country, which must in its happy times have been a land of plenty (C), has almost ever since the fall of its empire been decaying; a misfortune which has

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been

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 163.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 360.

(A) *Borhart* (1) divides the *Assyrians* into two sorts, those, properly so called, beyond the *Tigris*, and derived from *Asbur*; and those on this side the *Euphrates*, who derived their name from *Sur*, or *Tyre* (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in *חַשְׁמִירִים* *Hushmirim*; but whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The descent of the two nations is so different, the one from *Asbur*, the other from *Aram*, and their distance from each other so wide, that we can never think so slight an accident as an article prefixed to *Sur*, should cause the potent and ancient nation of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* to be called by all the nations about *Assyrians*; and particularly when there is so much to be said against it, as may be found in the next note.

(B) Where-ever this monarchy extended itself, it is apparent, that it extended its name together with its dominion; so *Mesopotamia*, the *Aram Nabaraim* of the *Jewish* writers, is said (3) to have been called the *Mid-Assyria*; and so also *Babylon* and *Chaldea* were reckoned to be a part of that country (4) as

well as the rest, we may suppose, that owed subjection to the kings of *Nineveh*. In conformity to this, we are told by *Trogus Pompeius* (5), that the *Assyrians*, by contraction, came to be called *Syrians*. It was the first great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in process of time, even to those who had formerly suffered by its power; and hence, out of vanity, or from a long settled custom, the nations round about affected to call themselves *Assyrians*, or else others affected to call them so; or, thirdly, they may have been commanded so to denominate themselves by the conqueror. To dismiss this, we would take notice, there seems to be nothing more uncertain than what the *Greeks* and *Latins* mean by *Assyria* and *Assyrian*; they are of such comprehensive latitude with these writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean* on the west, and the river *Indus* on the east.

(C) A land of plenty and pleasure it must undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country designated in Scripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of*

(1) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 34.

(2) See before, p. 393.

(3) *ARRIAN. Exped. Alexand.* l. 7.

p. 453. (4) *AMMIAN. MARCELL.* l. 23. c. 20.

(5) *JUST.* l. 1. c. 2. See before, p. 360.

(6)

2 *Kings* xviii. 32.



been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its situation, which has, at a times, made it the seat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderness, a desert, excepting some little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconsiderable towns which stand within its borders<sup>c</sup>, so that there is but little to be said of its productions and properties.

We have already said as much of the first postdiluvian state of this country and its ancient cities, *Nineveh*, and the rest, as we have been able to gather; so that we have here nothing to do, but to refer back the reader to what of that kind is in the former part of this work<sup>d</sup>, and proceed to the division and arrangement of it by the *Greeks*.

*Ptolomy*<sup>e</sup> divides *Affyria*, beginning from the north-west to the south-east, into *b* the several provinces of *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene* (D), *Arbelitis*, *Calacine*, or *Chalacene*, *Apolloniatis* and *Sittacene*, but there is no pretending to set bounds to these several divisions, or assigning to each, the cities that may in former times have belonged thereto. Nor are these all the parts of *Affyria* mentioned by ancient geographers; we have the name of *Aturia*<sup>f</sup>, or *Afyria* (E), as a part of this country, as also *Ar-tacene* (F) and *Chalonitis*<sup>g</sup> (G).

AMONG the rivers of *Affyria*, we may justly reckon the *Tigris* (H), not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers

<sup>c</sup> RAUWOLF'S Trav. p. ii. c. 9. incunt.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 126.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. 6. c. 1.

<sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. 16.

<sup>g</sup> PLIN. l. 6. c. 26.

of oil-olive, and of honey, as *Bochart* thinks (7), and *Rauwolf* (8); for *Rabshakeb*, who speaks of this (9), may, as is most likely, have understood his words, as of some of the new conquered provinces of *Affyria*, and not of *Affyria* itself, properly so called; so that this does not amount to a positive proof of what is asserted concerning the fertility and amenity of the proper *Affyria*; tho', indeed, it must be confessed to be a very strong circumstance to make us believe it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above; we may easily conceive the conqueror would have seized on the best for himself, and not have bestowed it on the foreign captives he made and transplanted.

(D) The whole country has been sometimes called by the name of this part of it. So *Pliny* observes (10), that the country of *Adiabene* was, in former times, called *Affyria*; the same says *Ammianus Marcellinus* (11), who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, rejecting the common opinion, which derives it from the Greek word *διαλαβειν* *transire*, *δια τὸ εἶναι πλεονὲς ποταμῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ δυσχερεῖς ποιεῖν τὴν διαλαβὴν*, because of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or pass (13). Thus is it also that *Suidas* (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulously, that here is the mouth of *Avernus*, which sends up so pestiferous a vapour, that no bird or beast may take in the least scent of it, but death must be the unhappy consequence; and that hence, also, it was called *Adiabene*, or *impassable*. To pass over other obscurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), *Bochart* (16) gives it an *Affyrian* or *Chaldean* origin, forming it from the *Chaldees* *הדבב* or *הדבב* *Hodjab*, or *Hadyab*, as it is called by the *Talmudists* and the *Chaldees* interpreter; as also *הדבב* *Hodjaba*, or *Hodjava*; whence he deduces (17) *Ammianus Marcellinus's* (18) *Adiavenna*, which, whence it became the name of this part of *Affyria*, may be observed anon.

(E) This also, though apparently but a small district of this country, extended itself over the whole, and, according to *Bochart* (19), was a name synonymous with *Affyria*, allowing only for the difference of dialect; the former being the Hebrew, and the other the *Chaldees* way of writing this name; the *Chaldees* constantly converting the Hebrew *ו* *sin* into the *ט* *tau*; so that what the Hebrews pronounce *Affyria*, they pronounce *Afyria*. Whatever there may be in this, the *Greeks* plainly took *Aturia*, or *Afyria*, to be no more than a province or district of *Affyria*. *Strabo* (20) divides *Aturia* from *Arbelitis* by the river *Lycus*; whence it is plain it was, by the *Greeks*, reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(F) This is supposed to have derived its name from the city of *Erech* (21), or *Arec*. This is the opinion both of *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* (22); and if so, we have nothing to do with it at present; for it was not in this country, but in the land of *Shinar* (23), on this side the *Tigris*.

(G) This may have been the same with *Cale* and *Calacine*, for which we must refer to what we have already said (24) before, only observing, that the *Callenites* of *Polybius* (25) may have been the same.

(H) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (26); others derive it from a Persian word, signifying an arrow<sup>\*</sup>; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course: But this is contradicted by *Petru de la Valle* (27), who says it is a slower stream than the *Euphrates*; and *Thevenot* (28) seems to assign a reason why the *Tigris* should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only more crooked and full of meanders than ever he saw, but also choked up with islands and great banks

(7) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 19. (8) *In his travels*, p. 11. c. 9. (9) 2 *Kings* ubi sup. (10) *Hist. Nat.* l. 5. c. 12. (11) *Ubi sup.* (12) *Ibid.* (13) *Vid.* BOCHART. *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 19. (14) *Ad vocem* *AdiaCmēn*. (15) *Vid.* CELLAR. *Geogr. Antiq.* Vol. II. l. 3. c. 17. (16) *Phaleg* ubi sup. (17) *Ibid.* (18) *Ubi sup.* (19) *Phaleg* ubi sup. (20) *Lib.* 16. incunt. (21) *Genes.* x. 10. (22) *Vid.* CELLAR. *Geogr. Antiq.* ubi sup. (23) *Genes.* ubi sup. (24) See before, p. 127. in the notes. (25) *Lib.* 5. c. 54. (26) *Vid.* CELLAR. ubi sup. \* *Vid.* GREGOR. *postum.* p. 189. (27) *In his travels*. (28) *In his travels*, part 2. c. 13.

a rivers of this kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom<sup>h</sup>, *Nineveh*, *Ctesphobon*, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus* (I), at almost an equal distance from each other, and supposed to have been all between the two cities of *Ninus* or *Niniveh* and *Selucia*.

CONCERNING the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land, we have nothing material to say, and therefore must here close up this section.

## S E C T. II.

### Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the ASSYRIANS.

b *ASSYRIA*, which stands foremost of all in profane accounts; is in scripture *Antiquit.* the second most ancient kingdom after *Babel*, or *Babylon*. It was founded by *Asbur*, and not by *Nimrod*, as some have contended (K), who embrace the *Ctesian*

<sup>a</sup> Vid. CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. Tom. II. l. 3. c. 17.

banks of stone. *Bochart* derives it from its old Hebrew name *Hiddekel*; and the *Arabs*, at this day call it *Dijlat*. The inhabitants hereabouts call it *Hiddekel* to this day (29).

(I) The *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, according to *Bochart* (30), are the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or *Diava* and *Adiava*. *דבא* *Diava*, he observes, is *lupus*, or *lupinus*, wolf or wolfish; *דיבא* *Diava*, being *Chaldee* for a wolf; and hence he derives the Greek *Lycus*, which signifies the same. *Hadiaba*, the name of the other, he derives, or at least is ready so to do, from an Arabic word signifying swift; but this is a most obscure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that these two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the great *Zab* and little *Zab*. According to *Bochart* (31), this latter name is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the Hebrew *דבא* *Zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. *Thevenot* (32) calls these rivers *Zarb*, but speaks as of but one, which he saw fall into the *Tigris*; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the *Tigris*, and observes that it is very rapid, that its water is whitish and very cold, which he would seemingly account for by its falling from the mountains of *Curdistan*, and being merely snow-water. This agrees very well with *Bochart's* thoughts of the smaller of the two rivers above; the *Adiaba*, which he would have to derive its name from the swiftness of its course; but for dimension, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illustrates, in some sort, a passage in the *Nubian* geographer (33), who, as he is translated, says, the two *Zabs* are great rivers, and when united, equal to above one half of the *Tigris*; tho' he says a little before, their mouths were six and thirty miles from each other. It is asked, how in this case these two rivers ever should unite? and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be above one half of the *Tigris*, or fill the same river one half fuller than it would be without them? *Thevenot* seems to answer this question by affirming they do.

*Bochart* (34) also seems to think the *Gorgus* and the *Caprus* are two names in *Ptolemy* for one and the same river; and particularly, because he finds none but the two above mentioned elsewhere; but *De Lisle's* maps have three, one to the northward of the two *Zabs*, which is the westernmost of the

three, and therein differs from *Ptolemy's*, which make the *Gorgus* the easternmost; we leave the reader to make his choice. *Hardouin* would have this river to be the *Zerbin* of *Pliny* (35). *Cellarius* (36) knows not what to say to it, observing only that *Topſſe* is *Velox*, which might have tempted *Bochart* to think it the same with his *Adiaba*, which he would have to be denominated from its swiftness.

(K) The text (37) which mentions the first foundation of this kingdom is variously interpreted, either, out of that land went forth *Asbur* and builded *Nineveh*, as it stands in our Bibles, as well as in the best versions of the Greek, the old Latin, and the Dutch; or, he [meaning *Nimrod*] went out into *Assur* and builded *Niniveh*; as it stands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is translated by *Vatablus*, *Junius*, *Bochart*, *Coccejus*, *Scoban*, *Heidegger*, *Spanheim*, and *Le Clerc*. Now the whole of the controversy (38) turns upon this, whether the word *Asbur*, in the text, signifies the son of *Shem*, or whether it signifies the country of *Assyria*; for both ways it is often assumed in scripture. Those who are for the last interpretation, are judged to force the text, being obliged to supply a defect in the Hebrew, by inserting a particle [into] to serve their purpose, while those who vindicate the other, follow the natural order and construction of the words of the original as they stand. But not to dwell on these grammatical niceties, we chuse to recur to such arguments as may be reasonably offered to set this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of *Asbur*, or *Assyria*, derived its name from *Asbur* the son of *Shem*; and according to what we read in scripture (39), it must have been, that he went out of the land of *Shinar*, where all the descendants of *Noah* were at the time of the dispersion, in order to plant or take possession of the country since called by his name; and can any thing be more natural, than to suppose that the text before us is meant of this migration of his? And who so likely to have founded *Nineveh*, and the other cities, as himself; except we can imagine it likely, that *Nimrod* made a conquest of this country before *Asbur* had well settled himself in it. If this had been the case, the country, it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his

(29) RAUWOLF'S Travels, part 2. c. 9. (30) Phaleg. ubi supr. (31) Ibid. (32) In his travels to the Levant, part 2. c. 13. (33) Clim. 4. part 6. (34) Ubi sup. (35) Hist. Natur. l. 6. c. 26. (36) Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l. 3. c. 17. (37) Genes. x. 11. (38) Vid. PERIZON. Origin. Babylon. c. 4. p. 39. (39) Ubi supr.

*Ctesian* system; and was in the beginning a kingdom distinct from *Babylon*, though <sup>a</sup> in process of time they coalesced into one, in consequence of mutual conquests. *Asbur* departed from the land of *Sbinar* <sup>i</sup> upon *Nimrod*'s usurpation, and built *Niniveh* and other cities, as *Rebobo*, *Cala*, and *Resen*; in <sup>k</sup> *Niniveh* it is likely he resided, and thus erected a new kingdom which, borrowing his name, was called *Asbur*, or *Assyria*. According therefore to our chronology, we have nothing to object against the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, though as delivered by *Ctesias* <sup>l</sup> and others who some how or other happen to exceed him, as, for example *Syncellus* <sup>m</sup>, if barely the antiquity of it be considered; which would not well stand by the *Hebrew* computation. But by the *Samaritan*, which we embrace, this boasted *Assyrian* monarchy, instead of running up too far, will fall short by about <sup>b</sup> 358 years, as will appear by this. The whole interval, according to us, between the flood and the birth of Christ is 2997 years: the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign is, by common consent, fixed to 559, or 560 years before Christ: if to this number 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the *Medes*, according to *Ctesias*, and 1300 more for the duration of the *Assyrian*, according to the same historian and his followers, the first year of the reign of *Ninus*, the first pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209<sup>th</sup> year before Christ, or 789 years after the flood; whereas according to us, *Asbur* built *Niniveh*, and founded the *Assyrian* kingdom about the year 431 after the flood, or 358 years earlier; so that with us, its defect, not its excess, in point of antiquity, may be made an objection to the prophane account of this monarchy. In a word, we have no objection to the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, which may claim place among the first; but then we make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom, and the grand monarchy which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that, for reasons to be found in the ensuing Section †.

## Government.

BEING so destitute as we are of sufficient authorities and instruction, we can say nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they were a small kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages is <sup>d</sup> not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very simple, in conformity to what has been observed and related of their neighbours the *Syrians* <sup>e</sup> and *Meso-*

<sup>i</sup> Genes. x. 10. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. ver. 11. <sup>l</sup> Apud DIODOR. SICUL. <sup>m</sup> Chron. p. 165. † Vid. sup. p. 126. c. <sup>n</sup> See before, p. 371.

his great uncle. We elsewhere (40) read, indeed, that *Asbur* founded *Babyl*; but no where is it ever suggested, that *Nimrod* went into *Assyria* and founded *Niniveh*.

It is objected as an improbability, that *Moses* should introduce a passage relating to a branch of *Shem*, when he was professedly writing about that of *Ham*; but this is frivolous. Parentheses of this sort are common enough in Scripture, as in that concerning *Ishbosheth* (41), and in that concerning *Hiram*'s heart (42), introduced in the midst of other discourse. A late author (43) affirms, the Scripture expressly calls the land of *Assyria* the land of *Nimrod*. *Bochart* shewed him the way, and this would go hard against us, if the thing really were so; though if it was really the case, we might cite the text in *Isaiab* in the note above, in opposition to the text in *Micah*, which seems to favour this notion. *Micah* expresses himself thus (44), *They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword; and the land of Nimrod in the entrance thereof*. By this the land of *Nimrod* seems to be quite distinguished from the land of *Assyria*: So far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the same; for the *and* is sometimes taken disjunctively; but in the passage before us nothing requires it. Several expositors (45), both *Jewish* and *Christian*, understand thereby the

two countries of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, which were both united in the *Assyrian* monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for *Manasser*, the son of *Hezekiah*, under whom *Micah* flourished, was carried away captive to *Babylon* by the army of *Assyria*, when *Esar-haddon* was king both of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The author (46) we have been contending with, resolving to wrest the thing his way, and citing the text in *Isaiab*, which we think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, take the liberty of inserting the word *Nimrod* after the word *Assyrian*, distinguishing it by an *Italic* letter, and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is entirely inexcusable in him, who is quite angry (47) with Sir *Isaac Newton* for a little presumptive addition of the same sort (48). Sir *Isaac Newton*, indeed, had an hypothesis to serve, and so has our author; so that one would have thought he might have looked over a liberty in Sir *Isaac*, which he resolved to take himself; except he imagined Sir *Isaac* had not the right to do it he had, which he would be a little puzzled to make out.

(40) *Isai. xxiii. 13.* (41) *1 Sam. iv. 4.* (42) *1 Kings x.* (43) BEDFORD in his Script. Chron. demonstr. p. 773. (44) *Ch. x. 6.* (45) PERIZON. ub. sup. p. 47. (46) BEDFORD ub. sup. in his preface to the reader, p. 3. (47) Ibid. (48) In his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 68, & 217.

<sup>a</sup> *Mesopotamians* \* (L). When, in after-times, they rose up to the sublimity of empire, their government seems to have been truly despotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can safely say of it.

We have nothing to build upon, or to say in particular of their laws. We would <sup>Laws.</sup> presume they were few and vague, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for these emperors affecting even divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and setting themselves above all the gods of the people they vanquished<sup>†</sup>, and sometimes requiring, that none other under heaven should be worshipped but themselves<sup>‡</sup>, and even presuming to pass sentence on the whole world<sup>§</sup> by the word of their own mouth; it cannot but be imagined there could be any settled form of law for the government of this people, except we suppose their kings to have approached so very near to the divinity they would have imperiously arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the same, which cannot be supposed.

THEIR religion is also pretty much in the dark: in general we know they were <sup>Religion.</sup> idolaters, and that they had their idols and their temples. *Nisroch* is likely to have been their principal god, at least at one time; but *Selden* declares \* he knows nothing at all of him (M), and therefore any enquiry after so palpable an obscurity may be needless. *Nergal* was not properly, as should seem, an *Assyrian* deity, and we shall resume him when we come to treat of the ancient *Persian* religion: *Adramelech* may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is said to have <sup>c</sup> been represented as a mule, or a peacock \* (N): *Anamelech* (O), in like manner, is said to have been represented as a horse, or a pheasant, or a quail<sup>†</sup>; but these are all *Rabbinical* dreams, and to be considered accordingly. For this small part of their religion, and something more which we shall recollect in the religion of *Babylon*, which may have been the very same, we are beholden to the scripture and the *Jews*, the rest we must more immediately trace out elsewhere, and accordingly look back to the superstitions of the *Philistines*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*.

*Derceto* (P), who according to *Ctesias* †, must have been an *Assyrian* deity, has been supposed to be the *Philistine* dagon, but we have denied it<sup>‡</sup>, and already given the reasons for our rejection of this notion<sup>§</sup>; and though we have ventured to <sup>d</sup> call her the goddess of *Ascalon*<sup>¶</sup>, we considered the country then in subjection to the *Assyrians*. *Derceto*, as the *Greeks* call her, (what her *Assyrian* name may have been we cannot guess) is plainly an *Assyrian* deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in

\* See before, p. 371.    † 2 Kings xviii. 33. &c.    ‡ Judith iii. 8.    § Ibid. ii. 2.    ¶ De Diis Syris Syntagm. ii. c. 10.    \* Vid. eund. ibid. c. 9.    † Vid. eund. ibid.    ‡ Apud DIODOR. SIC. l. 2.    § See before, p. 343.    ¶ Ibid. in the notes.    † Ibid. in the text.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itself with regard to *Mesopotamia*, which seems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conquest, when *Cushan-rishathaim* came over the *Euphrates*, and made conquest of the children of *Israel*, exacting from them tribute for the space of eight years. (49) Who this *Cushan-rishathaim* was, and how he came to be so great a king as he seems to have been at first, is a great obscurity. But by the Scripture (50), it appears, this *Mesopotamian* kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at first, soon mouldered away, and, perhaps, became extinct, by the successes of *Othniel* against it (51.) *Le Clerc* (52) observes, there is no mention made of this *Cushan-rishathaim*, in the *Ctesian* series of *Assyrian* kings; and that, according to *Eusebius's* computation, he should have been contemporary with *Belochus*, the nineteenth *Assyrian* king according to him (53); and tho' *Josephus* (54) calls him *Chusarh* king of *Assyria*, misled by the *Ctesian* history, he does not see why we should depart from Scripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impossible even to suppose such an inaccuracy in

the Scriptures, as the calling of this man an *Aramite* of *Mesopotamia*, if he had been an *Assyrian*. All we would add is, that this *Mesopotamian* kingdom or monarchy was a transitory thing, and that it, in all likelihood, soon broke into the many petty royalties we have observed there in the preceding part of this history many ages afterwards (55).

(M) All that can possibly be said of him, is mere conjecture. *Bayer* (56), who takes upon him to supply, in this respect, what is wanting in *Selden*, supposes he may have been *Saturn* or *Belus*, or, with *Kircher* (57), that he was represented in the form of a ship, in remembrance of the ark; but this is mere fancy, as we shall have occasion to shew in the course of this history and that of *Babylon*. He is in the *Septuagint* called *Mesarach* and *Asarach*.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to *Juno* (58).

(O) Both *Adramelech* and *Anamelech* are supposed to have been the same with *Molech* (59).

(P) She is called by other names, as *Adergatis*, *Atargata*, *Atergatis*, and the like; but we shall forbear saying any further of her, till we come to treat of the *Babylonian Venus*.

(49) See before, p. 742.    (50) Judg. iii.    (51) Ibid.    (52) In Judic. cap. 111. 8.    (53) See the series of the Assyrian kings in the following section.    (54) Antiq. Jud. l. 5. c. 3.    (55) See before, p. 383.    (56) In Aditam. SELD. Syntagm. 11. cap. 10.    (57) In Pantheon.    (58) BAYER Aditam. ubi sup. c. 9.    (59) SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. ii. c. 9.    See before, p. 293.

in subjection to a goddess our author<sup>a</sup> calls *Venus*, who may have been the *Syrian* <sup>a</sup> goddess at *Hierapolis* <sup>a</sup>, or the *Phœnician Astarte* on mount *Aphac* <sup>b</sup>. Thus we conjecture; but this *Assyrian Venus* will be more regularly spoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of *Babylon*, which was doubtless the same with that of *Assyria*, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by *Ptolemy*, who calls the kings of *Babylon*, in his astronomical canon, *Assyrians*. We shall therefore only for the present observe, that the *Assyrians* <sup>c</sup>, and *Syrians* <sup>d</sup> paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess *Der-ceto* of *Ascalon*, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort <sup>e</sup>; and that they honoured *Semiramis* in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either because she was nursed by them when exposed after her birth <sup>f</sup>, or because they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, she was changed into a bird of that sort <sup>g</sup>, which is all we have to say of the *Assyrian* religion in this place, except we repeat, that *Semiramis* was sometimes represented, as supposed <sup>h</sup>, with a pigeon on her head, and called the *Sign*; as also, that she was represented without that distinction, and in a particular posture of pointing to the great goddess <sup>i</sup>, for a reason already given <sup>k</sup>; as also, that *Sardanapalus* was deified, and represented in a particular habit <sup>l</sup>; so that it may hence appear they deified all their kings in general, whence must have sprung a very multifarious idolatry, which is at present very much in the dark to us.

*Their customs, arts, &c.* THEIR customs, their arts, their learning, and their trade, must certainly have <sup>c</sup> differed but little, if at all, from what will be found of the same concerning the *Babylonians*, so that we shall suspend what might be gathered in relation thereto, till we come to the *Babylonian* affairs, only referring the reader back to the language of *Syria*, and the alphabet of the *Syrian* character, for the language and character of this people, which we have declared to have been the same <sup>m</sup>.

*Their language and alphabet.*

### S E C T. III.

#### *Of the ASSYRIAN Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.*

WE shall doubtless be excused, if we are very ample and even diffuse in <sup>d</sup> our researches after the *Assyrian* chronology, it being not only of the greatest importance towards the fixing the chronology of ancient kingdoms, but also for vindicating the authority of scripture, which is quite averse to the common prophane account.

*The causes why the ancient profane history is so monstrously corrupt and false, in what regards Assyria, &c.* BUT first we would premise, that the causes which may have induced or misled historians so to err, when they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance must have principally proceeded from the loss of records, and the neglect of the earliest people of the more ancient nations, to keep any sort of register of what concerned them. The world was peopled by succession, and the progress of wealth, power, and learning was gradual; taking rise in the more early parts, so that nothing is more natural to assert, <sup>e</sup> than that some nations began to keep records before others were in being.

SOME nations there were who never kept any records at all, as may have been the case of the *Scythians*, and as appears by their contest with the *Egyptians* for antiquity <sup>n</sup>; and those who did, could not possibly do it at once, or from the beginning, for want of letters and other material conveniencies; and besides, supposing them to have been ever so early in a condition to register their affairs, they could for a long time have had nothing worth the preserving, and much less the reading. The first ages must have been employed in husbandry, and providing for the necessities of life; mankind increasing into multitudes, and nations growing populous, contests, it is likely, arose between them about property and dominion, and these broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing else. In short, we must suppose the world to have been in a calm of peace, and some nations to have made great progress in learning, before we can, with any reason, suppose

<sup>a</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. I. 2.

SICUL. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 377.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 372.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 399.

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 373.

<sup>n</sup> JUST. I. 1. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. in the notes.

<sup>c</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> DIODOR.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. ibid.

a suppose any historical monuments, truly such, to have been taken in hand; and ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the rise of themselves, may have been quite perverted, or totally lost.

But supposing there may have been other nations besides the *Jews*, who had preserved their primitive traditions entire, they may have perished by various means. These nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been destroyed by the malice, or what is the same, the zeal of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predecessors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by posterity; of a humour with that *Chinese* emperor who reigned about 209 years before Christ †, b or perhaps, to establish an æra as *Nabonassar* ‡, who may also have had an ambition to appear the headmost of the *Babylonish* kings; but, by the way, this seems not to have been the case with him, as we must have occasion to observe, more than once, hereafter.

SUCH may have been the interruptions of the regular descent of history to us; though wars, whether foreign or domestic, must have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been almost ever the policy of conquerors to destroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquished may formerly have been, as also to remove all monuments which, by the sight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors also there have been, c who have been moved merely by ignorance or superstition to do the same; as may be observed of the *Mohammedans*, where-ever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be said, that the *Romans* were, in this respect, favourable to the *Greeks*, we do not understand that these last were over and above indulgent to those they conquered, the *Egyptians* excepted, whom they may have spared for the same reasons the *Romans* spared them; because they beheld them as their masters in literature and knowledge.

If then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder why the antiquities of the several parts of the world are so utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, so deeply involved d in the mist of fable.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldees*, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things, and by the fragments of it, we understand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the mosaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the *Chaldeans*, from whom the *Jews* were descended. But this *Babylonian* account has been long since destroyed, and absurd traditions and ridiculous tales have taken its place; which is the more to be regretted, as we are assured by *Josephus* § it was a most valuable remain.

FOR us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote history of nations, they should, from the beginning, have communicated their records e with each other; and the historians of every country should have been as sedulous in collecting and digesting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms and states, and actions they knew, as of their own: and in this case, nothing but an universal ruin could have made the desolation their succeeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be observed by those who are conversant in very ancient transactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be said to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A COUNTRY no sooner began to flourish and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increased with its splendor and prosperity; and presently it could admit of no competitor, but must look on all its neighbours round with contempt; and this doctrine infused into the natives, a national pride is contracted, than which nothing is so unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reason and good sense, and nothing, in the main, so destructive to the peace and happiness of mankind. And this vanity added to the compleat ignorance of what has past aforesaid, in the historians, for the most part, of antiquity, has been productive of the monstrous births which are a reproach to the science.

WE might point at many glaring instances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining of; but shall on this head just touch upon the *Greeks*, to whom

I

WE

† MARTIN. Hist. Sinic. l. 6. p. 239. COUPL. Tab. Chron. Sinic. p. 17. § SYNCBL. p. 207.  
 § CONTR. APION.



we are chiefly indebted for the ancient prophane history, confining ourselves to a what at present is before us, till we shall have occasion to resume them hereafter. They, we may aver of them, were more infected with this folly of vanity, or at least as much as any nation that has ever subsisted under the sun. It is plain they despised the history of all other nations besides their own, never concerning themselves therewith any farther than it interfered with themselves; and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character than to preserve any thing to us by way of information.

AND this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their slighting, and even destroying the *Persian* records, when they became masters of that empire. No one of their historians, that we are aware of, ever consulting them to compleat b a series of the *Persian* affairs: Nor was there a nation they were solicitous about but the *Egyptians*, who affected a deep silence, and cared not to tell them any thing very much to the purpose. Some of the *Greeks* indeed, whose good sense got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as *Erastus*, *Hecateus* the *Abderite*, *Menander* the *Ephesian*, may be quoted, as exceptions to what we have been saying, as well as some foreigners, such as *Berosus*, *Manetbo*, and some others, who were encouraged to write the histories of their respective countries for the use of the *Greeks*. But all this does but add weight to the guilt of that assuming people. It is plain, they did not in the least regard them; for not one of them has reached our days, nor so much as one *Greek* that had made any large extracts c from them, if we except *Josephus*, and the *Christian* chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiously faulty, in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they seem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with history, though their own, but themselves; as may be seen by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in writing of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, never mentions a word of *Berosus* and *Manetbo*, preferring his own crude indigestions, to any thing in them. And so with regard to *Assyria*, instead of resorting to such as might truly inform him, such as *Polybistor* may have sometimes been, for ought we know, he runs riot after *Ctesias*, a most fabulous writer, as will be amply demonstrated in the course of d this section: But being a *Greek*, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his history has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have suffered the fate which *Ctesias* and *Diodorus* had deserved; the fate which *Trogus* has undergone, who, by his epitomiser, is not much to be lamented.

THESE writers were like most of our moderns, who, for what concerns the *Mohammedan* history, consult the *Byzantine* historians; or by listening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endless errors they might have avoided, by looking into the translations and extracts the learned would furnish them, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them.

AND now, to return more immediately to our point, there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages past been no more; of this number are, the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Lydians*. Their records and their historians have long since been annihilated. The *Greeks*, by a vain negligence and insolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them; and no other nation, the *Jews* excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reasons to be hereafter subjoined, we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the *Assyrians*. We are now to enter upon an obscure task, which has confounded some of the best chronologers, who have unwarily been driven to endless shifts, to make out what they adhere to. But as our design is f to shew they have been all missed, some few excepted, as *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Celarius*, *Montfaucon*, *Du Pin*, and some others, we shall take little or no notice of them.

*A TABLE of the Succession of the ASSYRIAN Kings, according to Eusebius and Syncellus.*

According to Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
	Years.		Years.
1 Ninus reigned	52	1 Belus reigned	55
2 Semiramis	42	2 Ninus	52
3 Zameis, or Ninyas	38	3 Semiramis	42
4 Arius	30	4 Ninyas, or Zames	38
5 Aralius	40	5 Arius	30
6 Xerxes, or Baleus	30	6 Aralius	40
7 Armamitres	38	7 Xerxes	30
8 Bel-ocbus	35	8 Armamitres	38
9 Bal-eus	52	9 Belochus	35
10 Altadas	32	10 Baleus	52
11 Mamitus	30	11 Setbos	32
12 Manchaleus	32	12 Manythus	30
13 Spberus	20	13 Afcabalius	28
14 Mamitus	30	14 Spbarus	22
15 Sparetus	40	15 Mamylus	30
16 Aftacadis	40	16 Sparibæus	42
17 Amyntes	45	17 Aftatades	38
18 Bel-ocbus (Q)	25	18 Amyntes	45
	(R)	19 Belochus	25
19 Bellepares	30	20 Belatores	30
20 Lamprides	32	21 Lamprides	30
21 Sofares	20	22 Sofares	20
22 Lampares	30	23 Lampbraës	30
23 Panyas	45	24 Panyas	45
24 Sofarmus	19	25 Sofarmus	22
25 Mitreus	27	26 Mitbræus	27
26 Tautanes (S)	32	27 Teutamus, or Tautanes (T)	32
27 Teuteus	40	28 Teutæus	44
* * * * *		29 Arabclus	42
* * * * *		30 Chalaus	45
* * * * *		31 Anebus	38
* * * * *		32 Babios (V)	37
28 Thineus	30	33 * * * * *	
29 Dercilus	40	34 Dercylus	40
30 Eupales	38	35 Enpacmes	48
31 Laoftbenes	45	36 Laoftbenes	45
32 Pyriatides	30	37 Pertiades	30
33 Opbrateus	20	38 Opbratæus	21
34 Opbratenes	50	39 Ephceres	52
35 Ocrzapas	42	40 Acraganes	42
36 Tonos Concoleros, by the } Greeks, Sardanapalus }	20	41 Tbonos Concoleros	15
Total	1240	Total	1460

(Q) Or *Belochus*; he had a daughter called *Aroffa*, as also *Semiramis*, who reigned with him twelve years (60).

(R) *Bion* and *Alexander Polyhistor* (61) divide this series of kings into two dynasties, which we have distinguished by this chasm. The *Belochus*, who finishes this dynasty, is called by the same authors (62) *Belleus* the *Dercetad*, and in him, say they, the race of *Semiramis* became extinct; when *Beletaras*, *Belatores*, or *Bellepares*, the king's gardener, in a most extraordinary manner, seized on the empire for himself, and transmitted it down to his suc-

cessors, till it fell under *Sardanapalus*. The first dynasty of these kings then, ending with *Belochus*, must be called *Dercetadæ*, from *Derceto*, the mother of *Semiramis* (63).

(S) According to *Eusebius* (64), under this king *Troy* was taken.

(T) *Syncellus* (65) transcribes the same from *Eusebius* in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world 4124.

(V) Though *Syncellus*, in the note above, seems to agree with *Eusebius*, as to the reign of the king who

(60) EUSEB. PAMPH. *Chronic. lib. poster. p. 80.*

(63) DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. (64) *Ubi sup. p. 90.*

(61) APUD AGATH. l. 2. p. 63.

(62) *Ibid.*

(65) *Chronograph. p. 151.*

**A TABLE of the Successions of the ASSYRIAN Kings according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this History.**

According to Scripture.

- 1 *Pul.*
  - 2 *Tiglathpileser.*
  - 3 *Sbalmaneser.*
  - 4 *Senacherib.*
  - 5 *Assar-baddon.*
- \* \* \* \* \*
- \* \* \* \* \*
- \* \* \* \* \*

According to this History.

- 1 *Pul.*
- 2 *Tiglathpileser.*
- 3 *Sbalmaneser.*
- 4 *Sennacherib.*
- 5 *Assar-baddon.*
- 6 *Saosducheus.*
- 7 *Nabuchadonosor, or Chyniladan.*
- 8 *Sarac, or Sardanapalus.*

*The first Table.* IT is surprising how many sagacious and inquisitive men, historians and chronologers, both in ancient and modern times, have blindly given into the errors, and general forgery, of the first table. To reconcile it with scripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raised such hypotheses as are contradictory to all history sacred and prophane, though at the same time nothing is easier than to detect the whole imposture, so gross and palpable it seems to be. The two lists which form this first table are derived, notwithstanding the variations in them, from one formed by *Ctesias*, who concluded his history of the *Assyrians* with a list of kings from *Ninus* to *Artaxerxes* <sup>1</sup>. *Castor* copied him, who was again copied by *Eusebius* <sup>2</sup>; who, as *Ctesias* had taught his author, begins with *Ninus*, while *Syncellus*, on the other hand, begins with *Belus*, and assigns him a reign of 55 years, though *Castor* <sup>3</sup>, whom in this he follows, declares the length of *Belus's* reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; *Syncellus* has in his list four kings which are wanting in that of *Eusebius*, and which are no where else to be met with; which whence it should come to pass, we shall forbear to enquire (W), and the rather as we shall endeavour, with the concurrence of several great men before-mentioned, to destroy the whole on both sides; but first we would observe, that *Syncellus* exceeds every body in the number of years he allows for the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy, for while *St. Augustin* <sup>4</sup> allows it but 1305, *Castor* 1280, *Eusebius* 1240, *Velleius* 1070, *Syncellus* gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author *Ctesias*, and his two copyists *Diodorus* and *Trogus*, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore these computations are primarily borrowed from *Ctesias*, and lengthened and shortened apparently to the fancy of the several writers his successors, it will be absolutely necessary for us to inquire into what foundation he builds upon, whether

<sup>1</sup> Phot. Biblioth. p. 134. Tmetat. 71. Vid. etiam DIODOR. SIC. l. 14. <sup>2</sup> Vid. MARSHAM, Can. Chron. secul. 17. De Regib. Assy. <sup>3</sup> Apud SYNC. p. 206. <sup>4</sup> De Civit. Dei. l. 18, c. 20.

who was on the throne of *Assyria* when *Troy* was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes (66), that this king was by the *Greeks* called *Tisbon*, the father of that *Memnon*, who was by his father sent an auxiliary against the *Greeks*, and fell by the hand of *Achilles*. He tells us the copy of a letter from *Priam* to him was handed about in his time; and also, that he was called *Tautanes the Second*. This story is borrowed from *Ctesias* (67), who calls this king *Teutamus*, with *Syncellus*, but makes him a distinct person, from *Tisbon* the father of *Memnon*. This romantick author [*Ctesias*] tells us, he sent 10,000 *Ethiopians*, with as many *Susians*, people widely distant from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the succour and assistance of king *Priam*, who was his tributary. *Tisbon*, according to this same author, was at that time governor of *Persia*, in highest favour with the king; and his son *Memnon*, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his age, and had built a palace in the castle of *Susa*, which retained the name of *Memmonia* to the times of the *Persians*,

and had paved a publick way, which retained his name many ages afterwards. But it seems (68) the *Ethiopians* next to *Egypt* denied all this story, and pretended *Memnon* was their countryman, and made shew of his palace, which, in our author's days, they continued to call *Memmonia*. More is said in contradiction to *Ctesias's* story; but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head, and therefore drop the subject for the present.

(W) Though it may be in vain to inquire after this seeming interpolation of no less than four kings in *Syncellus*, we may offer it as an argument to prove the unsettledness of the whole series. It was certainly a vague period of history; and, from the variations of it, may be shrewdly suspected of being raised upon no sure foundation, upon no such solid basis as truth. As the whole must have been a fable, those who treated of it used it as such, by altering it as they saw good; or else, we cannot see why the several authors and transcribers should not agree together in essentials, which we find they do not.

(66) *Ibid.* p. 155. (67) DIODOR. SICUL. Bibliothec. Hist. l. 2. p. 77. (68) *Ibid.* *und. ibid.*

- a whether his superstructure be raised upon truth or falsehood. *Aristotle*, who was almost his contemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit, and whoever peruses his *Indica*, must immediately conclude him to have been a man of no sort of sincerity; nor is *Aristotle* the only one of the ancients that has declared against him, nor are his *Indica* the only proof we have that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character better established by much than it is, his list of the *Assyrian* kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire, nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to them\*, and especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in *India* as never

- b were, and never can be. Upon this the question might naturally enough be asked, might not *Ctesias* as well forge his *Assyrian* history, as create the world of monsters he talks of in *India*? And might we not as justly suspect him of falsehood, when he pretends to have compiled his history from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal man alive can believe?

AND this question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the *Indies* and his history of the *Assyrians* are equally marvellous and equally impossible.

- c Who can see *Ninus* at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature; who can read this and give credit to the historian? or who can read his story of *Semiramis*; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of *Babylon*, her 300,000 skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature, and not conclude, that the whole work favours more of a bare-faced romance, than genuine and exact history? In a word, his *Assyrian* history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his list of the *Assyrian* kings of the grossest forgery is, that it is a medley of *Greek*, *Persian*, *Egyptian*, and other names. *Sphærus*, *Lamprides*, *Laesthenes*, *Dercylus*, are *Greek* names, and very common ones. *Amyntas*

- d is the name of a king of *Macedon*; *Arius* is the name of a king of *Sparta*. *Priliades* is regularly, as should seem, formed from *Pyritus*, a medicinal herb, which *Ctesias*, as a physician, must have been well acquainted with. *Xerxes*, *Armamithres*, *Mithrans*, are *Persian* names. *Sosarmus*, according to himself, is the name of a king of the *Medes*, which, how it should have come to pass, may not be so very unaccountable, considering the transition of the empire from the *Assyrians* to the *Medes*; but how *Seibos*, the name of an *Egyptian* king, should also have been the name of an *Assyrian*, is what we are wholly at a loss for. Nothing is more obvious to those who have dipped into genuine history, and especially the scripture, than the wide difference between the *Assyrian* names and the *Persian*, and the still wider between the same and the *Greek*; so that nothing can be said in his behalf, except that he translated some of the original names, but even this is absolutely false; nay, he is confessedly so ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the *Assyrian* names, how they were pronounced or uttered; so far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a most glaring instance of which will be seen anon.

- e AGAIN, in all long lists of kings, the same names, or some such, are observed often to return; and this is no where more remarkable than in the five names of the *Assyrian* kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of scripture. *Pul*, or *Pbul*, *Tiglatb-pileser*, or *Tiglath-pul-assur*, *Shalmaneser*, or *Shalman-assur*, *Esaraddon*, or *Assur-baddon*. For the *Assyrians*, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods\*, or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. These gods seem to have been *Bel*, or *Pul*, *Chaddon*, *Hadon*, *Adon*, or *Adonis*, *Molech*, or *Moloch*, *Aisur*, or *Affur*, *Nebo*, *Nergal*, *Merodach*; as for instance in the followings, besides the names above, *Adra-melech*, *Shar-assur*, *Nabonassar*, or *Nebo-adon-assur*, *Bel-adon*, *Chyniladon*, or *Chen-el-adon*, *Nebo-pul-assur*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebushadonosor*, or *Nebo-chaddon-assur*, *Nebuzaradan*, or *Nebo-assur-adon*, *Evil-merodach*, or *Ivoradamus*, and many more that might be brought to illustrate this point. After this, who must not reject the wild and arbitrary names in *Ctesias*? Who is so ignorantly extravagant, as to suppose *Sardanapalus* to have been the *Greek* name for the last

\* Du Pin's Hist. Biblioth. des Hist. p. 284.

† Vid. Selden de Diis. Syr.

last *Assyrian* King, though so naturally derivable from *Assur-adon-pul*, while he pretends his *Assyrian* name to have been *Tonos Concoleros*, a name which bears no manner of relation to the *Assyrian* language, or any other that we at present are aware of; a name most evidently coined to amuse and catch the ear.

If in seven *Assyrian* names, all that are mentioned in the canon of scripture, five of them belonging to so many kings, and two to the two sons of *Sennacherib*, there appears such similitude and near relation, would not the same, in all likelihood, have been often repeated, tho' perhaps with some variation, in a long list of 36 of them, according to *Eusebius*, or 41 according to *Syncellus*? but nothing of this kind is in either of them to be observed; the names of all of them are different and independent, except in an instance or two; and to crown all, in neither of them is there one name at all belonging to any of the *Assyrian* kings in scripture. To suppose these names to have been unknown to the *Greeks*, would be next to supposing they were perfect strangers to the *Assyrian* affairs; and so all that *Ctesias* has written, and others after him, would fall self-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very safely contradict; they were actually known to the *Greeks*, or the most curious of them, and particularly to *Herodotus*, who, though he mentions but one king of *Assyria*, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, *Sennacherib*; and we may thence very fairly conclude, that, had he completed the history of *Assyria* he promised, we should have read the names of the rest of the *Assyrian* kings in him with as much accuracy; and the rather as we have the experience of his conforming with scripture, in the names of several of the *Egyptian* kings: In consideration of which, and the contradictory writings of *Ctesias*, it may be justly wondered, why *Herodotus* should labour under so much obloquy and contempt with men of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of *Ctesias*, though obvious to every sense, are swallowed and received for granted, even though he in every particular clashes with scripture, while the former confirms it, wherever he happens to speak of things there handed down to us. A monstrous partiality some of the best and most religious of us have been absurdly guilty of; a partiality never to be excused but in those who have nothing to plead in their behalf but ignorance and want of discernment. But this will be more properly discussed in the preface, and therefore we return to what more immediately concerns us.

THE names in *Ctesias*, and the number of them, are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as another argument against him; except it be answered, that in those very early days, so nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, such length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no answer at all, especially for at least three fourths of them, who must have lived when the life of man was reduced to its present standard. And this remote antiquity is what must also be urged against *Ctesias*, and particularly, as he writes in direct opposition to the scripture. *Ninus*, according to him, must have reigned before the days of *Abraham*, and conquered *Persia*, *Media*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, and all *Asia*; and his wife *Semiramis*, his immediate successor, have added *Libya* and *Ethiopia* thereto. But what trace do we find of all this in the book of *Genesis*? even none. The *Canaanites* were under their own kings or patriarchs, ages after *Abraham*; the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Midianites*, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philistines*, were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be conquered by the *Israelites*. *Egypt* seemingly enjoyed a constant peace, apprehensive of no danger from without, till *Sennacherib*, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, moved towards *Egypt* with design to invade it. In proof of all which, we need only to refer to the histories of all these nations in the former part of this work. It appears then that no *Assyrian* enemy was in these parts for many ages after the pretended dates of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*; and that all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were free also from any subjection to *Assyria*, will appear by the sequel.

THE *Syrian* monarchy was confessedly older than the *Assyrian*, and extended on both sides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hadadezer* king of *Zobab*, and rose afterwards to its meridian under the race of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly in the days of *Ben-badad* and *Hazael*: These ruled a mighty empire, where then were the *Assyrian* monarchs, so extensive in their command, and so jealous of their power?

a power? *David*, before these, was master of a considerable extent of all on this side the *Euphrates* <sup>a</sup>, and had no *Assyrian* to dispute the honour with him. The *Phœnicians* continued in independance and freedom, till the days of *Sbalmaneser*, who was set at defiance by the *Tyrians* <sup>a</sup>, though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Consult the history of *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Phœnice*, and you will perceive no glimpse of an *Assyrian* monarchy till the days of *Pul*, who lived above 2200 years after the deluge, according to the *Samaritan* computation we profess to follow.

We have formerly <sup>b</sup> almost ventured to assert, that the *Assyrians* imposed their religion on the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*; which, if it can any way be made to appear, must argue the *Assyrian* monarchy to have been posterior to the ancient *Syrian* empire. We have seen that the ancient gods of *Syria* were *Rimmon*, *Adad*, and other deities of mortal origin, their most renowned kings <sup>c</sup>. These were the gods of the *Syrians*; but they ceasing, as it were, to be a people by their captivity <sup>d</sup>, others were introduced into the country, as the custom was <sup>e</sup>; and accordingly in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, we find the statues of *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus* <sup>f</sup>. These, as *Assyrians*, must have been unknown to the old inhabitants of the country; and to confirm us in a certain and well-grounded belief, that they were both of them later than the kings of *Damascus*; we would urge, that *Semiramis* herself is said to have been a *Philistine*, to have been born in the neighbourhood of *Ascalon*, at a time when the whole land was in subjection to the *Assyrian* kings, and as should seem in the reign of *Ninus* <sup>g</sup>. When this can possibly have been, but after the subjugation of the *Proper Palestine*, together with the neighbouring countries, by the successors of *Pul*, we leave any one to judge; the scripture affords no materials towards even any conjecture of the kind, as may be easily seen by what hath been said in the history of the *Philistines*, in the former part of this work <sup>h</sup>.

THE father of *Thammuz*, or *Alonis*, is said to have been an *Assyrian* <sup>i</sup>; and it is thought the whole system almost of the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* superstition migrated from the banks of the *Tigris* <sup>j</sup>; and as this seems very natural, and may be supported by many powerful arguments, we should be apparently wrong in not rejecting of *Ctesias*, who, in opposition to scripture, *Herodotus*, and other more undoubted authorities, is guilty of a forgery of the most solemn and delusive kind.

HAVING endeavoured to destroy the credit of *Ctesias*, and therewith the first table of the *Assyrian* kings from *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the *Assyrian* empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of *Syria* and the neighbouring countries, it appears, that the *Assyrians* had no power in the western parts of *Asia* till the reign of *Pul*, who made his first appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, in the decline of the kingdom of *Damascus*: What they had before that time done in the east, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by *Pul*, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer home, is a matter hardly to be doubted. We have elsewhere said <sup>k</sup>, that the *Assyrian* monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of *Menabem*; and this is not only to be demonstrated by scripture and *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon, but by several of the most ancient and unexceptionable profane writers.

*Herodotus* <sup>l</sup>; that venerable and much injured historian, observes, that the *Assyrians* had been masters of the *Upper Asia* 520 years, when the *Medes* threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than 150 years, inclusive of the 28 years, during which the *Scythians* ruled *Asia*. These two sums added together amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, which being added to the epoch of *Cyrus* before *Christ*, which is universally stated at 559 years before *Christ*, will make 1229, the whole interval between the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy and the birth of *Christ*; which cuts off about 1000 years from the common profane accounts; though it will

<sup>a</sup> See before 382. 777.

<sup>b</sup> MENAN. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Judai. l. 9. c. 14.

<sup>c</sup> See before in the

notes, p. 399.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 372.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 390.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 861.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

p. 237.

<sup>h</sup> Ctes. apud DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 65.

<sup>i</sup> See before, p. 338, & seq.

<sup>j</sup> See be-

fore in the notes, p. 400.

<sup>k</sup> Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amended, p. 27.

<sup>l</sup> See before,

p. 173.

<sup>m</sup> l. 1. c. 99.



will exceed the æra of *Nabonassar* by 458 years; and therefore *Herodotus's* numbers, as they stand with us, are doubtless too long, though so much short of *Ctesias* and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that *Herodotus's* computation is not above 200 years later than the days of *Chusban-rishathaim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, or *Aram-Naharaim*, who kept the children of *Israel* under for the space of eight years, till they were delivered from him by *Othniel*<sup>m</sup>. In what sense this *Chusban-rishathaim* may have been considered as an *Assyrian*, we take not upon us to say, or whether he was so or not, only this we are obliged to declare that he could not be of that nation\*, seeing he is in scripture<sup>n</sup> called a *Mesopotamian*, and seeing we might with as much justice call *Cbedorlaomer* an *Assyrian*, though he is expressly said to have been an *Elamite* or *Persian*. And this care in the sacred pen-men, thus to distinguish the men, who from the beginning made inroads upon the *Euphratenian* region, expressly saying that the first was an *Elamite*, the second a *Mesopotamian*, and expressly calling *Pul* an *Assyrian*, leaves us no room to imagine that the two former could be kings of *Assyria*; but that *Herodotus* should be a little elder in his date, than was consistent with an exact chronology, will not perhaps be wondered at by those who rightly consider what we have urged in the former part of this section.

AGAIN, *Herodotus* tells us<sup>o</sup>, that *Semiramis*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus*<sup>p</sup>, or *Ctesias* rather, was the wife of *Ninus*, was but five generations before *Nitocris*, the mother of *Labyntus* [*Nabonadius*] the last king of *Babylon*, which as, by the largest computation, it cannot exceed 200 years<sup>q</sup>, she may have been the wife of some one of the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon, and perhaps of *Nabonassar* himself.

FOR these reasons is *Herodotus* much to be relied on, and for the same are we much to regret the history of *Assyria* he promised: and for which he doubtless was furnished with very valuable materials. He actually travelled the country, and conversed with the natives; which though a late author<sup>r</sup> makes slight of, presuming the inhabitants might be mistaken themselves, and consequently lead him into errors; yet must it be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of *Herodotus*, since he could possibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of consulting the national records themselves.

WE may add, that he is both supported and followed by some of the very weightiest of the ancients. *Diogenes of Halicarnassus*<sup>s</sup> takes notice, that the *Assyrian* antiquities are run up into fable; that though the monarchy was ancient it did not extend over a very great part of *Asia*, and that it was not so potent as the empire of the *Medes*, which arose upon its ruins. *Appian*<sup>t</sup> affirms the duration of the three empires, the *Assyrian*, the *Median*, and the *Persian*, to have made up no more in sum than 900 years, which being added to 336, the epoch of *Alexander* before Christ, will remove the rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy to the distance of 1236 years before Christ, which will exceed the chronology of *Herodotus* above-mentioned by no more than seven years; upon which, we cannot but wonder that *St. Jerome*<sup>u</sup>, who follows *Ctesias*, and roundly asserts, that *Ninus* was the first that ruled all over *Asia*, should add, that all the *Greeks*, as well as the *Barbarians*, were of the same mind.

SUCH are the sentiments of the most judicious of the profane historians; concerning the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy; and they seem to have the concurrence of *Homer* on their side, who in recounting the most potent princes of the earth, at the time when *Troy* was besieged, is quite silent as to any *Assyrian* monarch, though, after the rate of *Ctesias's* reckoning, that ten years war was waged within the *Assyrian* dominions.

BY what we have said against the first table of the *Assyrian* kings, according to *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, and the preparatory arguments we have been using in behalf of the second, according to scripture and this history, it must appear to an attentive reader, that the *Assyrian* monarchy is of late date, in comparison of what has been too much imagined, even by some of the most learned; as also, that it is in scripture that we have the nearest view of the rise of the monarchy before us; and more particularly since it is evident, by *Ptolemy's* canon, that there were really no kings of very extraordinary eminence before the reign of *Nabonassar*, who may have been a descendant of *Pul's*, the first *Assyrian* monarch mentioned in scripture,  
a point

<sup>m</sup> Judg. c. iii. ver. 8.    <sup>n</sup> See before in the notes, p. 861.    <sup>o</sup> Judg. xi.    <sup>p</sup> Ubi Sup. Lib. 1. c. 184.  
<sup>q</sup> 1. 2. p. 67.    <sup>r</sup> MARSH. Can. Chron. p. 522.    <sup>s</sup> BEFORE, in his Script. Chronol. p. 774.  
<sup>t</sup> 1. 1.    <sup>u</sup> In Prefat. p. 5.    <sup>v</sup> In Holeam c. 2.

a a point which may be more properly discussed in the chronology of *Babylon*; though, by the way, *Ptolemy* calls all the kings in his canon *Assyrians*, which was a common practice \*.

THE authority of this famous canon is not to be disputed, and it most remarkably reduces the *Assyrian* æra to the bounds of scripture history, or nearly so; for, though *Pul* himself will not fall within the compass, he will so little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument, to evince he was the first considerable monarch in these parts: but, this being what we may have occasion to resume hereafter, we proceed to what we have more immediately under consideration.

To fix the exact æra of the *Assyrian* monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, b except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of *Pul*'s first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, which was about the second year of *Menabem*, 23 years before the æra of *Nabonassar*, 2228 years after the flood, and 771 years before Christ.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we do not pretend to do beyond all possibility of dispute. The text of scripture which gives us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relates to us some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes, drops us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to have recourse to the *Apocrypha*, and *Ptolemy*'s canon, for the successors of the great c *Esfarbaddon*. The book of *Judith* so very nicely corresponds with *Herodotus*, in what he says of the war between the declining *Assyrians*, and the rising *Medes*, that we have not been able to avoid giving credit to it; and seeing the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* most naturally coincides with that of *Cbnyladon* in the canon, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the same king, the second in descent from *Esfarbaddon*, or *Ajfaraddin*: As for *Sarac*, whom we borrow from *Polybistor* †, and whom we also call *Sardanapalus*, from a similitude of his story and exit in the same historian, with what is related of him by *Ctesias*, we must confess ourselves considerably in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our *Assyrian* history. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that *Polybistor* is a d follower of *Ctesias*, and as such we have considered him; but we would answer, with the assistance of Sir *Isaac Newton* ‡, That there may be something of truth in the bottom of the *Ctesian* history (as there commonly is in all romances); as that *Niniveb* was destroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that *Sardanapalus* was the last king of the *Assyrian* empire, and that *Astibares* and *Ashyages* were kings of the *Medes*. But whence it is that we have no such name as *Sarac* in the *Nabonassaran* canon, we shall here forbear to enquire; seeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the history of his reign; and therefore since nothing positive can be ascertained, as to this last stage of the *Assyrian* monarchy, we here conclude this Section.

#### S E C T. IV.

##### The History of ASSYRIA, according to Ctesias of Cnidos, and his Followers.

e ALTHOUGH we have condemned the greatest part of what is here to follow as forgery all and falsehood, yet as it has been so long received for truth, by most of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and as we may say from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we are under an indispensable obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is with great solemnity and all possible confidence handed down to us. *Ninus* (X), a prince of martial genius and immense

\* PERIZON. Antiq. Babylon. p. 10. † Apud SYNCCELL. ‡ Chronolog. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 267.

(X) We will not take upon us to say, that there never was such a king as *Ninus*, or such a king as his pretended predecessor *Belus*; but it is very likely these names were forged by the *Greeks*, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities,

*Ninoveb* and *Babel* or *Babylon*. However, thus far we are certain, that he cannot have been *Nimrod*, or *Ashur* rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69); and therefore it is impossible *Ninus* should have been the first king. We would do all we safely can to reconcile

immense ambition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them: to this purpose, he assembled together the robustest of the youth in his dominions, and diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, and enured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war\* (Y).

BEING now in a state to execute his purpose, but apprehending he might be stopped in his career by the *Arabians*, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league with *Ariens* their king; to the end that, if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). However *Ariens* joined forces with him, and marched with him into *Babylonia* (A). The city of *Babylon*, so famous since, was not at that time in being; though the province itself was stored with cities, whose inhabitants, unknowing in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey<sup>b</sup> to

\* Apud DIODOR. SICUL. Bibliot. Histor. l. 2.

concile the sacred history with the profane, and will allow, with several, that *Nimrod* may be *Belus*, and *Affur*, *Ninus*; or let *Nimrod*, as others (70) think, be the son of *Belus* (whom they will have to be *Cush*) and let *Ninus* be the son of *Nimrod*; but then let their works and exploits be suitable with the early times they lived in, not such as we read of in *Diodorus Siculus* (71); let the cities they build be plain, and without art and cost. Let them reign agreeably to the state of things in the first ages, without pomp, without luxury. Let them wage war, but let it be in their neighbourhood, not in far distant countries; with a few thousands at their heels, not with millions; with rude and undisciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained soldiers.

(Y) We cannot forbear thinking, that the whole story of *Ninus* is, with some variation, a copy of that of the great Egyptian *Sesostris* (72), and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the same person; for *Tizatus* (73) expressly calls *Sesostris* king of *Affyria*, and observes, he is the same whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Sesofus* (74), that he was monarch of the *Affyrians*; that he ruled over all lands, and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In short, he at length relates the story we have upon the same occasion told of the Egyptian *Sesostris* (75), without the least variation, except that he calls him an *Affyrian*.

The parallel is plain; *Aminophis* trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exercises of war, to serve under his son in the conquest foretold of him (76), the world being then unconscious of the havoc of the sword; *Ninus* does here the same, and with the same intent, except that those he trained were designed to serve under himself.

(Z) It is justly objected against the *Ctesian* history of *Affyria*, that it introduces a king of the *Arabians*, before the *Arabians* were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham*; but this cannot hold good, for the country was before planted by *Joktan* (78). But what is more material and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these ancient *Arabians*, how it was they were in *Ninus*'s days so famed for war and love of liberty? How came *Ninus* to know this? We understand by this history, that *Ninus* was the first that invaded the rights of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these *Arabians* had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the

rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, *Ninus* was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that *Sesostris* king of *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians* (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and *Ninus* is interrupted. But is *Sesostris* older in these parts than *Ninus*? our author (80) insinuates no. According to profane authors, they must have been nearly of an age. Now if *Sesostris* conquered the *Arabians*, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not; *Justin* (81) reckons them two of the first that disturbed the peace of the world in *Asia*. If *Asia* had been free from war till the days of *Ninus*, and if he was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the *Arabians* must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if *Ninus* was later than *Sesostris*, and if this last actually subdued the *Arabians*, what had *Ninus* to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconsequence and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful that such stuff as this should ever have passed with men for history, when it is even too silly to be called good romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(A) If *Ninus* resided in the country we now call *Affyria*, and if this mighty *Arabian Ariens* ruled over the country we now call *Arabia*, he could not with more convenience at all have joined his *Affyrian* friend than by marching through the kingdom of *Babylon*. Now if these *Babylonians* had been so feeble as here represented, our warlike *Arab* might have subdued them in his march, and made a present of them and their country to *Ninus*, upon their first greeting; and the rather because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(B) Why the *Babylonians* should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the *Arabians* should have been so particularly versed therein. If the *Arabian* had been what he is represented, it is very strange the *Babylonian* should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we would observe, that according to our author (82), and by what is observed in the note next above, the *Arabians* must have been famous warriors, before the *Affyrians* themselves knew any thing of the matter; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose,

(70) PETAÏ. de Doctr. Tempor. (71) Bibliot. Histor. l. 2. (72) See before, p. 249. (73) Ctbl. 3. v. 83. ad calc. edit. Gal. HERODOT. p. 676. (74) See before, p. 249. (75) Ibid. p. 249. & seq. (76) Ibid. p. 258. (77) BERN. MONTFAUC. apud DU PIN. Bibliot. Univ. des Histor. p. 286. (78) See before, p. 169. (79) Ibid. p. 254. (80) DIODOR SICUL. l. 2. (81) Lib. 1. c. 1. (82) Ctes. apud DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.

a to the turbulent and aspiring *Ninus*, who imposed on them an annual tribute; and carried away their king and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon *Armenia* with a mighty hand, bore down cities and all before him, and injected such a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king *Barzanes* himself waited on him with rich gifts, and made submission to him; which had this effect, that *Ninus* courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of *Armenia*; but upon this condition, that he should become his vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever he should require it (D). Encouraged thus to proceed, he makes an attempt upon *Media*, and overthrew its king, *Pharnus*, though at the head of a mighty army. Most of the army of the *Medes* he slew, the king himself was taken prisoner, and with his wife and seven children inhumanly crucified<sup>a</sup> (E).

b AND now nothing would serve him, but he must make himself master of all *Asia*, between the *Tanais* and the *Nile*; and that he might, with the more safety, enter upon this enterprise, he fixes an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conquest, *Media*, while he marched away against the other provinces of *Asia*, which, in seventeen years time, he reduced all but *Bactria* and *India*. The number of the nations he subjugated, it seems, are no where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one described and reckoned; but thus far is affirmed by our fabulous author; that he made himself master of the sea-coasts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Cælo-Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Perygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, His conquests.

<sup>a</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

suppose that the *Babylonians*, who lay between them, should have cultivated the use of the sword before the *Assyrians*, and that for several reasons, and particularly, as it so stood them upon, to be on their guard against such an enemy as the *Arabian*. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse; the *Babylonians* knew nothing of the matter, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the *Arabians* to be such a people as they proved, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour, the king of *Assyria*; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge, and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the *Babylonian* kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of *Babel* (83); and the people to have been a warlike and enterprising nation, so early as the days of *Abraham*, when we read of a king of *Shinar* or *Babylon* (84); making excursions upon the *Canaanites* and others in company with the king of *Elam* (85). This *Babylonian* king was plainly a warrior; and, according to common computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than *Ninus*. The city of *Babylon* was, we find by our author, so strongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But *Babylon*, it seems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province, and its more ancient cities, were swept away at once. How this agrees with the scripture, we leave the reader to judge; it is *oto cælo* distant from it; as may be more amply observed hereafter.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expose the absurdity of this position; but though the *Babylonians* should have been more ignorant in war than the nations round about; it must have been, because they had never known what war was. In this case, it must be supposed their neighbours, not excepting any, must have been as ignorant therein as themselves. One warlike nation always makes another, and so on.

(C) What this prince should have done, to pro-

voke *Ninus* to use him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to guess; but it is plain he could give him no great offence; his weakness and inactivity seem to have been the only crimes that could make him obnoxious to the *Assyrian*; and, that these were the crimes he suffered for, may be unnatural to suppose. In a word, it seems to have been the first thing that came uppermost, and to have been said at a venture; perhaps for variety sake.

(D) This king of *Armenia*, it is plain, at first, made some resistance; but, finding himself unequal to his adversary, submits to be his vassal, and, in consideration of this, his life is spared. This looks as if he not only resisted at first, but made terms for himself afterwards; or we cannot possibly perceive why he should be suffered to live any more than the apparently innocent and inoffensive king of *Babylon*; whose case, if true, must have redounded much to the dishonour of this new conqueror; and, if not, must reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero so cruel and undistinguishing a man; so that here *Ninus* does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is commonly proposed for a pattern of true justice and magnanimous prowess.

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in the gradation of resistance in these three nations that were first attacked, upon the supposition that the world in those days knew not what war was. The *Babylonians*, who were first attacked, make no resistance at all; the *Armenians*, whose turn was next, make some faint shew of resistance; and now the *Medes*, who come third in turn, resist indeed. For here we find they had regular armies in the field to cope with *Ninus*; and a most bloody battle is fought. *Pharnus*, according to this, must have made a very extraordinary progress in the art of war, and must have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vassal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and so he is put to death, with all his family. But this *Mede* seems to have been as much too strong, as the *Armenian* and *Babylonian* are too weak; the whole has all the air of untruth and inconsistency one could wish.

(83) See before, p. 142.

(84) Ibid. p. 326. 424.

(85) Genes. xiv.

Lydia, Troas and Phrygia upon the Hellespont, the Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, a together with the barbarous nations from Pontus to the Tanais: the Caddusians, Tapyrians, Hyrcanians, Dacians, Derbiciens, Carmanians, Choramneans, Borebanians, and Parthians, not excepting Persia, the Susiana, and what was called Caspiana, which he penetrated by the passes called the Caspian Straits (F). Other nations of less account he now subdued, but found it impracticable to make any notable impression on the Bactrians, who were secured by the difficulty of their passes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G), and therefore he defers his war with them, till he should be better assured of making his attempt with success<sup>b</sup>.

Returns into  
his own coun-  
try.

Dismisses the  
king of Arabia.

Nivineh built,  
and described.

LEADING his army back again into his own country [Syria, as it is called] (H), he determined to raise himself as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he hoped he should enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with this design, marked out a spot of ground whereon to erect a city, which, for its extent and stateliness, should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having dismissed the Arabian king, who had followed him in his wars, with high honours and noble gifts (K); and having got a multitude of hands about him, and amassed a treasure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which rose to that stupendous degree, as was never after beheld in any city whatsoever. It stood on, or near, the Euphrates (L), surrounded with lofty walls and towers; the former being 100 feet in height, the latter 200, and 1500 in number; for this city was an oblong square, no less than 480 stades in circumference, or 74 miles; the walls were so very broad, that three chariots might drive thereon a-breast. This city which he honoured with his name, Ninus [Niniveh], he gave for a possession to the most eminent of the

Assyrians

<sup>b</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy according to our author. All these conquests were made, with uninterrupted success, by Ninus; and these numerous nations, and others, were ever after considered as parts of the Assyrian monarchy, till its dissolution; a falsehood which may be proved by what we know of the history of every of these nations; who if they were in very early days conquered by any ancient Assyrian king Ninus, or any other, their subjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the history of the several nations that precede in this work, that they were free from any Assyrian yoke, from the first times we know of, down to the days of Pul; an interval of many ages, during which no Assyrian monarchy existed on this side the Euphrates. So that if any such there had been, and if its duration was such as Ctesias and his followers report, it must, according to the Hebrew computation, or the Samaritan, have taken rise many ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time these nations, and particularly all on this side the Euphrates, began to have any being that we know of; for, from the days of Abraham down to Pul, there is no footstep of an Assyrian power extended over the western part of Asia. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the person of Pul, the first Assyrian king, according to scripture; after him, these nations, or many of them, and particularly those on this side the Euphrates, did confessedly pay obedience to the Assyrian throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at least for any continuance; so that there could have been nothing of this pretended Assyrian monarchy from Abraham to Pul, which is an interval of about 1150 years, and which, being added to the years of the interval between Abraham and the flood, will remove the rise of this monarchy so near to us, in comparison of what profane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How these Bactrians came to be such very hardy warriors is perfectly in the dark to us; they must never have had the experience of a single campaign before they had to do with the ambitious Ninus. The same arguments may be brought to prove, that Ninus could not possibly know what kind of soldiers they were, as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonstrate, he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the Arabians; for we suppose, with our author, and Trogus (86), that Ninus was the first real warrior, we cannot allow there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conquests; and though some nations, during his progress, may have put themselves in a posture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, Ninus could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their stature and strength of body; which may, it is most likely, have been the same in all these neighbouring nations. In short, considering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as also the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to suppose he could dread any one of these nations more than another.

(H) We have already (87) observed, that Syria and Assyria are promiscuously used for each other, and that this is the cause of much confusion in geography (88).

(I) This is Sesostris exactly: Thus he, returning from the conquest of Asia, applied his mind to such stupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good (89).

(K) Thus also did Sesostris to his army (90).

(L) This is point-blank opposite to the real situation of this city (91), an inaccuracy which is more than once repeated by our author (92), and has been noted by several geographers and others; but whether he borrowed the mistake from his admired Ctesias, or whether he struck it out of himself, is to no purpose to enquire.

(86) JUSTIN. l. i. c. i. (87) See before, p. 857.  
(90) Ibid. (91) Ibid. in the notes, p. 126.

(88) Ibid. in the notes. (89) See before, p. 257.  
(92) DIONOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Histor. l. 2.

a *Assyrians* (M), with liberty at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, and added to it a large territory to be dependant thereon<sup>c</sup>.

THIS work dispatched, but in what space of time they are not so good as to tell us, *Ninus* takes the field again to subdue the *Babylonians*, whom he had left uncon-  
 quered; and though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than for his marriage with *Semiramis*; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation. Her birth and extraction were, to be sure, more than merely mortal, for she sprung from a goddess, *Decreto* by name, who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far from *Ascalon* in *Syria* (N), and who was afterwards represented  
 b by a woman upwards and a fish downwards (O), upon the following remarkable occasion; This goddess, some how or other, laboured under the displeasure of *Venus*, who, to punish her, caused her to fall desperately in love with a youth, who, among others, happened to be paying sacrifice to her, and, unfortunately conceiving by him, she was delivered of a daughter; but ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desert, and, overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish (O\*). Mean while the unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of doves or pigeons (P) which frequented near, and kept her warm with their wings. These at first fed her with milk from the  
 c neighbouring cottages; and when, at a year old she began to require a more substantial food, they picked pieces of cheese, and conveyed it to her; which being observed by the neighbouring shepherds, who had their cheeses thus served, they made search after the cause, and in the end found this beautiful child, which they took home with them, and

*Ninus again makes war with the Babylonians. Semiramis; her birth;*

<sup>c</sup> Agud eund. *ibid.*

(M) This again is almost the very story of *Sesoftris*, who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army (93.)

(N) As much as this city was in *Syria*, it was a city of the *Proper Palestine*, and belonging to the *Philistines* (94); so that by this account, as we have observed elsewhere (95), *Semiramis* was a *Philistine* by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation to the king of *Assyria*, either as his subject or his vassal, till after the conquest of that country by the successors of *Pul*, many ages after this pretended time.

(O) Hence she is supposed to have been the same with the *Philistine Dagon*, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in some such shape but this we have formerly, endeavoured to confute (96). Besides, *Dagon* was not the peculiar god of *Ascalon*, but of *Ashdod* or *Azotus* (97); and therefore very unlikely to have been the *Decreto* of *Ascalon*.

(O\*) Hence perhaps the worship of fishes at *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (98), where near the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess was a lake for the preservation and adoration of that watery creature, which we have at length described already (99). But whether *Ascalon* or *Hierapolis* was the original seat of this fable, or any other place, is a most uncertain matter.

(P) Hence it should be, that *Ascalon* was so remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abtained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulness of hurting them (1).

There are those who are ready to believe *Semi-*

*ramis* may have borrowed her name, as *Diodorus* insinuates (2), from a word in the *Syrian* tongue, signifying a dove (3); but others (4), finding no such word in that language, reject the notion as groundless. And these are most likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a supposition that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is asserted, that the ensign armorial of *Assyria* was a dove (6); they have even ventured to blazon the *Assyrian* shield in these terms; *The field Sol, a dove volant proper* (7). So that *Semiramis* is reckoned to have been the origin of coats and crests. Hence it is supposed (8), that in the *Vulgate* we read (9), *quia facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie ira columbe*; where, in our translation, instead of the *anger of the dove*, we read the *fierceness of the oppressor*; and, in the *Septuagint*, *από προσώπου τῆς μαχαίρας*, the *face of the sword*; which in a very ancient *Saxon* translation in the library of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford* (10), was thus rendered, *from the face of the sword of the kuhver*. That the dove was a peculiar symbol of *Assyria*, may be collected from *Hosea's* (11) *dove out of the land of Assyria*. In fine, it is by *Cornelius à Lapide*, and others who follow the interpretation of *St. Jerome*, related, that God calls *Nebuchadnezzar* a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the *Syrian* dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expressive of the lascivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the nameless figure of her, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess *Hierapolis*, with a dove on its head (14): All which is at best but extremely dark.

- (93) See before, p. 255. (94) *Ibid.* p. 340. (95) *Ibid.* p. 869. (96) *Ibid.* p. 343.  
 (97) *Ibid.* *ibid.* (98) *Ibid.* p. 373. (99) *Ibid.* (100) *Ibid.* p. 340. (1) *PHILO.*  
*apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evangelic. l. 8. p. 398.* (2) *Biblioth. Hist. l. 2.* (3) *GREGOR. in Posthum.*  
*p. 235.* (4) *JOSEPH. SCALIG. in Not. ad Fragm. p. 43.* (5) *Vid. GREGOR. ubi sup.* (6) *Vid.*  
*Eund. ibidem.* (7) *Ibid.* (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Jerem. xxv. 38.*  
 (10) *Vid. GREGOR. ubi sup.* (11) *Ch. xi. 2.* (12) *Vid. GREGOR. ubi sup.* (13) *PLIN.*  
*apud eund.* (14) See before, p. 373.



and sent to the chief of the king's shepherds, *Simma* by name (Q), who being childless adopted her his own, and called her *Semiramis*, borrowed from a word in the *Syriac* tongue, that signifies doves or pigeons (R), which the *Syrians* ever afterwards adored as divinities<sup>d</sup>.

*As married,  
and carried to  
Niniveh.*

SHE grew up, and by far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty, and, no wonder, captivated the heart of one *Menon*, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though at the same time no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all *Syria*. *Menon* had sight of the divine *Semiramis* at *Simma's* house, and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her to himself, conducted her to *Niniveh*, where he married her, and had two sons by her, *Hypates* and *Hydaspes* (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom<sup>e</sup>.

*Ninus's extra-  
ordinary pre-  
parations for  
the conquest of  
the Bactrians.  
Why not in-  
credible.*

HAVING said thus much, preparatorily to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow *Ninus* in his *Bactrian* war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions, and resolving not to miscarry this time, as he either did or thought he should before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 110,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible, but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of *Asia*; and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men *Darius* led against the *Scythians*, and the numberless army that followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew<sup>f</sup>.

HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that *Ninus*, as he advanced towards the straits and passes into *Bactria*, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and so made his way into the enemies country<sup>g</sup>.

*Bactria a po-  
pulous and well  
fortified coun-  
try.*

BUT, before we proceed, we must, by the way, take notice, that *Bactria* was, in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities, that the capital was called by the name of *Bactra*, that one *Oxyartes* was at this time king there, that he called in all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered *Ninus* to enter with a part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the *Assyrians* into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was *Ninus* repulsed by the *Bactrians*; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the *Bactrians* with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. *Ninus* with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong holds, but the<sup>h</sup> city and fortress of *Bactra* itself, which had like to have been too many for him, and held him out a long and tedious siege (T).

*Semiramis  
goes to the camp  
before Bactra.*

DURING this interval *Semiramis's* fond husband, then attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire to see his wife, and sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once

<sup>d</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

(Q) The name of this man, *Simma*, has made some mistake him for no less than *Sem* or *Shem*; and so, according to them, *Semiramis* must be the daughter of that son of *Noah* (15.) This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any body who is, by the various authors, supposed to have laid the foundations, either of the kingdom of *Assyria*, or of that of *Babylon*.

(R) This was particularly the practice at *Assenon*, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a custom, more or less, with all the people within the limits of the *Assyrian* empire.

(S) These are *Greek* names, void of all affinity with any names, either *Assyrian* or *Babylonian*. *Hydaspes* was, according to the LXX, the name of

a river, not far from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (16).

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare these *Bactrians* were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that destructive trade. Here you have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wife and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of *Ninus*; though if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the *Bactrians* to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question *Ctesias* could never have answered with any propriety or consistency.

(15) Vid. GREGOR. *Postb.* p. 235.

(16) Vid. ORTEL. *Thesaur. Geograph. ad vocem.*

- a once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which proved so taking, that both the *Medes* and the *Persians* are said to have assumed it when they came to the empire <sup>1</sup>.

SHE no sooner arrived before *Babtra*, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege, and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some who had a particular faculty of climbing up rocks, *She is the cause the city is taken.* and with these she, with unspeakable toil and dexterity, got possession of part of the citadel, and immediately made signal to the *Assyrians* to assault in that quarter, which being done, and the city thrown into the wildest consternation, the whole place was immediately reduced <sup>2</sup> (V).

- b *Ninus*, astonished at this action, at first rewarded her as she deserved, and presently after fell a slave to her irresistible beauty, endeavouring by all means to persuade her husband to surrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promise of giving him his daughter *Sesana* in marriage; but, this making no impression on him, *Ninus* changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor *Menon* into such a fit of rage and despair, that he immediately went and hung himself. Thus was it that *Ninus* became possessed of the incomparable *Semiramis* (W), *Ninus first smitten with her; marries her;* who was now advanced to the imperial dignity <sup>3</sup>.

*Ninus*, now lord of *Babtra*, returned with immense spoil; particularly of gold and silver, and some time afterwards had a son by *Semiramis*, called *Ninyas*, whom (dying soon after) he left to the care of his wife, whom he constituted regent of the empire (X). *has a son by her.* She deposited her husband in the palace, and raised over him a mount of earth of surprizing

<sup>1</sup> Apud eund. *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

(V) Whoever reflects on the history of this woman hitherto, must at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than a fabulist, and an awkward one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preservation by doves, and now her behaviour at this siege, are all circumstances completely and self-evidently romantic. But the story had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of *Sesoftris*, his daughter *Athyra* is the adviser of his conquests, and assures him success would attend him in his wars (17), and has, as it were, the honour of all his conquests. So is it now with *Semiramis*; she here, by her sagacity and intrepidity, performs what without her perhaps had never been brought to pass. Where is the difference between *Athyra* and *Semiramis*? The one advises, the other executes. They look very much like the same person in different employments; nor must we wonder that *Taxartes* talks, after this, of an *Assyrian Sesoftris* (18), or that any other should write of an *Egyptian Ninus*. We would now add, that the *Babtrian* king, who is here called *Oxyartes*, is by others (19) called *Zoroastres*; concerning whom, or the name at least, we shall have so much to say in a more proper place, that we shall not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(W) *Scaliger* (20) will have it, that *Semiramis* was married to *Ahur* the son of *Sbem*, which is much the same as making her the daughter of *Sbem*, as we have observed some would have her to have been, a note or two above. His reason for it is (21), because the name of her son *Ninyas* better agrees with the Hebrew way of writing the name of the city of *Niniveb*, than that of her pretended husband *Ninus*; a name he will have to have been imposed by the *Greeks* upon the patriarch *Ahur*, the grandson of *Noah* (22). According to this notion, *Sbem*

himself must have been the vulgar *Belus*, the supposed father of *Ninus*, and not *Nimrod*, who was three generations later, and descended from *Ham*. The absurdity of all this, though our author exults much upon it (23), we hope we have demonstrated by a great variety of arguments, and it would be repetition to say more of it in this place.

(X) Thus it was according to our author that she became queen of *Assyria*; but from another (24) we understand, that, as great as we are taught she must have been in the eyes of the people, she was afraid they should know who ruled them; though in right of her minor her son. That, to conceal this, she clothed herself so as not to be known from him with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, she commanded the people to dress after the same fashion; and that thenceforward they retained the habit. This account of the dress, she is said by *Diodorus* (25) to have brought into fashion, is much more likely to be true, than what the same author (26) afterwards relates concerning it, that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in *Babylon* and *Persopolis*; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to *Herodotus* (27); for the latter, to the sculptures of the ruins of *Persopolis* (28).

The story, of her pretending to pass with the people for her son *Ninyas*, is exploded by Sir *Walter Raleigh* <sup>4</sup>; since, according to the historian, *Ninyas* must have been but a child when his father *Ninus* died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never by any arts of concealment have passed for a child.

(17) See before, p. 254. (18) *Ibid.* in the notes, p. 872. (19) JUST. l. 1. c. 1. (20) Not. in Fragm. ad calc. Emend. Temp. p. 43. (21) *Ibid.* (22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) JUST. l. 1. c. 2. (25) Biblioth. Histor. l. 2. p. 67. (26) *Ibid.* (27) Lib. 1. c. 195. (28) See CHARDIN'S and LE BRUYN'S Travels. <sup>4</sup> Hist. of the World, c. 12. §. 2.

surprising dimension, no less than nine stades in height, and ten in breadth (X), conspicuous and very remarkably so, over all the plain, where the city of *Niniveh* stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument many ages after the subversion of the empire <sup>m</sup>.

Semiramis's  
character;

resolves to  
build Babylon.

The manner  
she contrived  
to have the  
city built in a  
short time.

*Semiramis*, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory (Y), to which end she determined to erect a city in the province of *Babylon*; making incredible preparation for the work, and assembling together two millions of men to assist therein. This city, as she contrived it, was divided by the *Euphrates*, and she surrounded it with a wall of 360 stades in circuit (Z) of such thickness, that six chariots might drive a-breast thereon, and of height beyond imagination, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with 250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, and between this wall and the houses, there was left a space of two plethra, or 200 feet <sup>n</sup>.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the dispatch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the surface required, allotting to each every thing that was necessary for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed no more than the short space of a year for the completion of the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She highly approved of the work, and, to join the divided parts of the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as substantially built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned as any that since then has ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar and cypress, and palm-trees. The breadth of it was indeed no ways proportionable to its length, which was five stades, it amounting to no more than thirty feet. On each side of the river she raised a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred stades in length; and at each end of the bridge she erected two palaces, whence she might reciprocally survey and awe both parts of the city. The *Euphrates* passing through the midst of *Babylon*, from north to south, these two palaces stood, the one to the east, the other to the west; both of them sumptuous and magnificent to the utmost. The western was surrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full sixty stades in circuit, within which was a second, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, so curiously were they formed, and so naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 stades in circum-

<sup>m</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stades or furlongs to the mile; and by this same rule it must have been a mile and half quarter in height. This seems so incredible to *Monf. Rollin* in particular, who has unaccountably adopted the absurdities of the several profane authors in his history, and rejected most of, if not all, the improvements that have been made in history and geography, by the assiduous researches of later days, that he is willing to think the stade made but little more than the sixteenth of our mile, and that fifteen of them might be reckoned to the mile, as some have imagined (29). This allowed, this funeral monument would very far exceed any thing that perhaps ever was in the world.

(Y) *Rollin* supposes she wanted to cover the meanness of her extraction, by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises (30). Thus is it his translator expresses himself in *English*, which we are, for this once, obliged to use for want of the original *French*. But this thought seems to be a little too refined for the early times he supposes her to have lived in: besides, his historian (31) warrants him in nothing of that kind that we can perceive. Thus her ambition puts us in mind of a story told of her, That she was a *Syrian* by birth, a servant-maid to one of the king's servants, and the king's concubine; and that at length she got such an ascendant over the

great *Ninus*, that she obtained of him to let her sit on the throne and command for one day; and that, perceiving all her orders to be most exactly executed, she at last ordered her guards to seize on *Ninus* himself, bind him, and put him to death; and that thus it was she became queen of *Asia* (32). This same story, with some variation, is also told by others. If the former part of this be true, she had some reason to be ashamed of her extraction; and if the latter, it was but policy in her to endeavour to outdo her fond predecessor; who, according to this, must have been such a *Ninus* as is described by *Phœnix Colophonius* (33), who is represented exactly as another *Sardanapalus*, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the same; for we cannot conceive how so very effeminate a character can suit with the great *Ninus* the conqueror. A mean and scandalous prince she might have outdone, and kept her ground after she had destroyed him; but for such a prince as *Ninus* is on all sides allowed to have been, we cannot apprehend it could have been in her power, either to have pacified her new subjects, or to have eclipsed him.

(Z) We shall have occasion hereafter to describe this city in form, so that we here confine ourselves to what *Ctesias* relates of it, regardless whether true or false, which we reserve for a particular inquiry in the history of the *Babylonian* kingdom.

(29) *Hist. of the Assy. vol. II. p. 8. in a note at the bottom.* (30) *Ibid. p. 9.* (31) *Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 95.* (32) *PLUTARCH. EPMITHOS, p. 75.* (33) *Apud ATHENÆ. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 530.*

a circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathom high, and thereon were raised 70 towers of the same measure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or inclosure, far surpassing the second in height and breadth, on which, and its towers, were represented all manner of living creatures as before; and more especially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, each four cubits in height and upwards; in the midst of which appeared *Semiramis* herself, mounted on a steed, darting through a leopard, and her husband *Ninus* near, in close combat with a lion, whom he pierced with his lance; this wall was 30 stades about. To this palace she had three gates, under which were rooms of brass, for the celebration of festivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance \*.

b THIS palace far exceeded that on the other side of the river, both for dimension and magnificence; for the outermost wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermost wall of the former, and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have described. So our author tells us, though with some seeming inconsistency, when in the same breath he informs us, that besides the brazen statues of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, and their great officers, and that of *Jupiter*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Belus*, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewise the representation of various kinds of hunting, to the great surprize and recreation of the beholder †.

ALL this being compleated, *Semiramis* sunk a vast lake, vast considering it was sunk by the labour of man. This lake, for so we may well call it, was four square; each side of it was 300 stades in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than 35 foot in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of *Euphrates*, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was 20 bricks thick, 12 foot high, and 15 broad; a work finished within the space of 260 days, when the river was again restored to its ancient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the *Persian* conquest ‡.

IN the midst of the city, though on which side is not said, she built a temple to *Jupiter Belus*, concerning which our author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of exceeding height (A); that, like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that, on the top of it, *Semiramis* placed three statues of beaten gold, viz. that of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*. The statue of *Jupiter* was upright, and, as it were, walking; forty foot high, and weighing 1000 talents of *Babylon*: The statue of *Rhea* was of the same weight, and sat in a golden throne, with a lion standing at each knee, and near them, two very great serpents of silver, weighing 30 talents apiece: The statue of *Juno* was erect, and weighed 800 talents; she with her right hand grasped a serpent by the head, and with her left she held a scepter enriched with gems. These deities had a table, or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, 40 foot in length, 15 foot in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table stood two flagons, or goblets, of 30 talents weight, and near them two cankers, but these weighed 300 talents each; as also three drinking bowls, or vases, of which particularly that dedicated to *Jupiter* weighed 1200 talents of *Babylon*, the other two 600 † (B).

ALL this is attributed to *Semiramis*, and much more there is to come. *Babylon* Builds several was not the only city she raised; she built several others on the banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of *Armenia*, 125 foot high, five foot broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses, and, thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood

\* Apud eund. ibid.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

\* Ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raised long after these pretended times by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and must refer the reader back to what we have formerly said about it (34).

(B) *Pliny* (35) takes notice of *Semiramis's* bowl, or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(34) See before, p. 145.

(35) *Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 3. p. 584. Edit. Froben,*

neighbourhood of this city; and it is by our author reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world <sup>1</sup>.

*Wars upon the Medes.*

WHEN *Semiramis* had done all this, she put herself at the head of a vast army, and marched away into *Media*, and there incamp'd near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference: It was in an open champaign country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, or *Belus*, and towards this same garden, its craggy precipice was 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said to have ascended from the plain to the top of it, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her. At the bottom of this rock, she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, as attended by 100 of her choicest guards <sup>2</sup>.

FROM hence she marched till she came to *Cbaon*, a city of the *Medes*, and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and prostitution (C); for, jealous of her power and high command, she would take no partner to her bed; but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death <sup>3</sup> (D).

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent, and for its frequent precipices impassable but by much labour and loss of way. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all that should have occasion to travel that way (E). An undertaking which cost her infinite labour and expence, and hence the work came to be called SEMIRAMIS'S ROAD or WAY. When she came to *Ecbatan*, she there built a most magnificent palace, and did more than she had any where else done. The city, till then, had laboured under a want of water, a defect which she amply supplied with her usual toil and expence <sup>4</sup>.

FROM *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, levelling both rocks and mountains before her as she went, in all the parts she found obstructed by such eminences; and on the contrary, in plain and champaign tracks, raising a number of hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time to serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. Sometimes she would build towns and cities, and it was her constant custom to raise some eminence near it, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and to have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS'S WORKS <sup>5</sup>.

HAVING thus visited her dominions in *Asia*, she next went to *Egypt*, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of *Libya* to what belonged to her before; and paying a visit to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and enquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, *She should vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the Asiatic nations, at such time as her son Ninyas should plot against her life*. How she took this, we are not told; but from hence she made war upon *Ethiopia*, and having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of that strange country, she marched back into *Asia*, and reposed herself at *Babtra* <sup>6</sup>.

*Resolves to invade India.*

HERE she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but at length, impatient of so quiet and calm a way of life, she meditated a war against the king of *India*. She had been informed of the transcendent amenity of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; and resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But knowing well what a task she should have of it, she ordered all her governors in general to select a proportion of the choicest of the youth in their provinces, and to furnish

<sup>1</sup> Apud eund. *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(D) This is of a piece with the story five notes above, of her circumventing her husband *Ninus*,

and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) *Plutarch*, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with *Scythris*, for valour and magnificence.

a furnish them with compleat accoutrements for war, and to take care they rendezvoused at a place appointed in *Bactria*, within the space of three years. She sent for shipwrights out of *Phenice*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, and other maritime places, and preparing a store of timber answerable to her designs, she ordered, that they should frame her a certain number of vessels, to be transported in pieces by land, wherewith to cross the *Indus*, whole adjacencies were destitute of wood <sup>a</sup>.

SHE in the next place considered, that she laboured under a great disadvantage <sup>Her mock-</sup> by the want of elephants, in which *Strabrobates*, the king of *India*, at that time was mighty and strong. How to get any she knew not; art therefore must be used, and she ordered a number of counterfeit elephants to be contrived, thinking particularly <sup>elephants.</sup> b to terrify the *Indians* by this stratagem, they being possessed with assurance the elephant was no where a native but in their country. The thing is resolved on, 300,000 black oxen are slaughtered, and their flesh distributed to poor people, who were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which were to be stuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man without. The people who wrought at this were surrounded by a lofty inclosure, and no body suffered to go in or out, that none might know what they were about, and convey the news to the *Indian* king <sup>a</sup>.

HER vessels and her elephants ready, and all in two years, she, in the third, rendezvoused her army in the kingdom of *Bactria*, to the amount of three millions <sup>c</sup> of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were 2000 in number, and carried by camels (F), as were also the mock-elephants, which the horsemen endeavoured to familiarise to their steeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle <sup>b</sup>.

*Strabrobates* heard of this, and prepared for the storm; and first he built him 4000 <sup>Strabrobates,</sup> boats of the great canes [Bamboo's] which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*; and <sup>king of India,</sup> with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of *Semiramis*. He <sup>prepares to receive her-</sup> added to the number of elephants he had before, causing great quantities of those animals to be caught for that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might <sup>d</sup> make them dreadful to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sends ambassadors to *Semiramis*, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without any offence at all given on his part; by a private letter, at the same time, upbraiding her with her infamous life, and vowing by heaven, that, if he conquered her, he would crucify her. She perused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, *The Indian should e're long be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions* <sup>e</sup>.

WHEN she came to the banks of the *Indus*, she discovered the enemy's fleet <sup>Semiramis on</sup> drawn up against her; whereupon she prepared and launched her own, which she <sup>the banks of</sup> manned with the bravest of her people, and gave battle, ordering it so that those <sup>the Indus.</sup> e ashore might be aiding and assisting upon occasion. The fight was obstinate, but *Semiramis*, in the end, came off victorious, sunk 1000 of the *Indian* barks, and took a multitude of prisoners. Elated with this, she fell on the cities and islands of the river, and made 100,000 captives <sup>d</sup>.

UPON

<sup>a</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

(F) These numbers, says *Suidas* (35), she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus*, who, by his name, should have been her kinsman. The same author (36) exaggerates these numbers most monstrously, writing, that she thus gave orders to the said *Dercetæus*, 'Go to, and prepare for an expedition in three years, beginning from the Hellespont and Libya to *Bactra*, and levy three millions of foot, one million of horse, 100,000 scythed chariots, and the like number of men to fight upon camels; 200,000 camels for other uses; and let there be 300,000 ox hides prepared, and 3000 ships built in *Bactria*, with brazen prows, and manned by Syrians, Phœnicians, Cy-

priots, Cilicians, and others on the sea coasts, quite to the Hellespont.' This is a notable addition to the *Ctesian* story, and a great instance of credulity or presumption in the writer, and tempts us to say, that the *Greek* historians seem to have been particularly fond of the marvellous, and to have made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of representing them as they really were. For here it is observed (37), that no spot on the face of the earth could have sustained these multitudes, though every man and beast had fed upon nothing but grass.

(35) *Ad vocem Σευπηρίης.*

(36) *Ibid.*

(37) *Raleigh's Hist. of the World, ub. sup.*



Strabrobates  
feigns a re-  
treat.

UPON this, *Strabrobates* draws off his army, as if afraid, but in truth to decoy *Semiramis* over the river; and she, ignorant of his meaning, no sooner perceived his retreat, than she ordered a broad bridge of boats to be stretched across the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while she went in pursuit of the flying *Indians*. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy, and it seems that herein she did not contrive amiss; for the *Indian* scouts, mistaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and injected a terror into their astonished countrymen, who could not conceive whence the *Assyrians* should have furnished themselves with such a prodigious number of those creatures: But the deceit did not trouble them long, for some of *Semiramis's* people deserting over to the *Indians*, for fear of punishment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and *Strabrobates* immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout his whole camp.

*Semiramis on  
the other side  
of the Indus.*

*Her fight with  
the king of  
India.*

*Semiramis*, in the mean time, advanced towards the *Indian* army, continuing with her false elephants in the front, which came up with the *Indian* horse and chariots, which had been disposed at some distance before the gross of the foot and the elephants. They charge, and an unexpected fright seizes the *Indian* horse, who, being accustomed to the sight of elephants, advanced at first with great fury; but, being come in scent of these ox hides, it was so strange and offensive to them, that they broke into the wildest disorder, throwing their riders, or running away with them into the midst of the *Assyrians*. *Semiramis*, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the disordered *Indians*, put them to the rout, and drove them back again to the gross of their army. *Strabrobates*, in some degree of consternation at this partial defeat, charges with his foot, sustained by his elephants, himself mounted on a stately one in his right wing, and opposite to *Semiramis* then in her left. The shock was violent and soon decided the contest, and great was the slaughter of the *Assyrians*, caused particularly by the elephants. *Semiramis's* mock elephants now proved useless and cumbersome, and her army betook them to a precipitate flight. In the midst of this battle, the *Assyrian* queen and *Indian* king fought hand to hand. She was first wounded in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in her shoulder, as she was turning about to get from him, and at length, trusting to the fleetness of her horse, she fled with the rest of her army.

*Her overthrow,  
and flight.*

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was so great that many who had escaped the hand of the enemy were miserably pressed to death, or crushed under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or shoved into the river from the sides of the bridge. *Semiramis*, when the body of her army had crossed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut away and destroyed, while chiefly laden with *Indians*, the greatest part of whom perished by that means. And now she was safe from farther danger; the river was now between her and the enemy; whilst, on the other hand, the *Indian* monarch was terrified by some intervening prodigies from pursuing farther after her. In fine, both parties having made an exchange of prisoners, *Semiramis* returned to *Babylon* with scarce a third part of the army she had carried out (G).

*Her end.*

AND now, under this eclipse of her glory, she approaches towards her end; the predicted time is come, she is attempted to be assassinated by an eunuch, subdoloously and unnaturally employed by her son (H), and thereupon, calling to mind the

answer

\* Apud eund. ibid.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

(G) *Arrian* (38) and *Strabo* (39) say she died in the midst of this expedition, and never returned out of *India*, though by this last \* she should have made her escape, tho' with no more than 20 men at her heels; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* thinks this number to be too small a remnant of so infinite a multitude.

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long course of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forbore to animadvert on, apprehending we have said more than enough in the former part of this section to prepare the reader for a disbelief of what was to follow (which indeed were a needless task, had not this piece of

history received the sanction of some of the greatest men in all ages) we come now to enquire into her end, and particularly how it should come to pass that her son *Ninyas* sought her life. We are told (40), that she had once unnaturally tempted him to commit incest with her, and that thereupon he conceived such an aversion to her, that he could not suffer her to live any longer, and therefore caused her to be murdered. *Diodorus*, or his author *Cleinas* rather, here tells us her son employed an eunuch to dispatch her, but that she escaped and vanished from sight. We have seen, by the same author, that she gave herself up to wanton dalliances in the plains of *Media*,

(38) *In Lib. Rev. Indicar.*  
*supra.*

(40) *Japh. l. 1. c. 2.*

(39) *Geograph. p. 15. l. 686, 722.*

\* *Ibid. Hist. of the World, ubi*

an answer she had received from *Jupiter Ammon*, she suppressed all thoughts of revenge for what had been caused, as it were, by a divine fatality; she forgave her son, surrendered up every thing to him, commanded all her subjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled she made her exit in the form of a dove or pigeon, accompanied with a flock of those birds, which settled upon her palace just at that time. Hence it is pretended that the *Assyrians* became addicted to the worship of a dove (I). In fine, she was queen of all *Asia*, *India* excepted, and continued in the sight of men 62 years, 42 of which she reigned <sup>b</sup>.

*Ninyas* (K) succeeded his mother *Semiramis*, but neither took after father nor mother, but chose to enjoy himself in peace; and, indeed, there seems to have been a necessity

<sup>b</sup> Apud eund. *ibid.*

*Media*, and cruelly sacrificed her gallants to her furious lust; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of hers to seduce her son. Now, according to the course of this history, there seem to have been two provocations that may have stirred up *Ninyas* to get rid of her: the one, her scandalous way of life; and the other, her usurpation of his right as king and sovereign; which, how he should so long have submitted to, is past our solution; though we may just touch on it anon, and dismiss it for the present. It is here somewhat to our purpose that *Conon* (41) calls her not the wife but the mother of *Ninus*, and that, lying with him by accident, she afterwards acknowledged him publicly for her husband. According to this reading (42) *Ninyas* should be the person meant; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* clears her from all imputations of this kind, and ascribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying *Grecians* (43); and St. *Gregory* (44) offers it as an argument of her chastity, that she, as *Ammianus* relates, first instituted eunuchs to attend her in her bed-chamber.

(I) Concerning the *Semiramidan* dove, we have treated largely already (45), and may have occasion to resume the subject hereafter, when we are to speak of the *Babylonish* religion; and the rather as *Semiramis* is more likely to have been a *Babylonian* than an *Assyrian*, appellations confessedly synonymous. And now that there was such a woman as *Semiramis* we doubt not in the least, but that there ever was a woman of that or any other name, that performed such prodigious feats as are here reported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death are all extraordinary, and unnatural, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but above all, her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by *Joseph Scaliger* (46) and *Renecius* (47), is a matter so easily disproved by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. *Conon* (48) makes her to have been the same with the *Atossa* or *Semiramis* who reigned 12 years with her father *Belochus*, the 18th king of *Assyria*, according to *Eusebius* (49), and in the same place calls her the daughter and not the wife of *Ninus*, though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes (50) mother instead of daughter. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the *Atossa* of *Belochus*, for these two were confessedly daughter and father (51). *Belochus* then must have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*, and he, instead

of being the first or the second king of *Assyria*, is, according to *Eusebius*, (52), the eighteenth king; this takes much from the antiquity of both, and we are ready to subscribe the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with *Herodotus*, and is much more conformable to our notices of the true and more certain history of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, she would have been worthy of the greatest fame, and even, according to the genius of those times, of deification itself. A most extraordinary personage she must have been, nor do we wonder, considering the romantic humour of the times, that she should be reckoned to have discovered and invented the use of metals, to have been the first queen and tyranness, and in short, to have been called the goddess *Rhea* (54). She may be compared with the *Egyptian Isis*, and the *Phœnician Asarte*, as her husband *Ninus* may with the *Egyptian Osiris*, *Sesestris*, and the like.

(K) He is also called *Zames* (55), the *German* writers will have him to have been called *Trebeta*, and to have built the city of *Treves* (56); he is also called *Thaurias* (57), or *Thouras* (58), or *Ares* [*Mars*]; and is said to have had the first statue erected to him, which they called *Βασις Ὀσόν*, *Lord God*. In short, he is said to have waged war, and to have slain the tyrant *Caucasus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, or *Japetus*, and to have been consecrated into the planet *Mars* (59). How different is this character from that of the slothful *Ninyas* in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of *Ninus*, without any mention of *Semiramis*. This seems in some measure to agree with what we have from *Eusebius* observed in the note above, that she was the very *Atossa*, the daughter of *Belochus*, and that she reigned with her father, as his colleague and assistant, for the space of 12 years only (60). And this seems the rather to have been the truth of the case, as we cannot help wondering with Sir *Walter Raleigh* (61), how she should have been able to keep the reins in her own hands, in prejudice of her son who was her lawful sovereign. There is indeed no way to account for this, but by supposing he was incapable of minding any thing but his pleasures, and cared not how much trouble his mother eased his shoulders of (62). But that he was not so poor a wretch as this amounts to will, among other things, be observed in the next note.

(41) Apud PHOT. *Biblioth.* p. 427.

*World*, chap. 12. § 4.

(42) In *Posthum.* *ubi sup.*

(43) See before p. 875. (P).

(44) Apud GREGOR. *Posthum.* See before, in the notes, p. 877.

(45) See before, p. 865.

(46) Apud PHOT. *Biblioth.* p. 427.

(47) See before, p. 865.

(48) Apud PHOT. *Biblioth.* p. 427.

(49) See before, p. 865.

(50) See before, p. 865.

(51) See before, p. 865.

(52) See before, p. 865.

(53) See before, p. 865.

(54) See before, p. 865.

(55) See before, p. 865.

(56) See before, p. 865.

(57) See before, p. 865.

(58) See before, p. 865.

(59) See before, p. 865.

(60) See before, p. 865.

(61) See before, p. 865.

(62) See before, p. 865.

Ninyas's sloth.

His policy.

necessity for it, if his parents had already done all that report says of them. For he could make no war upon any that were not either his subjects or vassals<sup>1</sup>; and as for *India*, which alone was free from his yoke, a war there had been sufficiently experienced to be very difficult and dangerous, if not absolutely impracticable. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and there contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, and to make choice of such governors over the several parts of his dominions as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year<sup>b</sup> in the city, and parts adjacent, we may suppose, and was afterwards relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. This piece of policy he thought it seems the most effectual means to keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who, having scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to attempt any thing to his prejudice (L). All this was concerted to secure himself from insults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace: in which he was an unworthy example to his successors, who learn'd from him to seclude themselves from the eyes of men, that they might be thought something more than mortal<sup>c</sup>.

AFTER this rate was it that all his successors reigned in the great empire of *Assyria*; so that they it seems have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they lived and died in their palace at *Niniveh* (L<sup>a</sup>); and hence it is we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them<sup>d</sup>.

Sardanapalus

<sup>1</sup> Vid. JUST. I. i. c. 2.<sup>a</sup> Apud eund. ibid.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

(L) *Diodorus*, *Athenæus*, *Justin*, and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful, inactive, and lascivious king; to have locked himself up in his palace; to have sequestered himself from the eyes of his subjects, and to have had communication with them but by messengers; to have even turned woman, and to have conversed with none but that sex; and yet we see him here consulting and contriving to preserve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not possibly enlarge. We see him here acting the part of a resolute tyrant and consummate politician, and may thence conclude, that, if there had been any possible work of the sort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that, according to this, he must have been a haughty and a politic prince by nature, and one that, to all appearance, would not have suffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the space of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and his politic regulation, for the service and relief of his armies, may be thought to favor strongly of absolute sway and love of power, in the person that instituted it. All this we have insisted on to prove, that he did not succeed *Semiramis* in the manner our historian writes; which must appear even by the inconsistent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that if the same method of restraining the empire were the practice of *Ninyas* and his successors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning we perceive no footsteps of it any where within our knowledge, in the very long interval of 1200 years at least between *Ninyas* and *Sardanapalus*? we apprehend that no body can give us a satisfactory answer to this. And here we cannot but wonder how *Sir Walter Raleigh* should ever take it into his head, that this *Ninyas*, this mighty *Assyrian*

monarch, might be the petty king of *Shinar*, *Amraphel* in *Genesis* (63), or that he should, if he reposed any confidence at all in prophane writers, imagine the monarchy had, even in *Abraham's* time, even in its very infancy, received a downright fall as he calls it (64).

(L<sup>a</sup>) This vast chasm of inaction in the *Assyrian* monarchs, from *Ninyas* to *Sardanapalus*, a vacancy as we may call it of at least 1200 years, is as strong a proof that the prophane accounts are fabulous as any of the many we have offered to prove them so. Is it probable that in so long a succession of princes there should have been one only that did any thing worth the recording? Or is it possible, that in so very long a succession of years there should have arisen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the sloth and supineness of these kings at *Niniveh*? Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and especially such as were vassals to this throne? Did they one and all glory in their chains, and the burthen of their tribute? Or did they all sink into a lethargy with their master? Was there no king of *Babylonia*, no king of *India* to rouse them from their silken slumbers? Or had *Ninus* destroyed the race of mankind, so numerous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his successors for his sake? More, many more queries of this kind may be made, but we desist. So many pacific ages, such a series of the calmest peace, both from within and from without, may shock the easiest credulity. The monarchies which succeeded this were of very short duration in comparison of this, and why the *Assyrian* should have the sole privilege of standing so long, and under such a long race of effeminate *Ninyas* we are at a loss for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and subject to such sudden and violent subversions as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(63) See his *Hist. of the World*, c. 1. § 9. l. 2.

(64) Ibid.

<sup>a</sup> *Sardanapalus* (M) exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury. He sunk into such a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very sex and nature; he clothed himself like a woman; he spun amidst the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himself out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the most lascivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman, and buried himself in the filth of an unbounded sensuality, quite regardless of sex and the dictates of nature <sup>m</sup> (N).

UNDER this wretch, thus represented (O), it was the *Assyrian* monarchy came to ruin. He grew odious to his subjects about him, and, as should seem, particularly to *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and *Belshis* the *Babylonian*. *Belshis* was not only a captain, but a famous priest and a great astrologer, and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is said, to assure *Arbaces*, a man of valour and prudence, *That he should dethrone Sardanapalus, and become lord of all his dominions*. *Arbaces* hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over *Babylon*, if things should happen to answer his prediction; and fully possessed that he was to be as *Belshis* had foretold of him, he began to cultivate particular intimacies with the other governors of the provinces then at *Niniveh*, and to make himself popular among them, all which succeeded to his wish. But above all, he endeavoured to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life, and describe him accordingly. This he easily compassed by the prevalence of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into the presence. *Arbaces* saw him, and conceiving the highest contempt of him, became more and more encouraged to rely on his *Chaldean* friend, and more impatient to effect

<sup>m</sup> Apud eund. libid.

(M) This name is not the only one said to belong to him, he is also called *Tonos Concoleros*, *Concoleros*, *Makroleros*, and by other such names (65).

(N) *Dis Coecilius* (66) has taken much pains to let us know he was the most libidinous and abandoned wretch the sun ever shone on; and says, That no one could tell what he did and suffered to be done to him, and that no body would bear to hear it; though he descends to several particulars bad enough of all conscience; but as they may be built upon no solid foundation, merely traditionary, and besides unfit for us to relate, we pass them over. *Nicolas* of *Damascus* (67) is more moderate, and accuses him chiefly of passing his time with his women, and contending with them about dress and ornament, in the very words used to the same purpose in *Suidas* (68). *Trogus* (69) also seems to have described his way of life much to the same purpose. *Duris* (70) says, he turned woman, dressed as such, painted himself and spun; all to the same purpose, and therefore we need say no more about it.

(O) A man of pleasure and lewdness he may have been, and doubtless was, it being impossible to think otherwise of monarchs of this sort, as experience teacheth us, and for the proof of which we need go no farther than *Constantinople* to take a view of the great *Turk*; but nevertheless he may have been a man who, at some intervals, minded business; such a man we are told he was, for he is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day (71); in testimony of which he had this inscription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ ΑΓΧΙΑΑΗΝ ΕΒΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΕΘΗΚΕΝ, *Sardanapalus, the son of Anacrydaraxis, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day, but now is dead*. This is a grave

epitaph, and might besit any prince, but we find it varied a little to disadvantage; for, instead of the three last words, we have this addition to his magnificent exploit of having built these two cities in a day, ΕΣΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΖΕ ΩΣΤ' ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΤΤΟΤ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ. *Eat, drink, and be merry, for the rest is not worth the snap of a finger*; which was signified by his statue here, in act of snapping its fingers (72); This monument and statue is said to have been not far from *Anchiale*. A modern author (73) supposes the same inscription and statue to have been at the other city, *Tarsus*, where *St. Paul* was born, and thinks the apostle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die*. However, there seems to be such incoherence between the former part of this last inscription and the latter, that we know not what to think of it; there is no manner of relation between the action recorded and reflection that insues. In the first, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a persuasive to virtue and humility, by representing, that even the mighty king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the rest of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleness and vice, *eat, drink, and be merry, the rest is not worth caring for*. If this was any where the genuine inscription, it must have been in derision of him after his death, and upon a presumption that he was the idle effeminate creature he is painted. *Callisthenes* (74) writes there were two *Sardanapalus's*, the one a bold, the other an effeminate man. Others do the same, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter. *Suidas* (75), who gives this inscription according to the last of the two copies above, thinks it may belong to the masculine *Sardanapalus*, though with what propriety we may consider a little farther.

(65) *Vid.* GEOR. SYNC. & EUSEB. PAMPH.

*Excerpt. ejusd.* p. 424.

Apud ATHEN. *Deipnosoph.* l. 12. p. 529.

GEOR. SYNC. *Chronograph.* p. 165. & EUSEB. PAMPH. *Chron. Can.* p. 110.

Apud ATHEN. *ubi sup.* p. 530.

ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ.

(66) *In Excerpt. VALES.* p. 762.

(68) *Ad vocem ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ.*

(69) JUSTIN. l. 1. c. 2.

(70) *Vid. etiam*

(71) ATHEN. *Deipnosoph.* l. 12. p. 529.

(72) ARISTOTEL.

(73) GREGOR. *in Posthum.* p. 243.

(74) Apud SUID. *ad vocem*

The Medes  
Babylonians,  
and Persians  
revolt.

effect what had been resolved between them. Accordingly *Arbaces* disposes the *Medes* and, a *Persians* to an open revolt, whilst *Belefsis* does the same with the *Babylonians*; soon after which they disclosed their whole design to the king of *Arabia*<sup>a</sup>.

Sardanapalus  
takes the field  
against them,  
and beats  
them.

A second battle,  
the revolt  
are again  
routed.

THE year of duty being now expired, fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, assisted by the *Arabians*, came not with design to guard *Sardanapalus*; their intent was to subvert the empire. Their number altogether amounted to 400,000 men, and being all combined together, in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. *Sardanapalus*, apprized of this revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels, and coming to a battle with them, he entirely routed them, and with great slaughter pursued them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of *Nineveh*. The rebels, however, drew out again to fight the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and twice that sum, together with the government of *Media*, to the man who should produce him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning *Belefsis* the *Babylonian*. This proclamation having proved ineffectual, a second battle was fought, in which the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured *Sardanapalus* in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of *Belefsis*, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly smile on them, and crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; and thereby revive their drooping spirits, who in despair had already called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fight a third battle, and *Sardanapalus*, victor, as twice before, drives them into the mountains of *Babylon*, though *Arbaces* did that day all that man could do, and was now forced to retreat considerably wounded<sup>c</sup>.

A third battle;  
the revolt  
beaten again.

They held out  
still.

*Sardanapalus* had now certainly put an end to the war (P), if *Belefsis*, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not with all imaginable assurance persuaded them the next morning, that, if they kept together but five days longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance; for that the gods had so signified to him by the aspect of the heavens: He intreated them, therefore, to stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Wrought on to wait the event, and the time expired, sudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from *Bactria*. *Arbaces*, upon this, dispatched the most resolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the *Bactrians* to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them, and by degrees, from officer to soldier, it prevailed, and the *Bactrians* joined *Arbaces*. This defection was unknown to *Sardanapalus*, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his usual way of life (Q), and was preparing for an extraordinary sacrifice, and an high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army<sup>e</sup>.

They attack the  
imperial camp  
by surprise.

IN the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of *Arbaces*, who, upon the first news of it, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out *Sardanapalus*, and all his army, with a great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. This obliged the king to commit the care and conduct of his army to *Salemeneus*, his brother-in-law, whilst he went to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance from, and once under the walls of the city. In the last *Salemeneus* fell, and almost all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinged with the gore of the slain for a long while<sup>f</sup>.

Nineveh

<sup>a</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

(P) It must be confessed a little strange, that so degenerated a creature should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolters, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing in the world relating to war, or almost any thing else peculiar to men; and yet being forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been *Ninus*, or even *Semiramis* herself. From this dissimilitude of *Sardanapalus* from himself it is

likely we have the two mentioned by *Calisthenes* in the note above, *Sardanapalus* the warrior, and *Sardanapalus* the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

(Q) There is seemingly some inconsistency between this, and what follows immediately after. Here he resumes his scandalous life, and presently after takes on him the part of a pious and grateful votary, and beneficent prince, sacrifices to the gods, and rewards his army for his late victories. But such inconsistencies are too frequent to deserve a note.



- a Niniveh was now closely besieged, whilst other nations, now eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates. The king perceiving things at so desperate a pass, he sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a very great treasure, into *Papblagania*, where one *Cotta*, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), and issued out orders to all parts of his empire (S) to come in to his assistance, against the rebellious besiegers (T). But though his situation may seem to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not sink under it, but upheld his hopes with the notion of a prophecy, *That Niniveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy*, which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatened him<sup>r</sup>.
- b WHILE *Sardanapalus* pleased himself with this imagination, the confederates, elated by what they had done, considered their work as compleated, though they, in those early days, could make no impression on such walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented to expedite undertakings of this sort. *Sardanapalus* having taken care to be well stored with what was necessary to enable him to hold out a long time; the confederates sat two years before the city without any visible progress; but in the third year the river, swelled by unusual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no less than 20 stades of the wall. The unfortunate *Sardanapalus*, now sensible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope, and, dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised, and heaping upon it all his gold, and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire to it, and so destroyed himself and them (V); which

They besiege  
Sardanapalus  
in Niniveh,

They take the  
city.

<sup>r</sup> Apud eund. ibid.

(R) Where this *Papblagania* should have been situated, and who this *Cotta*, a modern name, should have been, we forbear to enquire, as favouring too grossly of fable; but by the way, we cannot help asking how this *Cotta* should have been so particularly his friend and faithful servant, when no one governor had ever seen his face, before *Arbaces* the Mede bribed his way to a fight of him; this does not hang at all with the other parts, all inconsistent within themselves, of this story of this last king of *Niniveh*; nor is it even easy to conceive how he should have sent away any part of his family and treasure: the enemy had certainly secured the passes; the magical art, in those simple days, consisted of little else. To mend the matter, another author (who mentions our *Ctesias* as if he quoted him) tells us (76), that *Sardanapalus* perceiving himself oppressed, and rain coming with hasty strides upon him, sent three sons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of *Niniveh*. What city of *Niniveh* this can have been, besides the city he himself was besieged in, we are quite at a loss for, and so we leave this palpable obscurity as we find it, except we infer, that through this seeming mistake the error sprang of making two *Sardanapalus's* as well as two *Niniveh's*, which we meet with no were else.

(S) How he could do this, closely besieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we consider what follows.

(T) Why should he have been so solicitous about his family, himself, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was persuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this case should he have exposed his children and treasure by sending them away, when according to his belief they could no where have been in more safety? And why should he be so busy with his orders and calling in his people to his assistance in the siege? They could have been of no use to such an impregnable place as was proof against even famine itself, and every thing but the waters of the river.

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate *Sardanapalus*; but the circumstances are most prodigiously exaggerated by *Athenæus*, who seems (77) to borrow what he says from *Ctesias*, whom *Diodorus*, perhaps, abridged, and *Athenæus* transcribed at length. He [*Sardanapalus*] says he, erected in the heart of his palace a pile of four *Jugera*, or acres in demension, that thereon he laid 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that in the midst of it he built a hall or room of 100 foot, in which he had beds for his wife and himself, and others for his concubines; that the pile was all a solid piece of timber-work, and that it was so fenced about with large beams that no body could get out; that within this were no less than a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and ten thousand myriads of silver, together with an unspeakable quantity of costly apparel and furniture; that he ordered this pile to be set on fire; and that it burned no less than fifteen days together, that by the smoke those without thought he had been sacrificing, and that during the time, the whole was kept a secret to every body but his eunuchs. *Suidas* (78) seems to intimate, that he was accidentally burnt in his palace. *Amyntas* (79) relates there was a great mount in *Niniveh*, raised, as tradition went, as a sepulchral monument to *Sardanapalus*; the same we may safely suppose that is said to have been erected by *Semiramis* in honour of *Ninus* (80); and that on stone pillars the following epitaph was engraven in *Chaldee* characters; why not *Assyrian*? which were thus rendered into *Greek* by *Charilus* the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΙ ΕΝΘ' ΟΝ ΤΟΤ' ΗΛΙΟΥ ΘΩΣ, ΕΠΙΟΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ ΗΠΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ, ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΒΡΑΧΥΤΗ, ΟΝ ΖΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ, ΕΞΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ, ΔΙΟ ΚΑΙ Ο ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΤΟΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ.

I reigned

(76) *ATHENÆ. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529.*

(77) *Apud ATHEN. ubi sup.*

(80) See before p. 877.

(77) *Ibid.*

(78) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπατος.*

(81) *Apud ATHEN. ubi sup.*



which being perceived by the besiegers they entered the city by the breach, and became a lords of the place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of *Niniveh* itself was laid level with the ground. And thus ended the *Assyrian* empire, subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to our author *Ctesias*, subsisted no less than 1400 years\*.

## S E C T. V.

*The History of ASSYRIA, according to Scripture, and the more approved Authorities.*

Year of the  
Flood, 2228.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 771.

WE now come to the true and only history of *Assyria* that may be depended upon. *Pul* (W), the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance in scripture in the reign of *Menabem*<sup>1</sup>, king of *Israel*, who just about the same time had forced his way to the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of *Siallum*

\* Apud eund. *ibid.*

\* See before, p. 828.

*I reigned, and while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I ate, and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys I leave behind pass on to others; knowing of this I never missed a day from pleasures.* This inscription or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at *Niniveh* (82); but we may fairly suppose there never was any such as either of them erected at that city: For this antient metropolis was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen and been known under the the same name afterwards; and secondly, *Sardanapalus* having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him at an immense expence on the spot where *Niniveh* was to stand no more; and besides this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by *Cyrus* (84), who, so far as we can apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of *Niniveh*. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us, of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the shame of this dubious prince; dubious we say, the rather because we find him deified in the temple of *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (85), an honour which it is not likely they would ever have bestowed on a man that really was so much the object of contempt as he is represented to have been. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the *Assyrian* empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that though he was dispossessed of the empire of *Syria*, or *Assyria*, he died of a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous prince, it may be that we have another reason why it should be mistakenly imagined there were two kings of *Assyria* of this same name (87).

*Suidas* (88) talks of a *Sardanapalus* slain by one *Perseus*; he has two of the name; and though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of prophane authors tell us, concerning the reign of *Sardanapalus*, and the rest of the *Assyrian* history, is too gross to deserve the name of a romance or even to be called tradition, though certainly built upon very true history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

(W) He is also called *Phul*, and mistakenly in the LXX version *Phua*, an inaccuracy in the transcription, and owing to the very near resemblance of the Greek  $\Lambda$  *lambda*, and  $\alpha$  *alpha*, so that it is no great wonder this name should, in the Greek character, have been written  $\Phi\Omega\Upsilon\alpha$  *Phua*, instead of  $\Phi\Upsilon\Upsilon\alpha$  *Phul* (89). He is the first king of *Assyria* mentioned in scripture from the time that land was planted by *Abur*, and not to be confounded with the kings of the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*, as the custom usually is (90). This *Phul* was by his name a pure *Assyrian*, and not a *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* (91), as he is mistaken to have been by some (92) who are fond of making him the same with the *Belus* of *Ctesias*, who, in conjunction with *Arbaces*, overthrew the *Assyrian* power, than which no position can be more gross. That he was the first king of *Assyria*, appears by his name, which is simple and not compounded as the rest we read of are. The *Assyrian* names are for the most part compounded of the simple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in those parts, as in *Tig-lath-Pul-Affur*, *Nabo-Pul-Affur*, and the like. From this circumstance, and the affinity of the name itself, he is with seeming certainty said to have been the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, or *Syrian Belus* (94). *Pul* is pronounced *Pol*, and *Pal* (95), whence, without any straining of the point, we may derive the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That he should have been the *Belus* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and other places, will not be wondered at by those who consider, as will be seen in the course of this section,

cl. 2

(82) *SUID. ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.* (83) See before, p. 377. (84) *AMYNT. apud ATHEN. Deipnosoph. ubi sup.* (85) See before, p. 373. (86) *CLEITARCH. apud ATHEN. ubi sup.* (87) See before in the notes, p. 885, 886, 887. (88) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.* (89) *Vid. CLERIC. in 2 Reg. cap. xv. ver. 19.* (90) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (91) *Vid. SCALIG. de emend. temp. l. 6. p. 577.* (92) See *PATRICK upon 2 Kings xv. 19.* (93) *Vid. SCALIG. ubi sup. SELD. de Diis Syri.* (94) *Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Anc. Kings, amend. p. 279.* See before, p. 399. (K) & seq. (95) *BEAR. MONTAUC. apud Du PIN. Biblioth. Univers. des Hist. p. 285.*

<sup>a</sup> *Shallum*°. His march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he may have meditated, *Pul* received from him 1000 talents of silver. Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land °. What else this king did in particular, is no where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already \*, that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from *Syria*, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from *Israel*, and that he became supreme over a very great empire.

*Tiglath-*

\* 2 Kings xv.

° Ibid.

\* See before p. 389. a. (C).

that the *Assyrians* imposed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered, as also that they consecrated all their kings (96) into deities. It was the custom of the ancient *Syrians* long before them to deify their kings (97), we have seen their *Adad*, King of Gods, was no more than their dead king *Ben-hadad* II. (98), or perhaps his fortunate successor *Hazael*, who, as a king of *Syria*, was also called *Adad*, or *Hadad* (99). We have already asserted (100), that *Adad*, and *Cronus*, and *Astarte*, are of late date in comparison of what the learned have generally thought; and we now say the same of *Belus*, who was no other than the *Pul* before us, and consequently later than the ancient gods of the proper *Syria*. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumstances, nor can we refuse to subscribe to it without rejecting the plain evidence of scripture, for the idle tales of prophane authors, who confound rather than inform us. It were odd that we should rely on what are confessedly fables, in contempt of what can be so self-evidently gathered from the text of scripture history (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and historians, concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length; we shall therefore pass them over with this bare observation, that by embracing the *Ctesian* table, and endeavouring to connect it with the history of scripture, and by their scrupulous adoption of each others hypotheses, they have run themselves into intricate mazes, and endless errors. Our business then is to prove this man to have been the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we shall have nothing to do but to borrow his own words. To the numerous arguments we have already exhibited to evince there never was what might be called an *Assyrian* monarchy before the days of *Pul*, it may be added, 1. *Jonah* prophesied when *Israel* was in affliction under the king of *Syria* ° about 60 years before the reign of *Pul* (3). 2. *Niniveh*, though then a city of large extent, was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained but about 120000 persons (4). [These are indeed commonly taken to have been children, because it is said, they could not discern between their right hand and their left (5); but why it may not be as well understood of their blindness and ignorance in a religious sense, we know not; so that it is as likely as not, that the grown persons were also included into the number]. 3. *Niniveh* was not yet grown so potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of *Jonah*, and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within 40 days (6). Its king was not yet called king of *Assyria*, but king of *Niniveh*, [Jonah iii. 6, 7.]

and his proclamation for a fast was not published in several nations, nor in all *Assyria*, but only in *Niniveh*, and perhaps in the villages thereof (7). But when *Niniveh* . . . was exalted over all *Assyria*, properly so called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations, its kings were no longer called kings of *Niniveh*, but began to be called kings of *Assyria* (8). Our author then observes that *Amos*, who prophesied soon after *Jeroboam*, had subdued the kingdoms of *Damascus* and *Hamath*, about 10 or 20 years before the reign of *Pul*, never once names the *Assyrians*, though he foretold, [vi. 13, 14.] that *Israel* should be afflicted from the entering in of *Hamath* to the river of the wilderness; meaning by the *Assyrians*, whose monarchy, growing up afterwards, is upon all occasions named in the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hoshea*, *Micah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, and *Zechariab*, which were penned after his (9). These, and other arguments of the same demonstrative kind, he uses to prove what is here asserted: but these shall serve our purpose; and in all this he is supported by the concurrence of several eminent chronologers and historians we have had occasion to mention elsewhere (10).

Our author (11) concludes *Pul* to have been the first *Assyrian* that was a conqueror, that he was the first that advanced that kingdom on this side the *Tigris*, that he was a great warrior, that he might have founded or enlarged the city of *Babylon* and built the old palace, that he may have left that city and the province of *Chaldea* to a younger son, who may have been *Nabonassar*, and that the famed *Semiramis* may have been his daughter-in-law, and the wife of the same *Nabonassar* (12); but, these points being such as will more naturally fall under consideration in the history of *Babylon*, we desist from further notice of them for the present.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and seems rather to have aim'd at injecting a fear of itself into the nations by barely shewing itself, than by a sudden and violent irruption upon them, or at once pretending to over-run the world by dint of force. How much more natural is this than what we read concerning the pretended conquests of *Ninus*? *Pul* seems rather to have laid the foundations of the *Assyrian* monarchy than to have erected it; which last it is most likely he left to his successors.

(Y) Some *Jews* think he began to transport the children of *Israel*; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(96) See before, p. 862. and in the notes, p. 833.

in the notes. (100) See before in the notes, p. 399.

(1) See Sir Is. NEWT. Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. pass. (2) Idem, ibid. (3) Sir Is. NEWT. Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 270. (4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Vid. GREGOR. Poësb. p. 194. (6) Sir Is. NEWT. ubi sup. (7) Idem, ibid. (8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Idem, ibid. p. 271. (10) See before, p. 864. (11) Ubi sup. p. 277. (12) Idem, ibid. p. 277.

279. (13) See PATRICK'S Comment. upon 2 Kings xv. 19. and upon 1 Chron. v. 26.

Tiglath-pile-  
sar.

Year of the  
Flood, 2259.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 740.

*Tiglath-pileasar* succeeded him (Z), and is supposed to have been his son, but upon a no certain authority (A). Upon what particular motive, we know not, he fell upon the kingdom of *Israel*, and took *Ijon*, and *Abel-beth-maachab*, and *Janoab*, and *Kedesh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, and *Galilee*, and all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Assyria*<sup>1</sup>, thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure these distant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For such a captivity must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring so hard a fate; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his eye. But whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himself obliged to do much more of the kind soon after. For receiving an embassy from *Abaz*, king<sup>b</sup> of *Juaab*<sup>a</sup>, with a tender from him of homage, and a present of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of *Rezin*, king of *Damascus*, and *Pekab*, king of *Israel*, who were joined in confederacy against him; upon this prayer, and present, and acknowledgment from the king of *Judab*<sup>†</sup>, *Tiglath-pileasar* marched against *Damascus*, took that city, transplanted the people of it to *Kir* (C), slew *Rezin*, and so put an end to that antient kingdom<sup>a</sup> (D).

He

† 2 Kings xv.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 389. b.

† 832. b. (L).

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. Kings, c. xvi. 9.

(Z) He is also called *Tiglath-pileasar*, *Theglath-phalasar*, *Theglath-phellasar*, *Tilgamas* (14) as supposed, and also *Ninus* junior, according to *Cassor* (15). *Prideaux* (16), by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for *Arbaces* the *Mede*. Some (17) are willing to derive the first part of his name from *Diglis*, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river *Tigris* (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(A) Some are so far from thinking him to have been the son of *Pul*, that they make him a stranger to his line, a *Mede*, as we have seen in the note above. *Rollin*, misled by that great and otherwise learned guide archbishop *Usher* (20), makes *Pul* to have been the father of *Sardanapalus* (21), by an extraordinary inattention in the archbishop, who thought it must have been so, because in the name *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardan-Pul*, he could perceive a relation between this last and this first *Assyrian* king, forgetting that for the same reason *Tiglath-pul-assur* might have more naturally appeared his son, especially as he is the king of *Assyria*, who is expressly said to have succeeded him in scripture. By what biased him above to make this mistake, he might also, and very naturally have concluded, that *Tiglath-pul-assur* and *Sardan-pul* were one and the same person, and so have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The first and second monarchy, according to the scheme of archbishop *Usher*, (22), adopted by *Prideaux* and *Rollin*, so entirely repugnant to all history, sacred or profane, may serve to shew how irreconcilable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is so sensible of this, that he declares (when he comes to the text of scripture (24) which first makes mention of *Tiglath-pileasar*) that if the common accounts of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* are true, of their having held the east under subjection one after another, there can be no knowing how to understand the sacred historian. To which he adds, that the learned are now sensible there were several sorts of independant kingdoms in those days to the eastward of the *Euphrates*; (see before, p. 382.) that sometimes one of them was uppermost, and sometimes another; and that at this time it happened that the *Assyrians* were most powerful; who, now crossing

the *Tigris*, had carried their arms thro' *Mesopotamia*, and from thence over the *Euphrates* into *Syria* and *Palestine* (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon *Tiglath-pileasar* to have been the son of *Pul*. Since from the first appearance of the one, to the first appearance of the other, the interval is according to *Usher* himself (26), of but about 24 years; so that they very naturally succeed one another. It is therefore an eye-sore to see them so disjoined as they are in *Rollin* (27), from whose judgment and converse with the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but as we have been hitherto cautious of passing any censure upon him, we shall for the future avoid it, especially as he is a gentleman who does not so professedly write to instruct the mind as to the reality and consistence of facts, as to form it to virtue and a good life.

(B) *Tiglath-pileasar* here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the most extraordinary method that could be possibly taken to secure the empire under due subjection, and was the constant practice of his successors we may suppose for the same reasons. These repeated emigrations are in all their circumstances so affecting, and must have caused such utter oblivion of the original nations in those parts, that, if *Ctesias* had known any thing perfectly of the *Assyrian* affairs, he could never have omitted them, or forborn to have improved them after his manner, which we too where find that he did.

(C) There are printed copies of the *Septuagint*, which say not whither the people of *Damascus* were transplanted to; others have it the place was *Kapruu* or *Cyrene*, in *Africa*, deceived by some similitude of the names; but it is impossible to suppose the king of *Assyria* could send them into those parts, when he was not yet master even of *Egypt* (28). *Josephus* (29) makes it a place in the *Upper Media*. *Bochart* (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpose. It will be in vain for us to think of settling the site of this, and many other places hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obscure than this; so that we shall touch on them only by the way.

(D) So that the race of the ancient *Syrians* became, as it were, extinct in this country, which gives us room to assert what we have only surmised formerly

(14) *ÆLIAN. Hist. Anim. l. 12. c. 21.* (15) *Apud EUSEB. Chron.* (16) *Connell. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. part 1. at the beginning.* (17) See *PATRICK, ubi sup. ver. 29.* (18) See before in the notes, p. 859. (19) *CLERIC. ubi sup. Com. 29.* (20) *Annal. Ves. Testam. Æt. Mund. Quin. p. 83.* (21) *Hist. of the Assy. in the English transl. p. 25.* (22) *Ubi sup.* (23) *JOAN. CLERIC.* (24) 2 *Reg. xv. 29.* (25) *JOAN. CLERIC. in 2 Reg. ibid.* (26) *Ubi sup.* (27) *Ubi sup.* (28) *Ibid.* *JOAN. CLERIC. in Æc. ubi sup.* (29) *Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. 13.* (30) *PHALEG. l. 4. c. 32.*

- a He was succeeded by *Shalmaneser* (E), who seems to have made war upon *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, in consequence of his predecessor's engagements to *Abaz*, king of *Judab* (F). *Tiglath-pileser* had but half fulfilled his promise to *Abaz*, who had besought him to avenge him of the king of *Damascus* and the king of *Israel* equally, whereas he seemingly concerned himself with the king of *Damascus* only. It is likely then that *Shalmaneser* made this a pretence to attack the kingdom of *Israel* under *Hoshea*. But whatever his pretence may have been, or on whatsoever it may have been founded, he reduced *Samaria*, and made *Hoshea* his tributary<sup>b</sup>, as it is apparent his predecessors, from *Menabem*, had been to the *Assyrian* power before him. Some years afterwards *Shalmaneser* came to understand that *Hoshea*, having a mind to shake off his yoke, had entered into a league with *So*, king of *Egypt*; and this was confirmed to him by *Hoshea*'s neglect to send him his annual tribute. At this he marches up throughout all the land, and at length lays siege to *Samaria*, with such obstinacy, that he continued it for the space of three years, resolved, once for all, to make an end of the kingdom of that metropolis. At the end of three years he became master of the place, took the king of *Hoshea* alive (G), kept him a prisoner<sup>†</sup>, made captives of all the inhabitants, and transplanted them into *Assyria* (H), placing them in *Halab* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan* (I), and in the cities of the *Medes*; replacing them by strangers from *Babylon* (K), *Cutba*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sephervain*; and thus did he put an end to the kingdom of *Israel*<sup>c</sup>. But he was obliged to send back one of the priests of the country to instruct the people in the worship of the God of the land, who for their ignorance in that particular plagued them so sorely with lions, that they were necessitated to apply to the king of *Assyria* for this redress<sup>d</sup> (L).

Shalmaneser.  
Year of the  
Flood, 2271.  
Year before  
CHRIST 728.

Year of the  
Flood, 2274.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 725.

Year of the  
Flood, 2278.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 721.

BUT

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xvii. <sup>†</sup> See before, p. 835.  
before, p. 842. 2 Kings xvii. ver. 25, 28.

<sup>c</sup> See before, *Ibid.* 2 Kings xvii. 18.

<sup>d</sup> See

formerly concerning the alteration which the old religion of this country must have undergone when conquered by the *Assyrians* (31). For it is scarcely to be imagined that the strangers, who were brought to take possession of this country, should continue the ancient rites and superstitions of its first inhabitants? Well may we say then that *Adad* now gave way to *Belus* and other *Assyrian* gods (32), unknown on this side of the *Euphrates* till now.

(E) His name also is variously written, as *Salmaneser*, *Salmanassar*; he is called *Enemassar*, by *Tobit* (33), and is supposed to (34) be the *Salman* or *Shalman* of *Hosea* (35). It has been the common practice of chronologers to make him to have been the same with *Nabonassar* (36); which we shall not here discuss.

(F) We here speak only as the thing may seem, for between *Tiglath-pileser*'s last expedition in these parts, and this of *Shalmaneser*, there is a distance of twelve years; so that the engagements to *Abaz* may by this time have been as good as forgot.

(G) In the first of these expeditions he carried off with him the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel* (37); and, previously to the siege of *Samaria*, he subdued *Moab* (38).

(H) He did not quite transplant them, he left some behind him for *Ezar-baddon* to remove, as will be seen in due place.

(I) There is a town called *Chabor* or *Habor* in *Mesopotamia*, according to *Ptolemy* (39), and a river *Chaboras* or *Haboras*; and a region in the same country, called *Gauzonitis* or *Gozan*, between the above-mentioned river and another called *Sacoras*, one of which may have been also called the river of *Gozan* (40); so that in *Mesopotamia* it must be that we must look for these two places; as for *Halab* we have declared what we know of that long ago (41).

(K) Those who follow the common current are at a loss to conceive, how *Shalmaneser* should be so free with the *Babylonians*; supposing them to have been not only a collateral, but also an independent kingdom, when nothing is more unlikely. Can it with reason be imagined the kings of *Assyria*, as *Shalmaneser* and his two predecessors, would have roamed so far from home after conquests, when such prey as *Babylon* was so near at hand? Is it not more natural to think the *Assyrians* began with those who were next to them? Or is it possible to imagine the kings of *Assyria* would straggle so far from home, if they had so dangerous a rival as a considerable kingdom of *Babylon* on their skirts, who never, it is certain, could have been quiet or easy in their absence. It must be impossible to think after this rate; a greater inconsistency can never be. The monarchy of *Assyria* was now in the vigour of its youth, and the passage before us plainly informs us, that *Babylon* was now under *Assyria*, and so were the *Medes*, as may not only appear by the western nations, said to have been transplanted to the cities of that country by these three first kings; but the same will most evidently appear in the next reign, when the *Medes*, taking advantage of this king's successor, actually revolted from him, and from thence forward began to make the figure they afterwards did. Nothing of equal antiquity and importance is clearer than what concerns these three monarchies or empires, if we do not blend the sacred writings with prophane romance; which last has been so unaccountably preferred by the learned *Christians*, that in favour of that they have obscured what would otherwise appear as bright as day in holy writ.

(L) This transplantation, this complaint of the lions, and this mission of the priest, is put off to the days of *Ezarbaddon* (42); because in *Ptolemy's* canon

(31) See before, p. 372. (32) *Ibid.* (33) c. i. 13. (34) See Sir Is. NEWT. *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend.* p. 277. (35) c. x. 14. (36) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Posthum.* p. 246. &c. GEORG. SYNCCELL. *Chron.* p. 204. <sup>†</sup> *Vid.* sup. 832. (L). (37) *SEDER OLAM Rabba* c. xxii. (38) See before, p. 292. (39) *Abas Tabul.* 4ta. (40) *Ibid.* (41) See before, p. 127. sub (B). (42) See PRIDEAUX's *Connex.* PATRICK's *Comment.* &c.

Year of the  
Flood, 2282.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 717.

BUT how effectually soever he triumphed over *Samaria* and other neighbouring states, he had the mortification to be set at defiance by *Hezekiah*, king of *Judab*, who, as it is said, rebelled against him, and refused to send him any further tribute (M). But *Samaria* and its territory did not alone feel the effects of his power, he also lorded it over all *Syria* and *Phenice*; and made war upon *Tyre*, where *Elulais* then reigned<sup>c</sup>. He at first made war upon the whole country of *Phenice*, but upon the conclusion of a peace marched out of the country. Shortly after the cities of *Sydon*, *Arce*, *Pala-Tyrus*, and others, revolting from the *Tyrians*, went over to *Sbalmaneser*, who, disdaining the *Tyrians* (N) should dare to dispute his supremacy, dispatched a fleet of 60 sail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of *Phanicians*, to attack the *Tyrians*, but they were shamefully routed by a small number of *Tyrian* ships<sup>f</sup>, and the project most completely defeated. *Sbalmaneser* therefore, convinced it was to no purpose to contend with the *Tyrians* at sea, blocks them up by land; and, by diverting the waters which furnished the city, doubted not but to reduce that haughty people; but these, supplying themselves by wells they dug within the city, obliged the *Assyrians* to waste five years in this fruitless attempt<sup>g</sup> (O).

Year of the  
Flood, 2286.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 713.

*Sennacherib* (P) succeeded *Sbalmaneser*, and resolved to reduce the kingdom of *Judab* to the homage and tribute it had professed to the *Assyrian* throne in the person of king *Abaz*<sup>h</sup>. He appeared on a sudden at the head of an army, and bore down all before him<sup>i</sup>, and at length laid siege to *Lachysh*, intending in the next place to invest *Jerusalem* itself. As he was laying siege to that place, he received a most submissive message from *Hezekiah*, asking his pardon, begging he would not pursue him to destruction, and offering him to pay him what tribute he should think fit to impose on him. *Sennacherib* seemed satisfied with this, and ordered *Hezekiah* immediately to send him 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, as if that would pacify him for the present, and stop his further resentment. This sum, it seems, was with great difficulty sent to him<sup>k</sup>; but, instead of granting the king of *Judab* the truce and rest he expected, the treacherous monarch behaved towards him as if nothing of the kind had been transacted, and apparently broke his word with *Hezekiah*, seemingly with no manner of cause<sup>l</sup>; and, instead of withdrawing with his forces, sent three of his officers, *Tartan*, *Rabsaris* (Q), and *Rabsakeb* (R), at the head of a great army, to invest *Jerusalem*, insult *Hezekiah*, intimidate his people, and, in a word, to blaspheme against God. *Rabsakeb* was the spokesman, and, in an insulting speech, vented himself to the officers whom *Hezekiah* had sent out to treat with them<sup>m</sup>, and to know what

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 416.  
before, p. 832.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> MENAND. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c. 14.

<sup>h</sup> See

JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1.

<sup>i</sup> See before, p. 835. <sup>2</sup> Kings xviii. <sup>2</sup> Chron. xxxii.

<sup>k</sup> <sup>2</sup> Kings xviii.

<sup>l</sup> <sup>2</sup> Kings, ubi sup. JOSEPH. ubi sup.

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 838.

canon they find, that he sat in the throne of *Babylon* as well as of *Nineveh*, and consequently was the only *Assyrian* king of the second race, as they fondly dream, who could send people from *Babylon* to inhabit the land of *Israel*; but this is sufficiently answered in the note above. Nothing is more plainly a part of *Sbalmaneser*'s history than all that is here said, and no greater violence can be offered to the text, than to remove it hence into the midst of a reign which was third after this. All these needless shifts, these turnings and windings, we owe to the tenacious credulity of some great, though mistaken, men, who have turned their thoughts towards the illustration of these very evident matters.

(M) This monarchy, or the strength of it at least, was not yet sufficiently known; it seems as if it was not yet arrived at its summit, but had still difficulties to struggle with; it was not seemingly so strong as not to be set at defiance, and contemned by the *Jewish* king. *Prideaux* (43) thinks he was diverted from relenting this, by his war with the *Tyrians*.

(N) The *Tyrians* had as yet never known any thing of an *Assyrian* yoke, and now defied this new monarchy, trusting in their own strength and riches; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive that they were not in some shape or other tributary to the

*Assyrian*, who must have had it very much in his power to hurt their trade at land, if he could not affect them by sea. Their situation (44) may have protected their persons from immediate slavery; but it is not to be thought their purses were as free from expropriation and loss: In a word, they could not have traded almost any where in the inland places of this part of the continent without the king of *Assyria*'s leave, and must have been quite cut off from any of the benefits and conveniences of the rivers, if they had not been upon some sort of terms with him: so that this seems to be a very obscure piece of history.

(O) His army, or at least part of his army, continued the blockade thus long; as for himself he seems to have retired to the other side of the *Euphrates*, leaving affairs on this side in a very unsettled state.

(P) His *Hebrew* name is *Sancherib*, and it is seldom or never that we recollect ever writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called *Jarb* (45).

(Q) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the proper name of the person, signifying, *The Chief of the Eunuchs* (46).

(R) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, *The Chief Cup-bearer* (47).

(43) Ubi sup. l. 1. p. 19.  
in loc. (47) Vid. eund. ibid.

(44) See before, p. 393.

(45) Hof. v. 13.

(46) Vid. JOAN. CLERIC.



- a what further was expected from him, he vaunted his master's mighty power, styling him the great king, the king of *Affyria*, set at nought *Hezekiah*, and spoke contemptuously of the king of *Egypt* (S), in whom he supposed *Hezekiah* to have placed a confidence, as if he could save him from the *Affyrian* arm; and to crown all pretended, speaking in his master's name, as he all along does, that God had sent him on purpose to destroy the city and the land. This he uttered with great violence in the *Hebrew* tongue, that all might hear and understand him; and being by the king's officers entreated to be more moderate, and to deliver himself in the *Syriac* tongue, which they well understood<sup>a</sup>, that he might not dishearten their people on the walls of the city; he, far from complying, raised his voice higher than before, and in the *Jewish* tongue particularly addressed himself to the inhabitants of the city, who were beholding the interview; told them their king, *Hezekiah*, would obstinately deceive them to their destruction, and that it was in vain he trusted in the Lord: He then exhorted them to send him immediate hostages of their submission, promising them the free and full enjoyment of their present possessions, until there should be a convenient opportunity to transplant them to a country every way equal, if not superior, to their own. He then again admonished them, not to let their king deceive them with false hopes of deliverance from the hand of the Lord; and reminded them that as the gods of the nations they had already conquered, the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arpad*, the gods of *Seppharvaim*, *Henah*, and *Ivab* (T), had not been able to withstand the *Affyrian* power, or to save *Samaria* from captivity, so neither should theirs: This he aggravated still farther; but all his oratory procured him no answer, and so he returned to his master, who had left *Lachish* and was now at *Libnah*, which he was besieging. Here as he lay, he had advice, that *Tirbakah* (V), king of *Ethiopia*, intended to give him battle, at which, taking the alarm, he seems to

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 838. a. 6.

(S) It is thought this was done more out of mere rage than any thing else, *Sennacherib* disdaining to have been disappointed and baffled in his attempts upon *Egypt*, according to the story we have of it in *Herodotus* (48); but however plausible this may seem (49) at first sight, it is seemingly contradictory to the text, which supposes him, if we understand it right, for this place is somewhat obscure †, to be busied in the siege of *Lachish*. He had not made his attempt upon *Egypt* yet. We think we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expressed against the *Egyptian*, for *Sethon* was then king of *Egypt*, who being recorded to have been a priest, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50), it can be no wonder *Sennacherib*, or his servant for him, should ridicule and despise both him and those who relied on his friendship.

(T) Sir *Isaac Newton* (51) justly urges this boast concerning the nations and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the *Affyrian* monarchy in these days, observing that this defolation is recited as fresh in memory, and to terrify the *Jews* (52). All the above-cited nations had, till now, their several gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of *Affyria*; and therefore they were never till now united under the *Affyrian* monarchy, especially since the king of *Affyria* doth not boast of their being conquered by the *Affyrians* oftener than once; but, these being small kingdoms, the king of *Affyria* easily overflowed them: Know ye not, saith *Sennacherib* to the *Jews*, [2 Chr. xxxii. 13, 15.] what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver

his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your god deliver you out of mine hand? He and his fathers therefore, *Pul*, *Tiglath-pileser*, and *Salmancser*, were great conquerors, and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about *Affyria*, and thereby set up this monarchy (53). This is a just remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateness of the *Affyrian* monarchy, in comparison of the common computation, and may account for what we have as good as asserted (54). That the religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, as known to the *Greeks*, or even to themselves, to all appearance, was of *Affyrian* origin; which may not only be amply proved by the strange nations who were transplanted thither (55), but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be stronger than the gods of the vanquished, which, as fallacious an argument as it may be to us (56), did, in those days of idolatry and superstition, pass for sound and indisputable doctrine: So *Belus* or *Pul*, the *Affyrian* god, having proved himself too strong for *Adad* the *Syrian* god, the former gives place to the latter of course; and *Belus* thenceforward becomes the god of the *Syrians*, instead of the unfortunate *Adad* (57).

(V) According to the course of the *Egyptian* history, this *Tirbakah* can have been no other than the *Sabbazo* (58) of *Herodotus*, who was an *Ethiopian*, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered *Egypt*, and held it 50 years (59): He retired from *Egypt* at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into *Ethiopia*, and by that means *Sethon* the priest of *Vulkan*, as he is called (61), came to be king of *Egypt*. *Sethon* being more strictly a priest than a king,

(48) See before, p. 264.

before, p. 264.

p. 276, 277.

(56) *Ibid.* J. LE CLERC comment. in loc.

(59) *Ibid.*

(49) *Ibid.* J. LE CLERC in loc.

(51) *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amended*, p. 273, 276.

(54) See before, p. 372. (W) and p. 888.

(57) See before, p. 372.

(61) *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.* sup. p. 838. b.

(52) *Ibid.* p. 274.

(53) *Ibid.*

(55) See before, p. 890. (A. B.)

(58) See before, p. 261, f. 262.



to have marched towards *Egypt* (W) to meet him, and to have sent *Rabshakeb* back again to *Jerusalem*, to block up that city and to prevent *Hezekiah* from joining his friends against him. *Rabshakeb* returned to his post before *Jerusalem*, and would have insulted *Hezekiah* in person, as should seem; but, not being able to do that, he sent him a letter as from *Sennacherib*, fraught with the same words almost he had used before in his boasting and vain speech to the *Jewish* commissioners, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by *Affyria* *Rexeph*, and the children of *Eden* which were in *Tbelasar* \* (X). His former insolent and blasphemous message had drawn on him the fearful prophecy of *Isaiab*, *That he should fall by the sword in his own land* \*; and for this second, it was denounced against him by the same prophet, *That he should not come into the city nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank about it* †: The meaning of which seems to be, that he was gone, whence he should return so disabled, that he should neither be able to besiege the city in form, nor barely assault it. This is seemingly the import of the text, and if *Herodotus* may be introduced upon this occasion, who makes express mention of his name, though he mistakenly calls him king of *Arabia* (Y) instead of *Affyria*, he will tell us, that, as *Sennacherib* lay before *Pelusium*, there one night came such swarms of field rats and mice into the *Affyrian* camp as destroyed all their shield-strings and bow strings ‡. How little truth soever there may be (Y\*) in this, it must be owned in some measure to correspond with at least, if not to confirm the completion of the prophecy above. But to wave this, it appears that he was very unfortunate (Y†) in this expedition, and that his fun from henceforwards lies apace. His army is said to have

\* 2 Kings xix. ver. 8. 12.

\* Ibid. ver. 7.

† Ibid. ver. 32.

‡ HERODOT. I. 2. c. 41.

king, and *Tirbakah*, or *Sabbaco*, the great *Ethiopian*, conscious *Setbon* could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as *Sennacherib*, and perceiving *Egypt* to be in imminent danger of subjection, puts himself at the head of his army to protect *Egypt*, and at the same time secure his own country *Ethiopia*. *Sabbaco*, though an *Ethiopian*, must have had a great concern on him for the liberties of *Egypt*, not only as it was his barrier and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still alive, though he must have been a man in years, for he did not die in the throne of *Egypt*, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of *Egypt* in scripture, that we fancy the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(W) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy; we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of *Judah*, and perhaps some others; that he besieged *Lachish*; sent to insult *Jerusalem* and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part; that he was under some apprehensions about *Tirbakah*, king of *Ethiopia*; and finally, that the grofs of his army was miraculously destroyed. But *Prideaux* (63), supported by nothing besides a supposition that he was the *Sargon* of *Isaiab* (64), writes, that he conquered *Egypt*, miserably waited it for three years together, and carried away multitudes into captivity; as also that he took *Asdod* or *Azotus* (65) by his general *Tartan*. *Sargon* was not *Sennacherib*, but his son *Afar-baddon*; and if it be answered he must have been the former, because his general's name was *Tartan*, we say *Tartan* was general to both of them. Nor was, as he says, *Sevechus* the son of *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, at that time king of *Egypt*; nor were, it is likely, *Sevechus* and *Sabbaco* two persons, the father and son; they are one and the same

name, with a very trifle of variation. *Herodotus* has no such king as this *Sevechus*, nor *Diodorus*: This is sufficient to justify us in what we say; nor was *Sevechus* or *Setbon*, whom *Prideaux* (67) supposes to have been the same, the son of the *Ethiopian* *Sabbaco*, as may appear by *Herodotus*, who calls him priest of *Vulcan*, and plainly insinuates that he was an *Egyptian*, and a stranger to *Sabbaco's* line, and one who was chosen to succeed after some seemingly great disturbance in the state (68). Besides, it might be asked, where the dreadful *Tirbakah* can have been, during the three long years *Sennacherib* must have ravaged and lorded it over *Egypt*? or, what he was about all that time, that he should not come to the relief of the country till it had been, as it were, undone? In short, nothing is plainer than that *Sennacherib* not only did not conquer *Egypt*, but even suffered some notable loss or repulse in so much as offering to invade that land; in which attempt he must have erred against the rules of common prudence and policy, considering that *Syria* and *Palestine*, which should have been his first work, were not as yet fully subdued.

(X) The most probable opinion is, that these places where somewhere in *Syria*. There is a city called *Reseph* in *Mesopotamia*, near the mouth of the river *Saacoras* (69); and a city called *Resaph*, in the *Palmyrene* of *Syria*: which of these may have been *Rexeph* we decide not; the other cities are not so easy to be found.

(Y) This may not originally have been the fault of *Herodotus* himself; it may have been owing to transcribers.

(Y\*) True it certainly is not; bishop *Patrick* (70), with some seeming passion, calls it a *horrible lye*; but as much a lye as it may be, it may be said to confirm what is written in scripture concerning the sudden destruction of the *Affyrian* army, and therefore may be borne with. The *Egyptians* ascribe the honour of it to their God (71), than which there is nothing more natural.

(Y†) *Herodotus* declares as much (72), and so does *Josephus* (73).

(62) See before, p. 262. & seq.

(63) Connell. ubi sup.

(64) xx. 1. PRID. Connell. ubi sup. p.

262. e.

(65) Idem. ibid.

(67) Ubi sup.

(68) See before, c. 1.

(69) PROLEM. Tab.

As. Geograph. iv. of the Old and New Test. l. 1. p. 22. Edit.

(70) Comment upon 2 Kings xix.

(71) See before, in 8vo.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Antiq. Jud. l. 10.

- a have been destroyed by the angel of the Lord (Z), who smote 185,000 *Affyrians* in their camp (A), and *Sennacherib* departed for *Affyria*, and took up his abode at *Niniveb*\*; where, finding himself fallen in the esteem of his people (B), he grew sullen and tyrannical; particularly venting his rage against the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death†, in revenge for his great downfall, which he doubtless attributed to them. In short he behaved in such a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own sons, two of whom, *Adrammelech* and *Sharazer* (C), slew him as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god *Nisroch*, in a short time after his precipitate return from *Judea*; immediately after which, they fled into the land of *Armenia*, fearful, without doubt, of the revenge that was like to fall on them for their parricide (D); thus was he slain in the temple of his favourite god (E), and his third son *Efar-baddon* reigned in his stead‡.

*Efar-baddon* (F) may be said to have succeeded to the ruins, as it were, of the *Affyrian* monarchy founded by *Pul*, and enlarged and established by *Tiglath-pileser*. Under *Sennacherib* it fell into decay, either by his imprudence or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The *Medes* taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the sudden and general destruction of his army, revolted, and were never after, as should seem, reduced to the *Affyrian* yoke though *Efar-baddon*, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire.

- c He was, to all appearance, a mild and gracious personage, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been so cruelly abused by his father after his hasty return to *Niniveb*. He, in the beginning of his reign, seems to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do to support his dignity at home; till after some years, his kindred race of the *Babylonish* kings becoming extinct, or some other cause producing an inter-reign in that kingdom, he either by art or violence seated himself on the throne of *Babylon* (G), thereby retrieving the lustre of the *Affyrian* name, which had been sullied by the defection of the *Medes*.

- d GROWN potent by this union, he proceeds to establish his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire, and marches into *Syria*, and against the remnant of *Israel*, and the kingdom of *Judab*. The remnant of *Israel* he transplanted, as he may have done by the remnant that may have been left of *Syria*, so that

\* 2 Kings xix. 36. See before, p. 838. c. d. † Tobit c. i. 18. ‡ 2 Kings ubi sup. ver. 37.  
 † Tobit ubi sup. ver. 15. † PTOLEM. Can. Astronom.

(Z) This is a figurative expression common with the *Jews*. Some suppose this havock to have been made "by a plague or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind, which blows sometimes in the neighbourhood of deserts. The *Egyptians* ascribe the glory of this defeat to *Sethon* and *Tirhakah*; in memory of which they erected a statue to *Sethon*, holding in his hand a moutie, the *Egyptian* symbol "of destruction" (74).

(A) Where his camp was at this time is no very clear matter; whether at *Libnah*, or *Pelusium*, or *Jerusalem*. It is also uncertain whether his army was all in one body at this time, or divided, part under himself elsewhere, and part under *Rabshakeh* before *Jerusalem* (75), as we have supposed; and consequently whether it was the army under his command, or that under *Rabshakeh*, that was thus swept away, or whether they both suffered. After what we have already said, we leave the reader to satisfy himself about this obscurity.

(B) Returning so baffled, with such shame and dishonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in comparison of his predecessors; though *Shabnauser*, his father, does not seem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have seen him shamefully beaten by the *Tyrians* in a sea fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect †.

(C) It is supposed he had, in the midst of his danger, threatened to sacrifice them to his god, and

that they took this opportunity of assassinating him, that they might not be sacrificed themselves (76): what grounds there is for this conjecture we are at a loss. We nowhere read, the *Affyrians* had any such unnatural superstition in vogue with them; as we shall take occasion to shew when we come to treat of the *Babylonian* religion, which must at least have included that of *Affyria*.

(D) This slight seems totally to destroy the supposition mentioned in the last note. Self-preservation against a superstitious and unnatural tyrant, now become odious to gods and men, might have sufficiently justified the deed and screened them from further punishment, so that there would have been no occasion for their retiring into a foreign country, and leaving the empire to be peaceably enjoyed by a younger brother.

(E) We have it from *Josephus* (77), that *Nisroch* or *Araeus*, as he calls him (78), was his most esteemed god. Concerning his deity, we have said all we thought necessary in the former part of this history (79).

(F) He is also called *Afar-baddon*, *Afordan* by the *Septuagint*, *Affaradin* in *Ptolemy's* canon, *Sarchedon* by *Tobit* (80), *Sargon* by *Isaiah* (81), and *Asnapper* by *Ezra* ‡.

(G) It is very unlikely that he obtained the immediate possession of the kingdom of *Babylon* by violence; but that is what we may enquire into when we come to consider him as king of it.

(74) *Str Is. Newt. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 282. See also *PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. part. 1. p. 24.* (75) See *PATRICK ubi sup.* † *Vid. sup. p. 416. f. 892. a.*

(76) *PATRICK, ibid.* (77) *Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 2.* (78) *Ibid.* (79) See before, p. 861.  
 (80) *Tobit i. 21.* (81) *Isaiah xx.* \* *Ezra iv. 10.*

that they now utterly ceased to be nations; and in their stead he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judab*, to the same tributary state to which we supposed it elsewhere † to have been reduced by *Tiglatb-pileser* in *Abaz's* reign, and took *Manasseb* their king, and bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon*.\*

Year of the  
Flood, 2326.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 673.

ELATED by this flow of success, and nothing discouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he continues his march, resolving to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (I). He succeeded so well that he subdued, transplanted (K), and held them in subjection to him three years †, which is probably as long as he afterwards lived. In the course of this war, he particularly took, by his general *Tartan*, the city of *Asdod* or *Azotus* ‡, which cost *Psammeticus* so much time to wrest from his successors §. Thus did he extend his dominions (L), and once more spread the terror of the *Assyrian* name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious especially in the latter part of it, he died, and seemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had held while living; upon which account, and for other reasons (M),

Year of the  
Flood, 2331.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 668.

† See before, p. 832. b. c. (L).

‡ Chron. xxxiii. 11. See before, p. 840. b. c.

§ Isaiah xx.

\* Idem, *ibid.*

¶ See before, p. 267.

(H) His being now called king of *Babylon* has been the cause that commentators have postponed the transplantation of *Israel*, recorded in the reign of *Shalmaneser*, to his time; concerning which we have declared our mind already (82).

(I) Having, as we have seen, subdued all *Syria* and *Palestine* in a more effectual manner than any of his predecessors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. Besides, *Tirhakah*, or *Sabbaco*, may have been now dead, for, according to the history of *Egypt* (83), he must, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from *Setbon* (84), who was now unsupported, and whose kingdom, as it is represented to us, seems to have been, at this time, in the most proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This subduction and captivity was foretold by *Isaiah* (85); *In that day shall there be a high-way out of Egypt into Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians*. In this war the city of *Diospolis*, *No-ammon*, or *Thebes*, which had till then flourished in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miserably wasted and led into captivity, according to the same prophet and another, the former adding (87) to what is above; *So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot . . . to the shame of Egypt*. And they [they Jews] shall be afraid and ashamed of *Ethiopia* their exprobration, and of *Egypt* their glory: And the latter (88) who, prophesying the destruction of *Niniveh*, speaks of the calamity of *Egypt* as a transaction of late date, *Art thou better than the populous No [No-ammon] that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea* (89)? All this can have been effected by no king of *Assyria*, *Assar-baddon* excepted, and we shall not need to prove this to the reader who shall think it worth his while to turn back to the history of *Egypt* at this time. For though the *Egyptians* were too proud to acknowledge this conquest of them, yet their history, though silent about it, seems to confirm what is here said. For after *Setbon*, in the latter part of whose reign, or immediately upon whose death, this invasion must have happened, we find the nation to have been in some very violent

disorder, and to have sunk under the power of 12 men who divided the whole kingdom between them, in a kind of aristocracy (90). How this alteration could have been wrought in the constitution of so regular and precise a kingdom as *Egypt*, but by some such means, and by this most likely, we leave to the reader.

(L) The extent of his dominion at this time, which must, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predecessors, is not a little uncertain; though *Sir Isaac Newton*, in a manner, ventures to describe it in these words, "In the reign of *Sennacherib* and *Afferbaddon*, the *Assyrian* empire seems arrived at its greatness, being united under one monarch, and containing *Assyria*, *Media*, *Apolloniatis*, *Sufiana*, *Chaldæa*, *Mejopotamia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and part of *Arabia*, and reaching eastward into *Elymais* and *Paratæcens*, a province of the *Medes*; and if *Calarch* and *Chaber* be *Cœchis* and *Iberia*, as some think, and as may seem probable from the circumcision, used by those nations till the days of *Herodotus*, we are also to add these two provinces, with the two *Armenia's*, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, as far as the river *Habys*; for *Herodotus* tells us, that the people of *Cappadocia*, as far as to that river, were called *Syrians* by the *Greeks* both before and after the days of *Cyrus*, and that the *Assyrians* were also called *Syrians* by the *Greeks*" (91). Of all this extent there may be some doubt whether or no the *Medes* were in subjection to him; they had thrown off the yoke in his father's time, who left the empire, as great as it may have been under him, in a crazy condition; though it is somewhat difficult to suppose that *Assar-baddon* did not reduce them to their former obedience before he crossed the *Euphrates*, to confirm himself in *Syria* and *Palestine*: After all, he may have reserved them for his last work, not fearing any damage from them in his absence, being perhaps possessed of some of the most important parts of their country, which he did not live long enough to regain throughout. This may be resumed in the reign of his grandson.

(M) He is styled the great and noble *Asnappar* (92). It is impossible he should have been represented as a slothful and effeminate prince, whose life seems to have been a life of the most unwearied action. He may, it is possible, have been known to the ancient *Greeks*

(82) See before, p. 891. (H) & (K).

(83) See before, p. 262. & seq.

(84) See before, *ibid.*

(85) *Isaiah* xix. 23.

(86) See *PRID. Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. p. 22. 800.*

(87) *xx. 4, 5.*

(88) *Nabum* iii. 8. 10.

(89) *Ibid.*

(90) See before, p. 26.

(91) *Chronol.*

*of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 283.*

(92) *Extra* iv. 10.

a we could mention, we cannot be induced to think he can be, in any respect, the *Sardanapalus* of *Ctesias*, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the reigns and characters of these two monarchs.

He was succeeded by his son *Saosduchinus* \*, or *Saosducheus* (N), concerning whom we have nothing particular, except that he reigned 20 years, that it was probably under him that *Manasseh* was restored to his kingdom (O), and that *Egypt* recovered her liberty (P); that he seems otherwise to have kept full possession of the empire his father left him, and that, dying, he was succeeded by his son *Chyniladan*. Saosduchinus.  
Year of the  
Flood, 2331.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 668.

*Chyniladan* is supposed, and upon good grounds, to be the *Nabuchodonosor* of scripture (Q), † an active and a warlike prince, and particularly remarkable for his invasion of the rebellious and now independant *Medes*, who had formed themselves into a separate state, as may be seen in the following history of that nation. In order to subdue this warlike people, he summons, as it were, the whole force of his wide spreading Chyniladan.  
Year of the  
Flood, 2351.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 648.

\* Ptolem. Can. Astron.

† Judith i. pass.

Greeks by the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Affur-baddon-Pul* (93), but then he must have been the great one who is called a warrior (94), and is said to have built *Tarus* and *Anchiale* in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called *Sardanapalus*; for we have seen they had two, very different from one another, as we have noted in the story of the *Sardanapalus* of profane authors, in the section before this. The other we may discover hereafter.

(N) *Prideaux* (96) reckons him to have been the *Nabuchodonosor* of the book of *Judith*; but, that he is therein most egregiously mistaken, will be proved anon.

(O) *Prideaux* (97) supposes him not only to have been set at liberty by *Affur-baddon* himself, but also to have been invetted, by the same monarch, with an addition to his own kingdom, to enable him to support himself against *Pjanmetichus*, who had now got the dominion of all *Egypt* into his hands, and began to war upon the *Assyrians* in *Palestine* (98); but he has most strangely disturbed the history of *Assyria* by that unaccountable mistake of writing *Sargon* the same with *Sennacherib*.

(P) It is not in nature to suppose it did, before the death of *Affur-baddon*, who, it is most certain, died by the time he had well subdued this kingdom.

(Q) That *Chyniladan*, and no other king in *Ptolemy's* canon, can have been the *Nabuchodonosor* of the book of *Judith*, is what we are now to endeavour to prove; in the doing of which we shall also settle some other points, and especially the three which are the subject of the three notes above, and which *Prideaux* has involved in great darkness. From the death of *Affur-baddon* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 20 years, and from the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* to the twelfth, that he undertook to reduce the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manasseh*, king of *Judah*, was taken into captivity by *Affur-baddon* in the 21st year of his reign, after which, he reigned 34 years. His son *Amon* reigned after him over *Judah* two years, which, being added to the former number, make 36 years, when *Josiab* began to reign, who was but eight years old when he first came to the throne. Hence, by the canon, it may appear, that *Chyniladan* began his reign about the 41st year of *Manasseh*, and that warring against the *Medes* in his 12th year, according to the number in the vulgate, or *St. Jerom's* translation, it

happened in the 53d year of the said *Manasseh*; *Chyniladan* reigned after this 10 years, or to the sixth year of king *Josiab*; for *Manasseh* reigned full 55 years, and his son *Amon* reigned barely two; so that *Chyniladan* may have died about the beginning of the reign of *Josiab*. This king, as we have observed above, was but eight years old when he came to the throne, and in his reign it must have been, if ever, that *Bethulia* was beleagued by *Holofernes* for the king of *Assyria*; and here it seems to be most naturally placed by *Sir Isaac Newton* (99). To suppose with *Prideaux* (100), that *Holofernes* invaded the *Jews* in the days of *Manasseh*, is contradicting, in good measure, himself; for it is expressly said, that the *Jews* were then lately returned from captivity (1), which can be meant of no other than the *Assyrian* captivity, when *Manasseh* was carry'd away to *Babylon*; and to suppose this war under *Holofernes* to have been undertaken after the return of *Manasseh* to *Jerusalem*, is undoing what the same historian mentions of the kindness of the kings of *Assyria* to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and the perfect good understanding between them, till *Josiab* was killed in the service of his *Assyrian* sovereign, as he mistakenly writes (2). If he supposes the people returned from captivity without their king, and if they were attacked while he was in prison; then must he also say, that *Affur-baddon* himself was the *Nabuchodonosor* of the book of *Judith*, since he declares *Manasseh* to have been set at liberty by the said *Affur-baddon*; but this he says not. If this transaction happened in the reign of *Saosduchinus*, it must follow, either that *Manasseh* was not delivered out of prison by *Affur-baddon*, but detained many years a prisoner at *Babylon* by *Saosduchinus*, which he denies (3), or that there was not that great and constant harmony between the kings at *Niniveh* and their homagers at *Jerusalem*, as he asserts (4), down to the day *Josiab* was slain in battle by the *Egyptian* king *Necho* (5). *Josiab* reigned 31 years, which being added to the interval between the first year of his reign and the year of his grandfather's captivity, which is 36, it will make 67 years. Now by *Ptolemy's* canon it appears, that *Josiab* was slain in the fourth year of *Nabopolassar*, or the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, the second king of *Babylon*, and this was after *Niniveh* had been destroyed, and the old race of the proper kings of *Assyria* were no more. In sum, it appears from all this, that *Affur-baddon* must have died much about

(93) See before, p. 885. (94) See before in the notes, p. 885. (95) Ibid. p. 888. (96) Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. p. 35. 8vo. (97) Ibid. p. 34. (98) See before, p. 264. b. (99) Chronol. of Anc. King. amend. p. 290. (100) Ubi sup. (1) Judith iv. 3. (2) Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part. 1. p. 35. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) See before, p. 265. b.

*Call, in all the nations,* spreading dominions, calling in "all that dwelt in the hill country, and all that a

"dwelt by *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and *Hydaspes*, and the plain of *Arioch*, the king of the *Elymeans*, and very many nations of the sons of *Cbelod*;" all these easterns rendezvoused under his banner. But issuing out his orders, at the same time, to the *Persians*, and the western people in *Cilicia*, *Damascus*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and the inhabitants on the sea-coasts, as well as to the nations of *Carmel*, *Gilead*, the *Upper Galilee*, and the great plain of *Esdraelon*; as also to all *Samaria*, *Jerusalem*, *Betane*, *Cbellus*, *Kades*, the borderers on the river of *Egypt*, *Taphnes*, *Rameses*, and all the land of *Gefem*, beyond *Tanis* and *Memphis*, and in general, to all the inhabitants of *Egypt* to the borders of *Ethiopia*; all these received his ambassadors with contempt, and, fearing him not, refused one and all to obey his orders (R).<sup>b</sup> Upon so general a defection, it may be wondered he should have persisted in his resolution to invade the *Medes*, who had defied some of the most potent of his predecessors; but having numbers sufficient, and relying on his own strength, he seems to have made as slight of their disobedience as they had of his orders; vowing in the most solemn manner to take ample vengeance on them, as soon as he had chastised the insolent and rebellious *Medes* \*.

*Wars with the Medes.*

Year of the Flood, 2363.  
Year before CHRIST, 636.

IN the twelfth year of his reign, then, he moved with his army against *Arphaxad*, king of the *Medes*, and joining battle with him in the great plain of *Ragau*, he overthrew him horse and chariot, put *Arphaxad* to flight, who made the best of his way to the mountains; got possession of all his cities, and *Echatan*, in particular, the capital of *Media*, a sumptuous city, newly erected and decorated to be the seat of this new kingdom, and demolished it without mercy; and to crown all, he caught *Arphaxad* in the mountains of *Ragau*, where he thought to have sheltered himself, and coming there to a skirmish with him and his followers, he shot *Arphaxad* so often with darts that he killed him, and put an end to his life, and as it were to his kingdom. Flushed beyond measure with this more than, perhaps, expected success, he returns in triumph to *Niniveh*, he and all his company of nations, a multitude of warriors, and reposing with them after the fatigues of their victorious expedition (S), they feast and revel with him for the space of 120 days †.

AND now being fated with excess and riot, and confident of being invincible (T), he and his servants resume their martial fury, and talk of no less than being avenged

\* *Judith* i. 5. & seq.

† *Ibid.* vers. 15. & seq.

about the time *Manasseh* was carried to *Babylon*, or, at most, two or three years afterwards; for we cannot pretend to be quite exact, and that it is likely he had his liberty from *Saosduchinus* rather than *Affar-baddon*, who could not have had the time either to think much of him or to settle with him; for it must have been something extraordinary that procured him his freedom and kingdom again, when the kings of *Israel* and *Syria* shared so different a fate. Again, it must appear that *Affar-baddon* died immediately after he left *Egypt*, and that his death inspired the chiefs of that nation with courage to lift up their heads, and appoint the 12 kings (6); and finally, that *Chyniladan*, and no other, was the *Nabuchadonofor* of the book of *Judith*.

(R) *Herodotus* confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the *Assyrians*, those I mean, says he (7), who lived at *Niniveh*, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deserted by their friends or vassals, though nevertheless in a good state to defend themselves; against these, says he, did *Pbraortes* the *Mede* make war. This *Pbraortes* is the *Arphaxad* above, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of the *Medes*. *Saosduchinus*, it appears, then had led a quiet and peaceable life for the space of 20 years, the whole duration of his reign; and *Chyniladan* had done the same for the first 12 years of his, till finding the *Medes* had conquered the *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes, and as appears in the text of *Judith*, which says, that the *Persians* of all the orientals refused to obey his sum-

mons; and that, not contented with that, they were going to attack *Assyria* also; hearing of this it roused him; perceiving himself and kingdom in such danger, he takes the alarm, and, in haste, sends to all the nations who had bowed to the *Assyrian* throne, to come in immediately to his aid. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than *Herodotus* and this book of *Judith*. And here, by the way, we may, in this distress of *Nabuchadonofor*, perceive some likeness of the case of *Sardanapalus*, who, when he was besieged in *Niniveh*, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour (8); though thereupon we have noted, that in his case it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the heedless and romantic historian *Ctesias*.

(S) This successful war of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonofor*, against the *Medes*, is exactly almost what *Ctesias* writes of *Sardanapalus* (10), it is the same story most carelessly told; and this feast is certainly the same *Sardanapalus* is said to have given his victorious army (11).

(T) This is *Sardanapalus* again, or rather *Sardanapalus* is the shadow of this king; who, as we have seen, imagined his city of *Niniveh* could never be taken (12).

(6) See before, p. 262. f. & seq. (7) *I.* i. c. 102. (8) See before, p. 887. (9) *Ibid.* (5) a.  
(10) See before, p. 886. c. (11) *Ibid.* d. (12) *Ibid.* p. 887. a.



a on the whole earth; meaning the nations who had so contemptuously refused to attend him in his war intended against *Media*. He therefore calls together his nobles and officers, with whom he conferred, concerning this matter, in private council, and the result was, *to affix the whole earth out of his own mouth*, and that all flesh should be destroyed that *did not obey the commandment of his mouth*. In consequence of this vain resolution, *Nabuchadonisor* calls for his chief captain *Holofernes*, and gives him in charge, as lord of the whole earth, to take with him 120,000 of his choicest foot, and 12,000 chosen archers on horseback, and with them to invade all the west, for that they had dared to withstand his will and pleasure, and to command them to prepare water and earth for him, against he should, in his wrath, come b against them, and cover the whole earth with the feet of his army, and give them up a prey thereto; threatening, that their slain should fill their vallies and their brooks, and make the river swell over its banks, and that he would lead them away captives to the uttermost parts of the earth: He commanded him to go forth before him and possess himself of all their coasts for him; that, if they submitted to him, he should let them alone for him to punish them in person; but that, if they presumed to make head against him, he should utterly destroy them without favour or distinction; swearing by his own life and the might of his kingdom, that he would, with his own hand, perform what he had so presumptuously vented forth; and warning him, at his peril, not to transgress any of the commands c he had enjoined him, but to execute them with rigour and without delay \* (V).

*Holofernes*, having received his orders to this effect, departed from before *Nabu- He takes the chadonisor*, and calling together all the governors, captains, and officers of the army of *Ajur* [*Affyria*], he selected the numbers, both of horse and foot, the king had commanded; and, attended with asses and camels in great numbers, for the conveyance of necessaries, and goats, sheep, and oxen more than can be said, with plenty of every thing to sustain the army, and gold and silver in great abundance from the king's treasury, he marched off from *Nineveh*; followed, besides his army, by innumerable multitudes from several nations, who like locusts joined him, or like d the sand of the sea; so that, by the help of hyperbole, they may be properly enough said to cover all the face of the earth westward with their chariots, and horsemen, and their chosen footmen \*.

*Holofernes*, in this his march westward, destroyed *Pbud* and *Lud*, spoiled all the children of *Rasses*, and the children of *Ijmael* toward the wilderness, southward of the land of the *Cbellians*. He then crossed the *Euphrates*, and passed through *Mesopotamia*, and destroyed all the high cities upon the river *Arbonai* quite to the sea: He took the borders of *Cilicia*, killed all that resisted him, and came to the borders of *Japhet*, southward, opposite to *Arabia*; and falling upon the children of *Madian* (W), he burnt their tents, and threw down their sheep-cotes. From hence he went to the e plain of *Damascus*, where he arrived at the time of wheat-harvest, burnt up all their fields, destroyed their flocks and herds, ransacked and demolished their cities, quite laid the whole country waste, and slew all the young men with the edge of the sword; which struck such a terror into all the sea-coasts, that *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Azotus*, *Ascalon*, and others trembled and sued for mercy; sending, in all haste, ambassadors

\* Ibid. c. 11. 1. &amp; seq.

\* Ibid. vers. 15. &amp; seq.

(V) It would have been very difficult to account for this insolent degree of fury and revenge in this prince, were it not for the good assistance of *Herodotus*, who tells (13) us, as we have observed before, that the *Medes* were grown to that pitch as to pretend to subdue *Affyria*; which, considering this king as he was, must have been a most violent provocation and must have highly inflamed him, when he found himself so deserted by his tributaries and homagers, who could unconcernedly look on while he was in danger of being subdued by a rebellious nation, who must for many years, ever since the days of *Sennacherib*, have been at greatest enmity with *Affyria*, though probably at the hazard of their own welfare, seeing they might feel the blow that staggered his kingdom. Upon the consideration therefore that they would not assist

him, though to preserve even themselves, he resolves to execute such vengeance, as their ingratitude, as he might call it, and stupidity would well deserve. The vulgate, indeed, seems to explode this solution, by representing *Nabuchadonisor* victorious over the *Medes*, before he called in the nations mentioned; but why he should call them in when his work was done, or how they dared to have disobeyed him, when he had so lately given so extraordinary an instance of his might and power, is more than we can conceive. The *Greek* version and our own is doubtless here to be preferred, though both, in other respects, very faulty.

(W) We forbear to enquire into the particular site of these nations; such of them as we can fix will be found in the proper maps.



to him to treat of peace, who, prostrating themselves before him, acknowledged themselves the servants of the mighty *Nabuchadonosor*, his master, and making a most humble tender of all that in the world belonged to them, to be disposed of by him, as to him should seem best <sup>b</sup>.

UPON this, *Holofernes* drew down towards the sea coast, where he filled the chief cities with garrisons of his own, whence he, at the same time, picked out the choicest men to supply the place of such as he thus detached from his army; and all this tyranny he exercised amidst the joyful acclamations of all the people he thus enthralled, who every where received the *Assyrian* general and his army with garlands and dances, and the sound of timbrels; but this welcome could no where save their frontiers, their groves, or their gods; *Holofernes* having determined to demolish the former, and to destroy all the gods of the land wheresoever he should come, that all nations might worship *Nabuchadonosor* only, and all tongues and tribes call upon him, and upon him only as god (X). And having, without opposition, wrought his pleasure in these parts, he moved off towards the plain of *Esdraelon*, and advancing towards *Judea*, he encamped between *Geba* and *Scythopolis*, where he halted a whole month for the rendezvous of his baggage and scattered parts of his army <sup>c</sup>.

IN this situation he redoubled the alarm he had before given to the inhabitants of *Judea*, who thereupon took what measures they could to obstruct his passage and defend themselves. *Holofernes* indeed intended to deal by them as he had dealt by others, and, we may be sure, was highly exasperated when he heard the *Jews* were resolved upon an obstinate resistance. The news and confirmation of this stirred him up to anger; and convening the chiefs of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and the sea coast, he required them to inform him what nation this was that thus pretended to withstand his progress; and how it was that they alone, of all the people of the west, should presume to stand out against the *Assyrian* power? To this, *Achior* the chief of the sons of *Ammon* gave him a full and impartial answer, and, reciting to him the history of the *Jews* from *Abraham*, assured him upon the whole, that, if they were in favour with their God, it would be in vain for him to think of subduing them; and that it would, in that case, be dangerous for him to hazard his honour against them; but that, if indeed they had committed any great sin against him, they might be as easily reduced as any other nation. This diffident and ambiguous counsel was not only displeasing to *Holofernes*, but raised a tumult among the chiefs of *Phenice* and *Moab*, who were there present, and who would have persuaded him to put *Achior* to death for his insolence, vaunting against the children of *Israel*, and setting them at nought <sup>d</sup>.

WHEN the tumult was ceased, *Holofernes* called out to *Achior*, and treated him as a wretch who had on set purpose prophesied against him, and, blaspheming against God, spoke of *Nabuchadonosor* as above him; he then ordered him out of his presence, dooming him to death with the *Jews*, whom he intended shortly to cut off. Hereupon he ordered his servants to guard him to a strong place belonging to the *Jews*,<sup>e</sup> that he might there wait till his appointed hour was come. *Betbulia* was the place named, and thither he was accordingly carried; an<sup>d</sup>, being got into the city, he informed them of whatever he knew in relation to *Holofernes* and his designs <sup>e</sup>.

*Beseges Betbulia.*

THE next day *Holofernes* ordered, that motion should in general be made to invest *Betbulia*; the vast multitude obeyed and incamped upon a wide extent of ground from *Dotbaim* to *Belmaim*, and from *Betbulia* to *Cyamon*, over-against *Esdraelon*. The day after this, *Holofernes*, at the head of all his horsemen, and in the sight of all the people of *Betbulia*, took a view of the passages to the city, and, seizing upon and setting a guard over their springs of water, returned again to the gross of his army. Upon his return, the chiefs of the *Edomites* advised him not to think of assaulting the besieged, because of their situation, but rather to keep the waters that supplied the city under a strong guard, and so destroy the people by thirst, while he sat quietly in his camp, and saved himself and army the trouble of putting those to death, who must of necessity die for want of water; and so be sufficiently

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. & c. iii.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. c. iv. v.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. c. xii.

(X) He here seems to have assumed beyond any of his predecessors. This may serve as an instance, that the *Assyrians* abolished the religion of the countries where-ever they came, to introduce the worship of their own princes, dead or living; to

keep the nations the more in awe, and the more to exalt the majesty of their own kingdom. This may be added to what we have already observed of the same kind on several passages of the history and practice of this people.

a sufficiently avenged on them for their rebellious behaviour. *Holofernes* approved the advice, and ordered the necessary dispositions to put it effectually in execution <sup>f</sup>.

HAVING continued in this inactive state about 35 days, and waiting the miserable end of the besieged, who, for want of water, were indeed ready to expire; word was brought him of a beautiful and comely woman from *Bethulia*, who was without *Judith* his tent. He was then repoling himself under a rich canopy of purple, gold, emeralds, and other precious stones, and hearing of *Judith*, that was the woman's name, he went out to see her in great state, with silver lamps carried before him. *Judith* fell prostrate on her face before him, and being taken up from the ground, he desired her in the most obliging terms, to cast off all fear, and to be assured of his kind intention towards all those who willingly submitted to the great *Nabuchodonosor*. *Judith* on her side failed not to assure him, that this was the very motive that brought her at his feet, being conscious, as she added, that her rebellious nation were given up by her God as a sacrifice to that great monarch. This and much more she said concerning herself and nation, all which was artfully devised to encourage him in his hopes against the people of *Bethulia*; so that in the end with her words she deceived him, and with her beauty she ensnared his heart. For four days he left her mistress of herself, unattended and unconfined, little dreaming that her actions and behaviour were entirely calculated to deprive him of life. At the end of this term he could refrain no longer, but ordered his chief eunuch *Bagoas*, to persuade her to his bed; which she dissembling a readiness to comply with, *Holofernes* gave himself up to an excess of wine, and being left alone with her, she took her opportunity in the dead of the night, and severed his head from his body, with his own sword, and carried it off with her to the besieged <sup>g</sup> (Y).

THE *Assyrians*, ignorant of what had been transacted in the recesses of their general's tent that night, and perceiving the besieged in motion the next morning, as if they intended an assault, sent notice of it to *Holofernes*, who was found headless in his bed, to the unspeakable surprize of all that beheld or heard of it. At this the *Assyrians* lost all courage, and, seized with a panic, betook them to the most precipitate flight, as if in the tragical end of their general they foresaw their down. They left all their treasure and baggage behind them, and were pursued with a great slaughter to *Chobai* <sup>h</sup>.

Thus ended this insolent expedition; but whether exactly after this manner we dare not affirm; but that it was unfortunate, and highly, so may be plainly inferred from what in a few years after followed, meaning no less than the fall of the *Assyrian* empire. What farther relates to this emperor we are at a loss to know, except that we are told he was succeeded by a king called

*Sarab.*

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. c. vi. vii.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. c. viii. ix, x, xi, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. c. xv.

(Y) This story may meet with very little credit, and indeed we should be far from thinking it authentic in every part, especially considering that the author of it does plainly own himself to have lived at some distance from it; it may be clearly inferred from what he says of *Belshazzar's* long continuance in the commonwealth of *Babylonia*, and of the peace they enjoyed a long time after her death <sup>†</sup>, were it not so directly contradicted to us by *Hoseditas*, as well as by *Ctesias* and all his followers, as we have observed in some parallel places. The heroine herself, *Judith*, may indeed be a fictitious character, calculated more for example than any thing else, and visibly meant to inculcate an heroic love of our country and readiness to sacrifice ourselves in its defence; or it may have been meant as a compliment to the *Jews*, by representing them to have had the honour of a share in pulling down the proud towers of *Nineveh*. Whatever may have been intended by what is told of *Judith* herself the substance of the book in other respects is undoubtedly true, as may be made to appear not only by the concurrence of the authors we have mentioned, but also by the time it was wrote in, which it is perfectly consistent with.

One of the greatest difficulties to be surmounted, in the vindicating of this *Apocryphal* book, is, that, throughout the whole, there is no mention made of a king in the land; whereupon *Prideaux* (14) observes, that if we could put this history so far back as the minority of *Manasseh*, it would be a most important point gained; for that then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king; but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom in the transacting of the whole affair. To put this history so far back as he would have it, he confesses impossible, but we have proved, that if the years of the reign of *Manasseh* and his son *Amon* are right, and if *Ptolemy's* canon is to be depended on, this story may stand most naturally in the first years of *Josiah*, who was a minor of but eight years of age; so that, according to him, it is no wonder there is no mention made of so very young a king throughout this whole book of *Judith*. Those, who would know more of this, may consult the same learned author who has professedly treated on this subject (15), which is somewhat foreign to our design, and would besides draw us into too great a length.

<sup>†</sup> *Vid.* Jud. xiv. 10. xvi. ult.  
(15) *Ibid.*

(14) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part. 1. p. 41. 8vo.*

*Sarac* (Z), who committing his forces in *Chaldea* to *Nabopallassar*<sup>i</sup>, he rebelled against him, and seized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself (A), and in that kingdom therefore may be said to have been the immediate successor of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor* (B), as he stands in the canon of *Ptolemy*. The two revolted kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* conspired together against the emperor at *Niniveh*, entered into alliances with each other, *Nabopallassar* particularly sending to *Astyages* the *Mede*, to demand his daughter *Amyle*, or *Arote*, in marriage for his son *Nebuchadnezzar*<sup>k</sup>, (C). The families, thus united, make war upon *Sarac*, who, dreading the calamities ready to befall him, waited not for the event, but burnt his palace, and himself<sup>l</sup>, and may, with greater probability, have been the *Sardanapalus* talked of by prophane historians (D). Thus fell the empire of *Assyria*, or in some such manner, (E).

<sup>i</sup> POLYHIST. apud SYNCCELL. Chron. p. 210.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, apud eand. ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, ibid.

(Z) This name may have been contracted from *Sarchodon*, as this was from *Afferbadon*, *Afferbadon-pul*, or *Sardanapalus* (16). Here we seemingly see then whence we are to derive the two *Sardanapalus*'s in profane authors (17), and particularly those in *Suidas* (18) distinguished, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate creature (19). The great *Afferbadon* (20) was the former, and this king, who according to our supposition must have been the second of the name, was the latter.

(A) This *Nabopallassar* was confessedly an *Assyrian* by his name, which must have been derived from *Nebopul-assur*, and sufficiently declares the nation he was of, but is further confirmed by *Polyhistor* (21), who calls him, upon what authority we cannot conceive, *Sardanapalus*. So that according to this there must have been two *Sardanapalus*'s existing together, the one rising into prosperity, the other falling into the pit of adversity. From some such notion it must have been that we read also of another city of *Niniveh*, to which the unfortunate *Sardanapalus* went in his distress (22). But he was then actually blocked up in his capital, by the united force of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and this man, according to our historian (23), was the *Babylonian* that actually joined with the *Medes* to destroy *Niniveh*; so that there is no manner of congruity in the two facts as related. The apparent truth of this man's accession to the throne of *Babylon* seems to have been this; as he was confessedly an *Assyrian*, he may have laid claim to the throne of *Babylon* in right of succession, as of the younger branch of the *Assyrians* descended from the great *Nabonassar*, who seems to have had the kingdom of *Babylon* allotted to him by his father, or grandfather, *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* conqueror, while he left *Assyria* to his eldest son. He may, it is likely, have made this claim, and the seemingly unfortunate end of the reign of *Chyniladan* (24) may, upon the death of that emperor, and the unsettled state he must have left things in, have tempted him to seize on *Babylon* immediately for himself, and in his own right; which, it is probable, he had never dared to attempt before. Hence it must seemingly have been that we have no mention of *Sarac*, or whatever else he may have been called, in *Ptolemy*'s canon.

(B) The note above makes this sufficiently appear, and what we have there already said seems to have been really the case. The *Medes* were at open war with the *Assyrians* (25), the rest of the nations were partly ready to shake off the yoke which had been re-imposed on them by *Chyniladan* (26), if they

did not really shake it off upon the defeat of his army under *Hobfernes* (27); and partly in an actual state of independence, having shaken off the yoke even in the days of *Afferbadon*, and perhaps before (28); and this seizure on *Babylon* must have been such a blow to the *Assyrian* monarchy as it never after could recover; and when the two potent and enterprising kings of the *Medes* and of the *Babylonians* came to unite their forces together, it is no wonder the *Assyrian*, who was deserted on all hands, could not long withstand such a conjunction, and immediately began to dwindle till he became quite extinct, and afterwards obliterated.

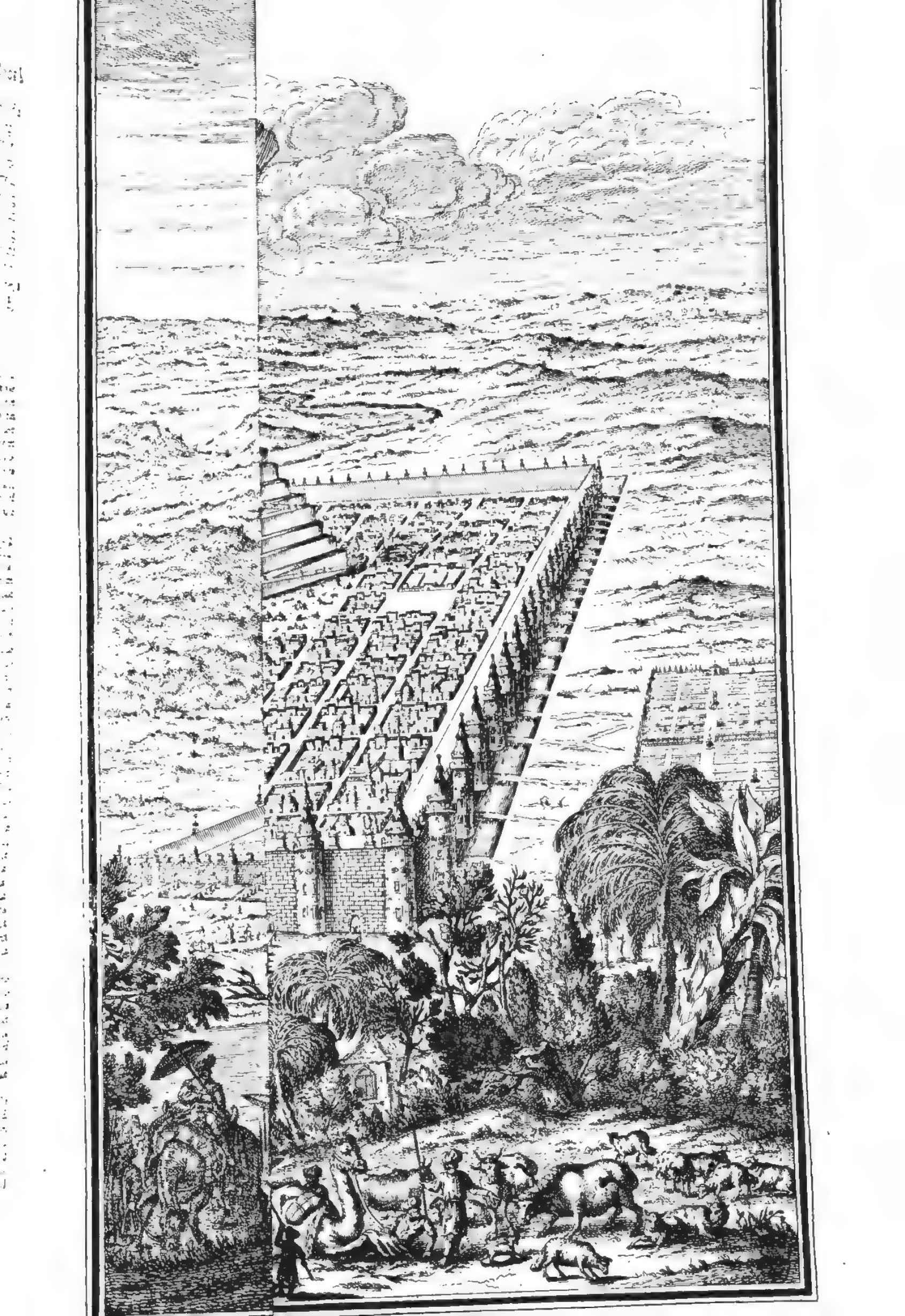
(C) Here we see the new prince of *Babylon* making the most effectual court to the king of the *Medes*, and contracting the most intimate of alliances with him, for their mutual support. These two are then the *Belshazzar* and *Arbaces* of *Ctesias* (29) under different names; but more rationally employed towards the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. We see them here contracting with each other as considerable princes, who could no longer brook subjection, rather than as two obscure revolters and conspirators, secretly combining together at *Niniveh*. It is to our purpose that *Polyhistor* (30) calls this *Babylonian*, *Nabopallassar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, the first *Babylonian* monarch that makes his appearance in scripture, which so exactly agrees with it throughout the whole system of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* history, as there recorded, as to settle the rise of the *Babylonian* empire, and pretty nearly also the fall of the *Assyrian*, beyond any possibility of dispute. Nor can *Ctesias*'s *Belshazzar* (31) have been any other than this *Nabopallassar*, and the rather as *Polyhistor* (32) says, he was no more than governor of *Chaldea* or *Babylon*, while he calls *Astyages* the *Mede*, his friend, the satrapa or lord of *Media*, and thereby makes the distinction of superiority between them which *Ctesias* asserts; so that, in the main, *Ctesias* may be said to agree with this author, and to have had his accounts imperfectly delivered to him, if he did not indeed make it his choice to imbelish this part of his *Assyrian* history, as well as the rest, with the glaring tinsel of romance.

(D) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of *Cyaxares*, the son of *Phraortes* (33), who was determined to avenge the death of his father *Phraortes* (34), who must have been the same with the *Astyages* of *Polyhistor* (35), and the displaced of the *Apurpala* (36). Or perhaps the excess of his

page

(16) Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 293. See before in the notes, p. 895. (17) See before in the notes, p. 885, 886. (18) Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος. (19) See before in the notes, p. 887.

(20) See before, p. 895. (21) Apud SYNCCELL. Chronogr. p. 210. (22) See before in the notes, p. 287. (23) ALEXAND. POLYHIST. apud SYNCCELL. ubi sup. (24) See before, p. 901. (25) HERODOT. l. 1. c. 102. (26) See before, p. 900. (27) Ibid. 901. (28) See before in the notes, p. 895. (29) See before, p. 885. (30) Apud SYNCCELL. ubi sup. (31) See before, ubi sup. (32) Apud SYNCCELL. ubi sup. (33) HERODOT. l. 1. c. 102. (34) Idem, ibid. (35) Apud SYNCCELL. ubi sup. (36) JUDITH c. 1. ver. 5.





a (E) whilst the *Medes* and *Babylonians* triumphed over its ruins (F), pursuant to the prophets (G): . . . *Wo to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger . . . I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he saith, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and rebbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people:*

pride was such that he could not bear the thoughts of captivity or deprivation, but chose rather to undergo the most cruel of deaths, even that of burning himself. It is observed (37) to be very extraordinary, that so many have voluntarily undergone this most exquisite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life so many other ways. In the case of those who have burned themselves merely to put an end to their days, without any sort of constraint, after the manner of the *Indians*, religion or superstition may be urged in their behalf, than which, nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But in the case of *Sardanapalus* and others, who may have dreaded the severe confinement of a prison, or some more dreadful death, by the hand of a remorseless enemy; it is no such great wonder that they should take the most effectual way to destroy both themselves and every valuable thing they had, that the enemy might not quench the thirst of his rage with their blood, or enrich himself with their spoils. The motive to this, in those that have suffered it, may be ascribed to the highest sort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to disappoint the enemy, and make him, what he might call, a sufferer even by their destruction.

(E) We have made it our business in several preceding notes in this section, and in some at the latter end of the former, to shew that there are two *Sardanapalus's* in the profane writers, and that these two can have been no other than the great *Afferbadon* and this last king of *Assyria* (38), who may have been the second of the name, as the contraction of his name, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The profane accounts, as we have seen, represent the one to have been a great and magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as *Tarsus* and *Anchiale*, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed (39); the other a sluggard, who perished in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasures (40). The former then must have been the great *Afferbadon*, or *Sardan-pul*, of scripture, and the latter must have been this obscure prince *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardou-pul*; for that the empire did not fall under the former is most evident, and that it fell under the latter is almost as plain, by the obscurity of what is related concerning him. For by *Herodotus* (41) it is clear, it had dwindled away apace after the death of the great *Afferbadon*, and languished greatly under the inactive reign of *Sasoduchinus*, who gave the turbulent *Medes* an opportunity of recollecting that strength that may have been impaired by the successes of his fortunate predecessor, who was certainly the greatest of all the *Assyrian* monarchs; inasmuch that *Chyniladan*, who succeeded *Sasoduchinus*, with all his resolution and valour had much ado to curb them (42); but he dying under some misfortune, as should seem by his history, and his successor *Sarac* perhaps proving to be an effeminate and slothful man, the *Assyrian* throne sunk still deeper than it had ever been, and those, who had professed

obedience to it hitherto, began to desert it and to conspire against it. Whilst therefore it was under this threatening cloud, or, perhaps, just on the brink of utter ruin, it is no wonder we have no certain notice of what particularly befel it at its final dissolution; and the rather, as all these parts were at the same time disturbed by a violent irruption of the *Sythians*, who kept things in suspense, or rather in subjection to them during 28 years, during which time the *Assyrians* at *Niniveh* must have grown less and less considerable, or have been but gasping till the fatal blow was given. Hence it is that we know so little of *Sarac*, the last king of *Niniveh*, and the exact time of the fall of this empire.

(F) After this manner it certainly came to destruction, for besides what *Ctesias* (43) writes, and *Polybistor* (44), even *Herodotus* (45) intimates that it was subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; by saying, that the *Medes* conquered all *Assyria*, excepting a part of the province of *Babylonia*. Whereby he seems to understand, that the *Babylonian* was a dependant on the *Mede*, though he did not deserve the honour of being accounted his ally and confederate, as if the *Mede* would have been powerful enough of himself, without such assistance as the *Babylonian* could afford him. In this he tacitly agrees both with *Ctesias* and *Polybistor*; for the former represents the *Babylonian* rather as a client than an assistant to the *Mede* (46); and the latter tells us, the *Babylonian* had no sooner seized on his portion than he applied to the *Mede* for protection, and, to secure himself and dependants in his new possessions, sued to him for a marriage between the families (47); and that there was this difference of rank between them, may be pretty clearly understood by a prophecy in *Isaiah*, which we shall not fail to take notice of presently. Upon the whole, though *Ctesias* is to be condemned for having made a romance of the *Assyrian* affairs, and for the many inconsistencies and falsehoods he has interspersed throughout the whole, it is plain he must have had some true kind of information concerning the fall of this monarchy. We have already seen some passages in him parallel with others in the book of *Judith*, as forerunning the subversion of this empire (48); though he has misapplied his facts to *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonisor*, the last king but one, instead of *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus*, the last king of all.

(G) The exact time of this great event may perhaps be settled pretty nearly. If *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonisor*, died in the sixth year of *Josiah*, as we have as good as proved (49), it must follow, that the same *Josiah*, being slain by *Pharaoh Necho*, king of *Egypt*, when there was a king of *Assyria* still in being (50), that kingdom continued many years after the death of *Chyniladan*; for *Josiah* reigned 31 years (51), the last of which may coincide with the fourth year of *Nabopolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, so that his father *Nabopallassar*, who immediately seized upon the kingdom of *Babylon* upon the decease of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonisor*, did not live to see the destruction of *Niniveh*, which may have

flood

(37) IS. CASAUB. in not. ad ATHEN. l. 12. c. 7. (38) See before in the notes, p. 901. (39) ATHEN. *Deipn.* l. 12. p. 529. (40) See before, p. 887. (41) l. 1. c. 102. (42) See before, p. 899. (43) *Ibid.* p. 887. (44) Apud SYNC. ubi sup. (45) Ubi sup. (46) See before, p. 885. (47) Apud SYNC. *Chronogr.* p. 210. (48) See before in the notes, p. 899. 900. (49) *Ibid.* (50) See before, p. 267. (51) *Ibid.* p. 841.



people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, *haze* I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the ax boast itself against him that bewrith therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or as if the staff should lift up itself as if it were no wood. Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, send among his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire (H). And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his holy One for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briars in one day; and shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body; and they shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them<sup>m</sup>. . . . I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders<sup>n</sup>. . . . Through the voice of the Lord shall the Assyrian be beaten down which smote with a rod<sup>p</sup>. . . . Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man; and the sword not of a mean man shall devour him (I): but he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be discomfited. And he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear (K), and his princes shall be afraid of the ensign, saith the Lord, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem<sup>p</sup>. . . . Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and a shadowing bround, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, because of the multitude of his waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not bide him: The fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chestnut-trees were not like his branches; not any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, envied him. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: he shall surely deal with him, I have driven

<sup>m</sup> Isa. x. 5. ——— 20.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, xiv. 25.

<sup>p</sup> Idem, xxx. 31.

<sup>p</sup> Idem, xxvi. 8, 9.

flood some years after his death. Now that it came to pass, that *Ninveh* stood so long after the combination of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* against it, was owing to a stop put to their designs by an irruption of the *Scythians* (52), who can have been no other than the *Bactrians* mentioned before (53), to have come upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, while they were besieging that city. These *Scythians* held dominion over *Asia*, as it is called (54), for the space of 28 years; during which the confederates were so far from being able to act against the king of *Assyria*, that they must have been under considerable constraint and tribute, as well as the other kings and princes in these parts. The *Scythians* then were lords in these parts about six or seven years after the death of *Nabopolassar*, and the work of destroying the kingdom of *Assyria* could not be completed till the *Scythians* had been driven out of this part of *Asia*, which happened at the expiration of the term of 28 years, above-mentioned. They then proceeded against *Ninveh*, and destroyed it about the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah*; but whether in the second, third, or fourth year of his reign, we shall leave the reader to determine; but it is certain, almost to a demonstration, that in one of those years *Ninveh* received its final overthrow.

(13) There may be those who may imagine these words to be predictive of the manner of *Sardanapalus*'s death, as related by propiatic authors (55).

(1) These two, the one not a mighty man, the other not a mean man, seem plainly to allude to the mighty *M.D.*, and the dependant *Babylonian*, as we have distinguished them a note or two above; so that this prophecy seems very naturally applicable to the two men that destroyed the kingdom of *Assyria*, as they are represented by the bulk of authors.

(K) We cannot help doing *Ctesias* the justice of observing, 'That this flight from the sword, this discomfiture of the young men, and this retreat to the strong hold for fear, seem exactly to quadrate with the circumstances he relates concerning the latter end of *Sardanapalus* (56). The flight for fear may allude to his flight when surprised in his camp (57); the discomfiture of his young men, to the slaughter of his army under *Sabonarus* (58); and his passing over to his strong hold, to his betaking himself to his city of *Ninveh* (59). We leave this matter to the reader's fancy or determination, and have taken notice of it chiefly to shew that it is not from any prejudice conceived particularly against *Ctesias*, that we have laboured so much against him, or because we are fond of erecting or sustaining an hypothesis; and that we should have been as ready to have followed him as any other, could we safely have done it. In a word, he meant no *Assyrian* monarchy but that in scripture, which was either strangely distorted for him, or he must have studiously and most unparadonably have disguised it himself.

(52) HERODOT. l. i. c. 103.

(53) p. 886.

(54) Vid HERODOT. ubi sup.

(55) See before, p.

887.

(56) See before, ibid.

(57) See before, p. 886.

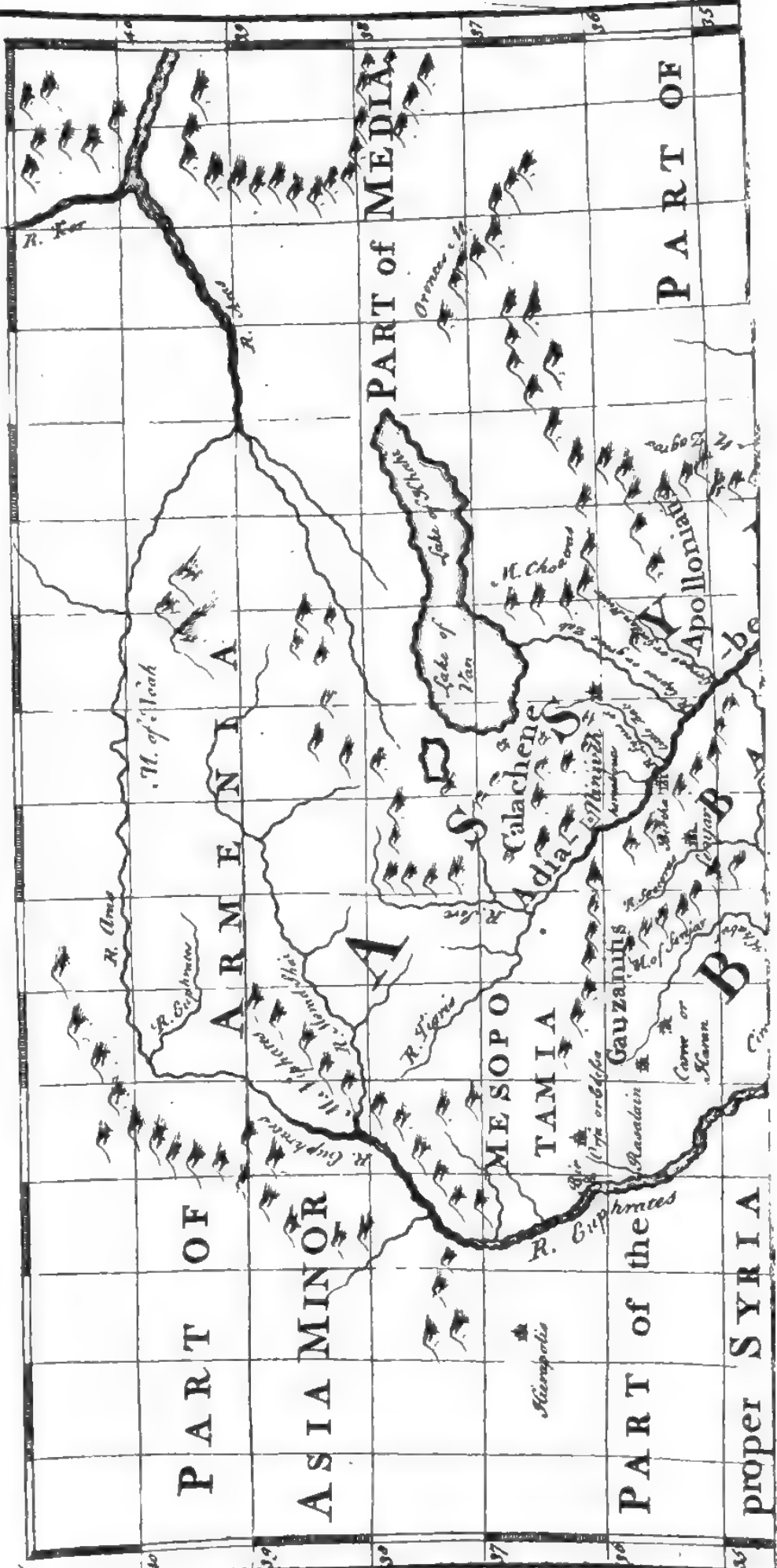
(58) Ibid.

(59) Ibid.

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Plate 15 Vol. 1.

# A MAP of ASSYRIA & BABYLONIA according to this History



- a driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the vallies his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered unto death, to the nether parts of the earth in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit. Thus saith the Lord God, In the day when he went down to the grave, I caused a mourning, I covered
- b the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed; and I caused Lebanon to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall; when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water, shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. They also went down into hell with him unto them that be slain with the sword, and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his shadow in the beaten<sup>9</sup>. . . . Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria, thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. There is no healing of thy bruise: thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee, shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom
- c hath not thy wickedness past continually? Such was the great empire of Assyria, such her glory, as to be accounted, even by God himself, the first and supreme of nations, and such her fearful fall. Nor is all this meant of any other than the monarchy founded by *Pul*, who first began to afflict *Israel* and *Judah*, and the neighbouring nations; and whose successors were the first that attempted to extirpate the great nations on this side of the *Euphrates*, who extended their dominion over all lands, and who fell to nought in the person of *Sarac Asserbaddon II.* or *Sardanapalus*<sup>1</sup>; so that *Assyria* being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long since destroyed; falsehood has been invented and propagated to preserve her the honour which truth was not able to pay her, and concerning which we should have had
- d next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain assistance of scripture and the inestimable concurrence of *Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon*.

## C H A P. IX.

## The History of the BABYLONIANS.

## S E C T. I.

## The Description of the Country of BABYLON, or CHALDEA.

- e WE have already made some considerable progress towards the geography of this kingdom, and particularly with regard to the times immediately succeeding the deluge<sup>1</sup>. Its most antient name was *Senjâr*, *Sbinar*, *Sennaar*, *Singara*, and the like<sup>2</sup>, but whether or no it extended to what has been since known more peculiarly for the dominions of *Babylon*, we have already declared<sup>3</sup> we know not; nor is it possible to raise it to any great degree of satisfaction, though there is some reason to think it did, because it is used to denote this whole kingdom when in the meridian of power<sup>4</sup>. *Babylon* is a name universally supposed to have been borrowed from that of the tower and city of *Babel*; and *Chaldea* from the *Chaldeans* or *Chasdim*<sup>5</sup>.
- f THESE two last names sometimes extend themselves over the whole territory, being indifferently taken for each other; but are sometimes limited to certain parts of

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxxi. 3, 17.<sup>2</sup> Nahum iii. 18, 19.<sup>3</sup> See before in the notes, p. 902.<sup>4</sup> See

before, particularly in the notes, p. 123, 142.

<sup>5</sup> See before, p. 122, 142.<sup>6</sup> See before, in

the places of the two foregoing citations.

<sup>7</sup> Dan. i. 2.<sup>8</sup> See before, p. 163.

of it, *Babylon* being used for the parts between the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and <sup>a</sup> the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city itself of *Babylon*; and *Chaldea* for the parts more immediately conterminous with *Arabia*, and stretching south-eastward to the shore of the *Persian* gulf. These two great names were also used in distinction of each other upon another account, which is foreign to our present purpose; and finally, they were both sometimes swallowed up by that of *Assyria* <sup>7</sup>.

## Divisions.

By this means this kingdom came to be divided into two principal parts, together, it is likely, making up a considerable extent, and including a very great portion of *Mesopotamia*, and a good and valuable tract of what may be properly enough called *Arabia*; whence it may be distinguished into the *Mesopotamian* and the <sup>b</sup> *Arabian*.

## Extent uncertain.

## Situation and boundaries.

How far this country extended northward is past our determination, but for its limits westward, southward, and eastward, we cannot be very much at a loss, seeing it was to the eastward bounded by the *Tigris*, which divided it from *Assyria*; to the southward, by the conflux of the two rivers and the *Persian* gulf, and to the westward by the *Desart Arabia*; to the northward it must have been bounded by some part of *Mesopotamia*, but by what part of it we shall never be able to tell, till we know how far they incoached upon each other, and were considered as distinct countries. Hence it is sometimes a practice with geographers to treat of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* at the same time, and once for all <sup>c</sup>, as being properly one and the same country.

This ample region may very naturally suit with the majesty of the *Babylonian* kings; but the name must certainly have prevailed, in ancient days, beyond its proper limits (L); and that it did not become even more universal, must have been owing to its being second to the *Assyrian*, which had rooted itself firmly over all the kingdoms about, and for which the *Babylonians* must have had too much veneration to attempt to change it, seeing it may have been by them deemed their greatest glory that they were of *Assyrian* origin themselves, as will be seen hereafter. But it is certain, that the proper *Babylon*, in later times, was confined to the very southernmost parts of *Mesopotamia*, which our maps sometimes represent as a peninsula, or rather, as it is, a cluster of islands; this small territory, together with the proper *Chaldea* already mentioned, is now described for this country, which, in ancient days, obtained as far to the northward, as should seem, as *Senjâr* <sup>d</sup> at least.

## Climate and fertility.

This country, lying within the fifth north climate, enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though at certain seasons of the year no air can be

<sup>7</sup> STRABO, l. 16. p. 736. HERODOT. &c. &c. &c. c. 16. p. 451.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. CELLAR. Notit. Orb. Antiq. Vol. II.

(L) The limits of the *Babylonian* empire were much the same with those of the *Assyrian* empire after the revolt of the *Medes*, and hence the *Babylonian* name was almost as widely extended as the *Assyrian*, and indeed they are frequently used the one for the other, though this latter seems the most generally to have had the ascendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, in some respects, superior to the former. "Herodotus saith, That *Nebuchadnezzar* held *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*; and *Strabo* adds *Arbela* to the territories of *Babylon*; and tells us, that *Babylon* was antiently the metropolis of *Assyria*. He thus describes the limits of the *Assyrian* empire, [or more properly the *Babylonian*]. *Contiguous*, saith he, [l. 16.] to *Persia* and *Susiana* are the *Assyrians*; for so they call *Babylonia*, and the greatest part of the region about it; part of which is *Atturia*, *ubersin* *Ninus*, [or *Niniveh*] and *Appolloniatis*, and the *Elymans*, and the *Paratace*, and *Chalonitis* by the mountain *Zagrus*, and the fields near *Ninus*, and *Dolomene*, and *Chalachene*, and *Chazene*, and *Adiabene*, and the nations of *Mesopotamia* near the *Gordyzans*, and the *Mygdones* about *Nisibis*, unto *Zeugma* upon *Euphrates*; and a large region on this side the

*Euphrates*, inhabited by the *Arabians* and *Syrians*, properly so called, as far as *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia* and *Libya*, and the sea of *Egypt*, and the *Sinus Ificus*:" And a little after, describing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he "bounds it on the north, with the *Armenians* and *Medes*, unto the mountain *Zagrus*; on the east side, with *Susa*, and *Elymais* and *Paratacene*, inclusively; on the south with the *Persian* gulf, and *Chaldea*; and on the west, with the *Arabes* *Scenite* as far as *Adiabene* and *Gordyene*:" Afterwards, speaking of *Susiana* and *Sittacene*, a region between *Babylon* and *Susa*, and of *Paratacene* and *Cossea*, and *Elymais*, and of the *Sagapeni* and *Sihceni*, two little adjoining provinces; he concludes, [l. 16. p. 745.] "And these are the nations which inhabit *Babylonia* eastward: to the north are *Media* and *Armenia*, exclusively, and westward are *Adiabene* and *Mesopotamia*, inclusively: the greatest part of *Adiabene* is plain, the same being part of *Babylonia*: in some places it borders on *Armenia*; for the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians* warred frequently on one another (60)." We here see *Assyria* and *Babylonia* most remarkably confounded together, not only as the same empire, but as the same country.

(60) Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 324, 325.

a be possibly more dangerous to breathe in. The heats are so extraordinary here that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water \*, nor could bear to live without this pernicious practice, which still continues, as every body that has been in these parts very well knows; and at certain seasons they are commonly plagued with dreadful pestilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers, and which we shall be more particular about in the geography of *Persia*. It seldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; so that the inhabitants in the northernmost parts of this country, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, when the convenience of waters will allow them to do it; and especially along the banks of the *Euphrates*, where their engines and  
 b wheels are so frequent, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of the river†. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year‡; nay, it has been sometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants, reckon that, if it does but rain twice or thrice in the year, it is enough for their purpose§: this is remarked by *Herodotus*¶, who says, that in the land of the *Assyrians* it seldom rained; and that though the country was quite like *Egypt*, its fertility was not caused by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for the refreshment and fecundation of this country, though, however, the same sort of labour is necessary even in *Egypt*‡. The  
 c soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the industry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on the face of the earth. We have seen it compared to *Egypt*, as above, and the southernmost parts of it between the rivers may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being, like that, made up of endless islands, some formed by nature, and some formed by art, and is besides almost under the same parallel of latitude. Nor is the other part of it, *Chaldea* properly so called, between the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Babylon*, as they are commonly termed, much less watered by rivers and canals conducted from the *Euphrates*, and large reservoirs or lakes seemingly borrowed from the same river. And hence it is that \* *Herodotus*  
 d compares this country with *Egypt*, and hence, together with the excellence of its soil, it was so fruitful, that the same venerable author † imagines it impossible any one should believe what he could say about it, that had not, like himself, been an eye-witness of the same; though he ventures to assert, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of *Asia*, that is, of the *Persian* empire, and that, when it exceeded even itself, it would yield 300 fold, but 200 most commonly.

BEING a country of such plenty of waters, and being for the most part low and flat, it may chiefly, of trees, have abounded with the willow, whence it came to be called *The Valley of Willows*, as *Prideaux* \* among others, after *Bochart*, rightly enough  
 e renders the text †. The palm also flourished naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind, as we understand our author ‡, which afforded them, as he expresses himself §, meat, and wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig were what this otherwise happy country could not boast of ¶, no more than her sister *Egypt*. But for grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the sesame shot up here to the size of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were usually four good fingers broad †. The sesame afforded them oil instead of the olive, and the palm afforded them wine instead of the grape ‡. In short, for vegetable productions it may be justly compared with *Egypt*; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already said about that country \*.

f ALL this fertility must have been greatly owing to the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which were wont in the months of *June*, *July* and *August*, to overflow  
 Rivers, canals, &c. their banks, and lay this country under water; the snow in those months melting away in great quantities from the mountains of *Armenia*. But, this being found detrimental and destructive to the inhabitants, these inundations were guarded against by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were distributed and abated,

\* PLUTAR. Sympos. l. 3. p. 640. † See LEON. RAUWOLF'S Travels into the Eastern Country, part 2. c. 6. p. 160. ‡ Vid. PURCH. Pilgr. vol. 1. c. 12. p. 62. § RAUWOLF ubi sup. p. 152.

¶ I. 1. c. 193. Vid. & STRAB. l. 15. p. 692. \* See before, p. 179. † Ubi sup.

‡ Ibidem. § Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book 2. p. 105. in 8vo.

¶ ISAI. xv. 7. compar'd with Ps. cxxxvii. 2. † HERODOT. ubi sup. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

\* Idem ibid. † See before, p. 182.



abated, the country in general benefited, and an easy communication effected between the inhabitants. Some of these canals were so large as to be navigable in the winter months<sup>p</sup>, but the chief of them all seems to have been the *Nabar-Maleka*, or *Royal River*<sup>q</sup>. Concerning this, and the rest of its kind, we must always be a good deal in the dark; for till of late years we have known next to nothing of the face of this country, from the experience of our own travellers, or the assistance of the eastern geographers, without which it is next to impossible to fix any thing certain about it in the ancient western geographers. Nor have we as yet, it is to be feared, sufficient instructions with regard to the particulars of this intricate country, which can never be properly delineated but by an actual and accurate survey, which is what we have no ground so much as to hope for. We shall therefore only observe, that the *Nabar-Maleka*, which, as it is represented by the antients, must have been a vast work, is not now easily distinguishable from the other branches and canals of this country. There is some difficulty to make the ancient geographers, in this particular, consistent with the best of our present maps, nor are the same geographers in this case very consistent with themselves; so that in a point of this obscurity we shall be as brief as possible, despairing, with all the lights and assistances we have, to be able to fix this *Royal River* quite to the satisfaction either of the reader or of ourselves. The *Nabar-Maleka* is then by some<sup>r</sup> supposed to have been the same with the river of *Cútba*, now called *Couti*, or *Cúti*, which seems to have been an artificial branch conducted from the *Euphrates* into the inland of *Arabia*, where it falls into some lakes or waters, called the lake of *Rabema*, or *Al Bateyeh*, in *De Lisle's* maps, and must have been, together with some overflowed lands farther eastward in the proper *Chaldea*, the *Paludes Babylonice* of the antients. This river is said to have been dug by *Cútba*, or *Cush*, king of *Babel*, but it is more usually by the oriental writers attributed to his son *Nimrod*<sup>s</sup>. This *Nabar-Maleka* is called a branch of the *Euphrates*, and is said to have emptied itself into the lakes, and upon the overflowed lands, to have divided the country, and to have washed the towns of *Irúk*, and is said to have been the same called the river *Súd*, the river of the *Black Country*, or of the *Black Towns*<sup>t</sup>. By this it should have been no more than a branch of the *Euphrates*, by labour and art conducted into the inland of *Arabia*. The river of *Nebardea*, or *River of Knowledge* (supposed to be the same with the *Naarda* of *Ptolemy*, and to have run not above 20 miles above *Sora*, or at least the city itself of *Nebardea*, once a famous university belonging to the *Jews*) is said to have been no farther distant from *Sora*, and to have been seated on the eastern banks of the *Euphrates*, and to have been many miles above the place from whence the *Royal River*, or *Nabar-Maleka*, was derived on the opposite shore, by which it is to be concluded that it ran westward or southward of the *Euphrates*, and consequently that it could not possibly have had any communication with the *Tigris*, whereas by all the antients we understand that it was a very large canal, navigable by ships, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and that it was cut for that very purpose. It seems very plain from *Ptolemy*, that it did not only communicate with the two rivers, but also discharged itself into the above-mentioned *Paludes*, or standing waters and overflowed grounds; and moreover that it was derived more properly from the *Tigris*, that it washed the walls of *Babylon*, or at least ran not very far from that city, and that thence, mixing with the *Euphrates*, the canal was immediately continued away to the *Paludes*. It is not to be doubted but that this *Nabar-Maleka* was contrived more particularly for the great city of *Babylon*, that so it might have the immediate advantage of both the great rivers at once; and accordingly we have in *De Lisle's* maps a cut or canal represented from the *Tigris* to the *Euphrates*, just by what are now called the ruins of *Babylon*; and exactly in a line with the river of *Cútba*, or *Cúti*, as it is now called and represented, which continues itself to the waters in the inland of *Arabia*; and thus we seem to have the true situation and extent of this river, which must certainly have been the same, and the rather as it is to this day called *Al-Malek*, the *King*, or *Royal*. It is in the same maps represented as imperfect, and as not reaching quite to the *Euphrates*, and therefore, as much as it may have been formerly considered as a branch of the *Euphrates*, it is now most properly a branch of the *Tigris*. It appears then

<sup>p</sup> HERODOT. ubi supr.<sup>q</sup> See before, p. 57<sup>r</sup> AL TABARI in c1p. de Morte Sarz.<sup>s</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>t</sup> Vid. HYDR. & HIST. Relig. Vet. Per'ar. p. 40.

- a then that it is partly choaked up, as it was in the days of *Trajan* <sup>a</sup>, who restored it to its pristine state, after it had been for many ages dug by the great *Nebuchadnezzar* <sup>b</sup>. Thus, by comparing of *Ptolemy* with the best of our modern geographers, it seems that we have in general marked out the canal of the *Nabar Mulka*, which may at first have included no more than the cut between the two rivers, though it came afterwards to be nominally extended to the inclusion of the river of *Cūba*, which in all probability was a distinct work. At some distance to the westward of the *Nabar Mulka* was another river, corruptedly in *Ptolemy* called the *Maar-fares*, for the *Naarfares*, or the *Nabar Sare*, the *Stinking River*; this also he derives from the *Tigris*, and continues to the *Paludes*; but our best maps have no sign of such
- b a river or canal at present in these parts; nor can we thereby fix the place of the *Nehardea* or *Naarda* of *Ptolemy* above, which, though he mentions it as a town only, must by its name have been a river also, and, as we are told, to the westward of the *Nabar Sare* <sup>c</sup>. It may be labour in vain to attempt to trace out these and the other numerous branches and canals which watered the antient country of *Babylon*, though by the best helps we have. Many of them, that have been formerly considerable, may be now no more, and others may have been formed since, that were not in antient days; for a country so prodigiously watered, so low withal, and so subject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two such great rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so neglected as it must for ages past have been, may
- c be fairly concluded to have changed face considerably, and frequently since the time *Ptolemy* flourished; and it must be next to impossible to delineate the exact face of this country, when it was the seat of empire, or when it had strength and riches sufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

THE *Euphrates*, thus branched out and divided, may now claim to be considered separately. The name of this river we have already spoken to <sup>d</sup>, and have now to add, that it takes its rise from the mountains of *Armenia*, and that it continues its course southward, washing the eastern skirts of *Syria*, and south eastward dividing *Arabia* from *Mesopotamia*, till, mixing with its fellow-traveller the *Tigris*, it falls at length into the *Persian* gulf. This considerable river is slow, for the most part, in

d its course <sup>e</sup>, and not very well adapted throughout for navigation, because of some parts of it which are shoal, and some parts of it that are rocky. We are told it is not navigable, for the larger sort of barks, any lower from *Bir* or *Beer* in *Mesopotamia*, than a place called *Roufvaine* <sup>f</sup>, which should be the *Rasaine* in some of *De Lisle's* maps, but that the smaller craft may go down quite to *Bassora*; for beyond this *Roufvaine* it seems there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger vessels <sup>g</sup>. However our author seems here to be doubly mistaken, for *Roufvaine* or *Rasaine* is an inland place, at a distance from the banks of this river; and a judicious traveller <sup>h</sup> who actually went down this river, and seems to have had as great a sense of the dangers of his voyage as any man could well have, makes no mention of rocks

e in this river till he comes down a great way below, to a place he calls *Deer* <sup>i</sup>, and which is considerably beyond *Racka*, or *Racca*, where they were obliged to use the skill and assistance of pilots <sup>j</sup>. At *Bir* in *Mesopotamia*, which was the common place of embarkation from the western parts, this river is compared to the *Thames* at *London*, but was then observed to have been considerably fallen <sup>k</sup>; and indeed the breadth of this river must be very uncertain, and, as the case usually is, depend upon the seasons and the weather. In many places it divides itself into several shallow branches, and forms several islands <sup>l</sup>; in some parts it is broad and shallow, in others, wide and deep, like a little sea <sup>m</sup>, and, upon the whole, is not near so convenient as the *Tigris* <sup>n</sup>. Though the *Euphrates* is, as we

f observed above, moderate in its course, its water is so continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has settled for a time, or been passed through a cloth or a strainer <sup>o</sup>; though, when in proper order, it is justly preferred to any in these parts, and said to be lighter than any other, whence the river is known, with the neighbouring

<sup>a</sup> Vid. AMM. MARCEL. p. 498. <sup>b</sup> MEGASTHEN. EX ABYDEN. apud EUSEB. PRÆPAR. EVANG. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456. <sup>c</sup> Vid. HYDE ubi supr. p. 71. <sup>d</sup> See before, p. 57. <sup>e</sup> RAUWOLF ubi supr. part. 2. c. 1. p. 126. <sup>f</sup> THEVENOT. Voy. au Lev. part 1. c. 9. p. 46. <sup>g</sup> THEVENOT. ibid. <sup>h</sup> RAUWOLF. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. p. 152. <sup>j</sup> Ibid. <sup>k</sup> MAUND. Jour. from Alepp. to the river Euphrat. p. 3. See also THEVENOT. ubi supr. <sup>l</sup> RAUWOLF ubi supr. p. 126. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. & p. 162. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. & THEVENOT. ubi supr. <sup>o</sup> RAUWOLF ubi supr. p. 126.

neighbouring people, by a name which signifies the *water of desire*<sup>1</sup>. The fish of <sup>a</sup> this river is also reported to be excellent in kind, and particular notice is taken of one somewhat like a carp, which sometimes weighs 17 or 18 pounds<sup>m</sup>, which is all that may be necessary to say on this subject.

THE antient way of navigating this river has something very singular and extraordinary in it. The vessels they used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and were no better than great wicker baskets coated over with hides, which they guided along with two oars, or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and would some of them carry a burthen of palm wine, or other merchandise, to the weight of 5000 talents, and, according to their size, had live asses on board of them. Having thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their <sup>b</sup> cargoe, they stripped off their hides, and filling the rest of their vessel, with the straw and whatever else might have served them for the convenience of stowage, and putting their hides upon the back of their asses, they returned by land to the place whence they came, where they wrought up another frame, or basket, to repeat their voyage; it being impossible for them to stem the stream up again by water<sup>n</sup>.

Natural and  
artificial rari-  
ties.

THIS country is more than ordinarily remarkable for the seat of *Paradise*, which is most rationally supposed to have been partly, if not all, within the limits of it<sup>o</sup>; as also for the great plain of *Shinar*, now *Senjar*, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they dispersed them-<sup>c</sup> selves over the face of the earth<sup>p</sup>. The bitumen of this country we have already<sup>q</sup> spoken of at large, as well as of the place where it more remarkably abounded<sup>r</sup>. The ruins of *Babylon*, and what remains of the tower, as supposed, of *Babel*, might here claim a place, had not a more proper one occurred in the former part of this work<sup>s</sup>.

## SECT. II.

### *The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Babylonians.*

Antiquity.

*Babel* is the first kingdom we find erected in scripture, and claims an origin<sup>d</sup> prior to that of *Assur*, though according to the common course of history it must appear after it. *Nimrod* was the founder of it<sup>t</sup>, but for many ages it enlarged not its bounds, and evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the *Assyrians* paved the way to the empire it attained to. Or on the other hand, if it be granted that even under *Nimrod* himself it attained a height of power, nothing seems more natural than to conclude that it in time fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below some of them, and particularly the famous and antient kingdom of *Elam*, or *Persia*; for so early as the days of *Abraham* we meet with a king of *Shinar*, the antient *Babylon*, in the army of *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*<sup>u</sup>, as a vassal, seemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly used,<sup>e</sup> to destroy the boasted antiquity of *Alyria*<sup>w</sup>, may be exhibited here to destroy that of this empire; but not to repeat what we have so fully urged, and which must of course affect this empire, as it confessedly rose upon the ruins of the former; we would only take notice, that scripture knows nothing of any king of *Babylon* from the king of *Shinar* above in the army of *Elam*, till the days of *Berodach Baladan*, who was cotemporary with *Hazekiah*<sup>x</sup>; as also that by the several histories of the nations that precede in this work, it is plain that, no *Babylonian* scepter awed any one of them, till many years after the said *Berodach Baladan*. So that though we confess this to have been the most antient kingdom of the world, we deny it to have reached the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in comparison<sup>f</sup> of what has been vainly boasted, and unwarily believed.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldeans*, however, laid claim to a most enormous antiquity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the *Egyptians*, or any nation else, pretending to have registred the transactions of 150,000 years<sup>y</sup>, according to some,

or

<sup>1</sup> THEVENOT. ubi supr.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 141, 156.

<sup>3</sup> See before, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> 2 KING. XX. 12.

<sup>m</sup> RAUWOLF ubi supr.

<sup>n</sup> See before in the notes, p. 144.

<sup>o</sup> GENES. XIV. 9.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. SYNCHELL. Chronogr.

<sup>q</sup> HERODOT. I. 1. c. 194.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> See before, p. 145, 146.

<sup>t</sup> See before in the preceding chapter *passim*.

a or 473,000 years, according to others \*, reckoning from the time they first began to observe the stars down to the time of *Alexander the Great*, a most monstrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deserve some animadversion (M).

THE government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder *Nimrod* † may be relied on, was in its very infancy tyrannical and despotic; but that it continued so is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived that first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own sort. After him it certainly became on a foot with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the *Assyrians*, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the *Queen of the East*. And as from the former it derived its lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the maxims and practices of its founder; and the rather, as these *Babylonians* themselves were *Assyrians*, descended from *Pul* the great *Assyrian*, who immediately gave rise to both the empires, as will be amply made to appear in the sequel. The government therefore of *Babylon*, like that of *Alyria* ‡, was haughty and despotic, and the scepter, as should seem, hereditary. The whole centered in the person of the king, all decrees issued from his mouth †; and how could it be less, when he affected even deity and divine worship, as the custom was with these princes? And here, by the way, it may be observed, that this political, not to say

\* Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. Hist. l. 2. p. 81.  
 † See DAN. iii. 29. iv. 6.

‡ See before, p. 172.

§ See before, p. 860.

(M) This extravagant and senseless desire of several nations to be the antient, has not only been in good part the destruction of history, but has, to all appearance, also been considerably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have shewn (61), first introduced the forging of record to supply the want of truth: and as antiquity was thought the best method of distinction of a people, when nations, as the *Babylonians*,  *Egyptians*, or others, came to be great and powerful, and to remark how mean a figure their predecessors made, in comparison, but a few years before, if they had any certain tradition about it, and that they had cannot very well be doubted; and to perceive that perhaps some other nation set a great value upon themselves for their antiquity, they were ashamed of their deficiencies, scorned in any degree to be inferior to any other nation under the sun, and so not only ran up their antiquities they knew not whither, but removed some of their eminent princes, who had lived as yesterday, into ages far beyond the day of creation, and made gods of them; in their glory exalting themselves above their fellows, and claiming a right of superiority over them, which perhaps could never have been accounted for but by this method. We have in great measure given a glaring instance of this in the latter *Syrians*, who, as *Josephus* observes of them, celebrated the memory of their kings, *Hadad* and *Huzael*, in his time, and, carrying their statues about in procession, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to set off the gods of their own country; for though they were strangers in *Syria* at first, and introduced to supply the place of the natives, who were carried

away captive, they had then been in the country many ages, and reckoned themselves as the original proprietors; just like the *High* at this day, who, though really descended from colonies of *English* and *Irish*, and not very antient ones neither, disown both their name, and glory in what they find peculiar to that kingdom, true or false; and thus these latter *Syrians*, though they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country, meant by this vaunting of their gods, *Hadad* and *Huzael*, to reflect a dishonour upon the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, whose gods they knew by tradition or history to have been younger; and hence you have *Hadad*, the first of gods (62).

If the want of regular history was not in some measure the support of idolatry, which it certainly must have been, it was doubtless what gave birth to the notion of the world's being eternal. Philosophers, at a loss for the origin of things, and destitute of a guide to direct them thereto, presently grounded themselves upon false principles, and thence proceeded to subtilise themselves into errors without end, and fancies infinitely absurd, which were soon propagated among the studious men in all branches of literature; so that historians and antiquaries, thinking there was room enough to range in, and some of them being more greedy of it than others, though they were all desirous of it, you have by this means the disorder and disagreement among antient authors never to be reconciled to one another, either with respect to affairs at home or abroad. Upon the whole, hence it is you have the variety of accounts given in by nations, one endeavouring to exceed another, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow:

	Years.
<i>Zoroaster</i> lived before <i>Plato's</i> death	6000
Before the <i>Trojan</i> war	5000
<i>Chaldees</i> had accounts of	470000
From the first <i>Chaldean</i> astronomer to <i>Alexander</i>	43000
<i>Sais</i> in <i>Egypt</i> had chronicles of	8000
<i>Athens</i> built before <i>Sais</i>	1000
From <i>Vulkan</i> to <i>Alexander</i>	48863
Kings of <i>Egypt</i> before <i>Amasis</i> , reigned	13000
From <i>Osiris</i> to <i>Alexander</i>	10000
	or 13000
Men reigned in <i>Egypt</i> after the gods	15000

(61) See before, p. 862. (62) See before in the notes, p. 399. (63) LUDOV. VIV. in not. ad August. de Civit. Dei xii. 10. See the Appendix to WHISTON's Essay towards restoring the true text of scripture, p. 233.

say blasphemous, arrogance, was but natural to men who had such wide and unwarrantable views of lording it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed by whom and in what manner they pleased. For, without some such bridle upon the superstitious minds of men, it had been next to impossible to maintain dominion over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence; and no doubt the argument they used of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far than they<sup>c</sup>, carried a conviction with it, which not only served all purposes for the present, but for the future also. And hence it must have been, or upon some such politic views, that great conquerors, b especially those of the east, have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by these first monarchs of the *Assyrian* race, as well on the throne of *Niniveh*, as on that of *Babylon*; and is, as we have said, one of the most effectual means of keeping in subjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who must be a stranger to almost all of them. These proud potentates committed the care of their government to officers of several sorts, civil and military, and accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire<sup>d</sup>; the first had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like; the second took cognizance of thefts, and the third of the rest<sup>e</sup>. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and sheriffs<sup>f</sup>, so that it is plain nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military oeconomy was under strict regulations; as for what relates to religion and superstitious matters, that will fall under another head.

His officers,  
civil and military.

His household.

THIS great King of Kings<sup>g</sup> had a household equal to the sublimity of his station; the chief officers of which seem to have been the captain of his guard<sup>h</sup>, the prince of his eunuchs<sup>i</sup>, and the prime minister<sup>k</sup>, in the nature of the *Turkish* vizier, who more immediately represented the person of his great master. The first of these had the execution of his arbitrary and sanguinary commands<sup>l</sup>; the second had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace<sup>m</sup>; and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it is called<sup>n</sup>, to hear complaints, and to administer justice. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand<sup>o</sup> to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognostication. None were allowed the honour of serving in his presence that was not remarkable for beauty of person<sup>p</sup>, and excellence of parts (N); and his wives and concubines, which were, doubtless, the most exquisite of their sex, seem to have been in very great number<sup>q</sup>.

BUT though these kings seem to have claimed such high honour, and to have placed themselves at such a distance from the greatest even of their officers and subjects, and in short to have considered the whole world as created for their use and service, and to have consulted nothing but their own glory and majesty; yet

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 893. <sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. 16. p. 745. <sup>c</sup> Vid. eund. ibid. <sup>d</sup> DAN. iii. 2, 3.  
<sup>e</sup> DAN. ii. 37. <sup>f</sup> Idem, ibid. ver. 14. <sup>g</sup> Idem, i. 20. <sup>h</sup> Idem, ii. 48, 49. <sup>i</sup> Idem, ibid. 14. <sup>j</sup> Idem, i. 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. <sup>k</sup> Idem, ii. 49. <sup>l</sup> Idem, iv. 9. <sup>m</sup> Idem, i. 4, 10, 20. <sup>n</sup> Idem, v. 2, 3.

(N) This has always been the custom in the eastern countries, and at this day, "The youths that are designed for the great offices of the empire, [in *Turkey*] . . . must be of admirable features, and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, and without any defect of nature; for it is conceived that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce inhabit in a serene and ingenious aspect; and I have observed, not only in the seraglio, but also in the courts of great men, their personal attendants have been of comely lusty youths, well habited, deporting themselves with singular modesty and respect in the presence of their master. So

"that when a pasha, aga, or spahie travels, he is always attended with a comely equipage, followed by flourishing youths, well clothed and mounted, in great numbers, that one may guess at the greatness of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of servants which accompany persons of quality in their journeys; whereas in the parts of *Christendom* where I have travelled, I have not observed (no not in attendance of princes) such ostentation in servants as is amongst the *Turks*, which is the life and ornament of a court (64).

(64) Sir PAUL RICAUT's *Pref. State of the Ottoman Empire*, c. 5. p. 46.

a yet we understand that they would sometimes deign to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read that a thousand of them were at one time entertained by *Belshazzar* \*. The common stile of accosting this mighty sovereign was, *O king, live for ever* †; and the man, who was so happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was clothed in purple or scarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and invested with some high place in the government ‡.

THE laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, must have been quite vague *Laws;* and uncertain; yet there was one which seems to have been irrevocably fixed, and to have been very politically contrived to keep up and increase the number of the inhabitants, it being calculated in such manner, that it was almost impossible for b any man to live single, and designed particularly to encourage the poorer sort to engage themselves in wedlock, which is generally a great burden to them the world over. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage §, but they were to be disposed of by the king or his officers, in the manner we shall relate hereafter.

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been *Punishments;* unfixed, and to have been arbitrary and rigorous to the utmost, and such as might best suit with the degree of rage, which for the time happened to agitate the tyrant's breast. Beheading ¶, and cutting to pieces \*\*, and turning the criminal's house into a dunghill †, and burning in a fiery furnace ‡, are punishments we understand to c have been executed by the order of the kings of *Babylon*.

THE religion and boasted learning of the *Babylonians* are so blended together, *Their religion;* that we hardly know how to separate them into distinct heads; for the *Chaldees*, *Chaldees their* properly so called, were not only their priests, but also their learned men; whose *priests.* whole science seems to have been subservient to the purposes of superstition and insatiation. These *Chaldeans*, as distinguished from the *Babylonians*, were in some sort distinct from the people, and rather more so, than the clergy are from the laity with us. These *Chaldeans* were as much revered in their country, as the *Egyptian* priests were in theirs; and are said to have enjoyed the same rank and degree in the kingdom §. They were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious religion, and pretended to prophecy, and to the gift of prediction by d the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims; and professed the interpretation of dreams, and to explain all the extraordinary accidents and phenomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations, and were thought by their incantments and invocations to affect mankind either with happiness or with misery ¶. Having by their situation been early addicted to celestial observations, they, instead of conceiving as they ought to have done concerning the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by *Noah* and his sons, fell into the impious error of esteeming them e as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in subordination, however, to the Deity who was invisible, but by his works and the effects of his power §. They concluded, then that God had created the stars and great luminaries for the governance of the world, that he had accordingly placed them on high, and made them partakers with him, and substituted them his ministers; and that it was but just and natural they should be praised, and honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they should be magnified, and feared, and worshipped; just as a king desires his servants should be respected in honour of himself ¶.

PERSUADED of this, they began to build temples, or *Sacella*, to the stars, to sacrifice to them, to praise them, and to bow down before them, that through their means f they might obtain the favour and good-will of God §, so that they esteemed them as mediators between God and them. For that there was a necessity for a mediatory office between God and man, is observed ¶ to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning; "Conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, they could not conceive how it was possible  
" for

\* DAN. v. 1.    † Idem, ii. 4. v. 10.    ‡ Idem, v. 7.    § Vid. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 196. & STRAB. l. 16. p. 745.    ¶ DAN. i. 10.    \*\* Idem, ii. 5.    † Idem, ibid.    ‡ Idem, iii. 19.    § DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Hist. l. 2. p. 1.    ¶ Idem, ibid.    † Vid. eund. ibid.    ‡ RAB. MOS. MAIM. in More Nevoch.    § Idem, ibid.    ¶ See PRIDEAUX, and the authors he cites, POCCOK, GOLIUS, HOTTING. HYDE, &c.



“ for them of themselves alone to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and a  
 “ supreme Governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too  
 “ pure, and themselves as too low and polluted for such a converse ; and therefore  
 “ concluded that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make  
 “ any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions  
 “ could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the me-  
 “ diator, whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested  
 “ unto the world, they took upon them to address themselves unto him by  
 “ mediators of their own chusing ; and their notion of the sun, moon, and stars  
 “ being, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which  
 “ animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, b  
 “ and were the causes of all their motions, and that those intelligences were of a  
 “ middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings  
 “ to become the mediators between God and them ; and therefore the planets  
 “ being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on  
 “ to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the  
 “ first place for their *Gods Mediators*, who were to mediate for them with the  
 “ supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed  
 “ for, and accordingly they directed divine worship to them as such ; and here  
 “ began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world \*.” For persuading  
 themselves of this doctrine, they became anxious about the most effectual means of c  
 making their worship acceptable to the several deities, whence they first began to  
 build temples or tabernacles to them, as we have seen, dedicated to their service,  
 and to be as places of abode for them ; but as in matters of this kind there can  
 be no stable form, where there is no immediate revelation, and men actuated either  
 by fear or avarice, or ambition, or aught else, had liberty to pretend to what  
 they knew nothing of ; in process of time impostors arose, and gave out, that they  
 had had it enjoined and commanded them from God himself, That this star or that, or  
 all of them should be worshipped in this or that manner, and represented under  
 this or that form, and that none of any age or degree should be exempt from the  
 worship thereof ; and this they impudently gave out, in a solemn manner, for revela- d  
 tion. Upon this it was that men began to furnish the *Sacella*, tabernacles or temples,  
 with images, and to erect the same under trees, and upon the tops of hills or moun-  
 tains ; and from hence-forward they assembled themselves together to pay them wor-  
 ship, and began to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding from them,  
 and to honour them with the deepest reverence and fear \*. Their priests likewise,  
 sensible of the sweets of the trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be  
 observed by the credulous and deluded multitude †. Other impostors there were who  
 improved upon the first, and pretended to have been honoured with particular instruc-  
 tions from particular stars, concerning the exact mode of the worship due or peculiar to  
 them, and what ought, and what ought not, to be done to please them ; so that, e  
 in process of time, the name of God became obliterated among men, and the most  
 stupid idolatry possessed the whole place of the true religion <sup>h</sup>.

Second stage of  
idolatry.

SUCH was the rise of idolatry and the first steps of its progress, than which,  
 nothing can be more natural to conceive, and such were the original *Sabian* doctrines,  
 which, taking root first among the *Chaldeans*, did afterwards spread their branches  
 so far as to overshadow, at one time, all the nations of the east with their profane  
 obscurity. For it must be difficult to conceive how men could have been deceived  
 into so gross an absurdity, as to worship wood, stone, or metal, formed and  
 fashioned by their own hands ; if it be not at the same time allowed, that they must  
 have imagined their images to have been, some how or other, animated or informed f  
 with a supernatural power, by some supernatural means. A late author <sup>i</sup> thinks it  
 more natural to suppose, that their loss to know how to address themselves to the  
 planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what first suggested to them  
 the use of images ; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in  
 their tabernacles, or *Sacella*, they directed their worship towards the planet, which  
 they may have thought of none effect, when he was absent and hidden from sight ;  
 and that therefore they thought to supply his absence by a representation : Thus  
 it

\* PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. Part I. Book III. p. 177. in 8vo.  
 • Rab. MOS. MAIMONID. More Nevoch. † Vid. eund. ibid. <sup>h</sup> Idem ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> PRIDEAUX,  
 ubi sup. HOTTINGER Hist. Orient. l. iv. c. 8.

a it may have been, though it may be as natural to suppose, that as their priests observed the stars as their gods, and made them the chief subject of their study, and persuaded themselves that each star or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that those superior beings had revealed their will to them, just as their crazy imaginations, or designing craft, may have suggested to them †.

LET this have been either this way or that way, it is certain that the first image-worshippers did not pretend to pay adoration to the uninformed wood, stone, or metal, and that the *Sabians*, in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, pretended to have infused the virtues of the planet into the image that was meant to represent it; which they thought to effect by forms of consecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the stars their several intelligences into their respective idols; and hence came all the foolery of *Telefins* <sup>k</sup>, or *Talismans*, and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation, all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation.

THAT this was the first origin of image-worship is evident, and that the same was first derived from the heavenly bodies, the most conspicuous and glorious to sight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathen in general, which are *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*; by which we can understand no other than the sun and moon, and the five greatest luminaries next to them <sup>l</sup>.

c THIS was the religion of the *Babylonians*, *Affyrians*, and *Mesopotamians*, even before the days of *Abrabam*; nay, in the days of *Enos*, the son of *Seth* <sup>m</sup>, whose descendants are said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy and astrology <sup>n</sup>; the *Sabians* themselves boasting the origin of their religion from *Seth*, and pretending to have been denominated from a son of his called *Sabius*, as also to have among them what they call the book of *Seth*, written by that same patriarch <sup>o</sup>.

THIS was the state of the old *Babylonian* religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celestial bodies. In this we are apt to think they were not the first, and that the *Syrians*, whose empire was confessedly older than either the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* <sup>p</sup>, shewed them the way, by deifying their great kings,

d *Bonbadad* the second and *Hazaël* <sup>q</sup>. A late learned author <sup>r</sup> is inclined to think, that the first *Sabians* or idolaters, desirous to have all the mediation possible with the supreme God, took it into their heads, that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, and that they deified many of those they thought to be such, and that thus they added to their polytheism: This is allowing much in favour of them, and is reflecting not a little upon the purity of the *Roman* church which teaches the same doctrine, and allows of the same practice; and calls to our mind how frequently *Rome* is supposed to be signified under the type of *Babylon*; and, perhaps, there may not be so wide a difference between some parts of the two religions, as may be generally imagined. But to wave this, as foreign to our purpose, we should rather choose to think that they deified their greatest and most powerful men, and that, however they may have paid the same honour to men of virtue, their most conspicuous gods of this class were their greatest warriors and most potent kings.

ACCORDING to this we are told <sup>s</sup>, That, by the vain-glory of men, idols entered into the world . . . That, in process of time, an ungodly custom, grown strong, was kept, as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandment of kings, or [as it is in the margin] tyrants. That whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwell far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end, that, by their forwardness, they might

f flatter him that was absent, as if he was present. This was most certainly the case, with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being less than gods. The same author assigns <sup>t</sup> two other reasons for this practice, which must strongly co-operate with the former; first, "The grief of a parent for his child untimely snatched away, whose image he may have been tempted to honour as God when dead, and to deliver to those beneath, or in subjection to him, ceremonies and sacrifices of duty and commemoration;" and secondly, "The skill of the workman, who, by his art, might contribute greatly to the deception

Third stage of idolatry.

† See the Append. to the Jewish Hist. p. 852. and seq. \* See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. † Vid. eund. ibid. <sup>u</sup> Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi sup. <sup>v</sup> See before, p. 81. <sup>w</sup> See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. p. 178. et seq. <sup>x</sup> P. Before, ibid. pass. <sup>y</sup> See before in the notes, p. 372. <sup>z</sup> PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. <sup>aa</sup> Wild. of SOLOMON, xiv 14, 16, 17. <sup>ab</sup> Ibid. ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.

"tion of the ignorant; for that, ambitious to flatter some great man, he may a  
 "have exerted all in his power to represent him beyond what he truly was, and  
 "so, by the beauty of his work, captivate and delude the unwary multitude, who  
 "took him now for a god, whom a little before they honoured but as man; and  
 "that thus men, subject either to calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and  
 "stocks the incommunicable name of God."

SUCH were the causes of idolizing dead men, tyranny to compel to it, immoderate affection to consent to it, and the exquisite skill of the workman to allure to it. That the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians* were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the first of these, must appear by the histories of their several kings, who seem, at least, to have been as absolute tyrants as were ever suffered to live; and that they b  
 did give into this error is plain, both by sacred authors and profane writers; these last, for the most part, asserting, That the *Affyrians* were the people that first shewed the example of it to others; though that this was false we have seen in the history of the *Syrians*, who, before them, deified their great kings.

*Pul meant by Belus.*

HOWEVER, it was an opinion that *Ninus* was the first that set up images to be worshipped, and particularly one to his father *Belus* w, and granted privileges and pardons to those who resorted to it. Who this *Ninus* should have been, but *Tiglaib-pilezar*, the son of *Pul* or *Belus* in scripture, we know not, and therefore we must conclude that *Pul*, and none other, was the first that was worshipped in these parts as a god z, and that consequently he who was the undoubted founder of the empires c  
 both of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, and none other, was the boasted *Belus* of the latter *Babylonians*, *Phœnicians*, and others, where the descendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

*His temple.*

THIS *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, and was revered as their primary god, he being the first founder of all the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* grandeur, and source of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his successors both at *Babylon* and *Niniveh*. To him they erected the tower we have formerly described, so famous in all ages since; though it should seem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon d  
 one another, and in the uppermost was a bed magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image was here y; nor was any body suffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the priests gave out, was in an especial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this place they taught, that he was wont to come and repose himself z; so that, according to this, they must have held him to have been the supreme over all, the living and self-subsisting, who either could not be represented, or would not bear such presumption in them as to offer at it. But, beneath this, there was another temple where there was a gigantic image of *Jupiter* [*Belus*] all of gold, with a table before him, all of the same metal; his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him; insomuch, that the whole e  
 work was valued at 800 talents of gold z. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple; for we think we read of another all of solid gold, and twelve cubits in height b; but whether our author really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and dimensions above, as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

*Partly erected to him, and partly to the true God.*

HOWEVER, this great *Jupiter*, who we think cannot possibly be any other than the great *Pul* or *Belus*, by being thus placed in subordination, as should seem, to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height they could raise him; for by this they must, to all appearance, have implied, that *Belus*, or *Pul*, divided f  
 the empire of the universe with him, and that, as he was Lord above, the other was lord below; that, as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at least delegated god on earth, and invested with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the invisible ruler of all things. Thus the thing seems to have been, by

z See before, p. 372.  
 y HERODOT. l. i. c. 180.

w AMBR. in Epist. ad. Roman. c. 1.  
 z Idem ibid. c. 182.

x See before in the notes, p. 888.  
 b Idem ibid. c. 183.

(O) The *Babylonians*, it is plain, must have taught something of this invisible God, and attributed to him what the *Egyptians* did to their God *Cneph* (65).

(65) See before, p. 204.

a by this account of the temple at *Babylon* (P), and as it is perfectly of a piece with their superstitious persuasions, and agreeable to what we may safely conceive concerning this their first warrior, we know not how to think otherwise; and wonder not at what has been since exaggerated concerning the age and pre-eminence of this great *Belus*.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it also two altars; they stood without, one of gold, of a moderate size, and another much larger; upon the golden altar none but sucking victims might be sacrificed<sup>c</sup>; and on the great one, none that were not full grown<sup>d</sup>; concerning which, we leave the reader to make his own conjectures, only observing, that, as these were doubtless two distinct gods they sacrificed to, the golden altar seems to have been devoted to the supreme God, and the other to his subordinate *Jupiter*; for by the sucking victims they seem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nourisher of all things, and that the full-grown ones, being brought to the perfection he designed them, he committed them to the care and government of his vice-gerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures sacrificed to him. But as here they plainly sacrificed to them in distinction of each, they at other times seem to have sacrificed to them in common; for the priests reckoned that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of fragrant libanotus<sup>e</sup>; and this, by some, is thought to have been intended for them both, but that it may as likely have been intended, as an acknowledgment from *Belus* to the God above him, might be as probably insisted on, so far as it is possible to be certain in things of such an ambiguous nature, were we a little fonder than we are of building upon conjecture.

SUCH was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and such his temple and the rank he held in it; but that he was the inventor of the sidereal science, or of astrology, as some would<sup>f</sup> have it, must not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law *Semiramis*, as we have partly seen already<sup>g</sup>, and as we shall see farther in a more proper place. Nor must this same *Belus*, or *Baal*, be confounded with the others we read of in scripture, before the rise of the *Assyrian* empire, as the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites*<sup>h</sup>, the *Baal*, or *Moloch*, of the *Ammonites*<sup>i</sup>; the title signifies lord with all these people, who, and particularly all such as are said to have passed their seed through fire, meant thereby the sun, whose heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be sacred; which must have been one of the first doctrines of the *Sabians* in *Chaldea* (Q), who, as we have said, first broached this error, and communicated the same, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of *Abraham*, who left his country, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, on account of the idolatries of its inhabitants<sup>k</sup>, and came into the land of *Canaan*, where he found the sentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion and the duties we owe to God; for *Melchisedec* was then alive in *Canaan*, and styled the priest of the most high God<sup>l</sup>, and the people there were, for the most part, in a state of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about must also have been<sup>m</sup>; nay, in these days we do not find that even *Egypt* was much, if at all, infected with idolatry; so that whatever the *Greeks* may pretend of the *Egyptians*, that they brought idols and false gods into fashion<sup>n</sup>, the contrary appears by the book of *Genesis*, which sufficiently informs

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>f</sup> *PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 6. c. 26.* <sup>g</sup> See before in the notes, p. 883. <sup>h</sup> See before, p. 285. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 293. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 422. and in the notes, p. 132.

<sup>l</sup> See before, p. 327. <sup>m</sup> See before, in the religions of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, &c.

<sup>n</sup> See before, p. 204.

(P) It may be disputed, whether or no the *Babylonians* did not actually mean the sun, rather than God himself. We are told, they never represented the sun, or, at least, that the *Syrians* never did (66), who derived their religion from these people, concluding it ridiculous to represent what was so gloriously conspicuous (67), and we have supposed that they sometimes paid adoration to the sun and moon immediately (68); but it does not seem likely that these *Babylonians* should ever give it out, that the sun himself was wont to come

and repose himself upon the top of this tower, as we have seen; they never could have persuaded the people to that absurdity; so that if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they must have designed it for the intelligence of the sun, and that may, with them, have amounted pretty much to the same thing.

(Q) The religion of the *Magians*, who worshipped fire, was derived from the *Sabians*, as we shall observe a little farther on in this section.

(66) See before, p. 373.

(67) Ibid.

(68) See before, p. 401.

informs us, that, while the country on the other side of the *Euphrates* was thoroughly a polluted with all abominations, the countries on this side were, as yet, strangers to them. Nothing then is plainer than that all we have said concerning the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*, is only the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees*; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have so fully exhibited in the histories of those several nations.

BUT, upon the building of *Babylon* by the *Affyrians*, the old religion, it seems, fell into some discredit, and especially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that if ever they had, before the days of *Pul*, deified any heroes, he must have soared above them all, who could not properly be called the gods of the *Babylonians* before the city itself was built; for thus much is granted by all authors, who suppose *Belus* to have been the immediate founder of the *Affyrian* greatness, and therefore deified; but, who this *Belus* was, we may read in scripture<sup>o</sup>, and be confirmed in a certainty thereof by *Ptolemy's* canon, and therefore we are not to look so far back as *Nimrod*, or any man else that lived a thousand years or more after him. Hence it may appear, that by *Bel*, or *Baal*, the *Babylonians* understood either the sun, or their founder *Pul*; but whether or no they translated him into the sun, or whether they kept their planet-worship and their hero-worship so distinct as never to confound them with each other, may be past our solution, and a point which might draw us into a needless length.

Succoth Benoth, the Affyrian Venus.

THE deity, next in order to this, seems to have been the *Venus* of latter days in the west, and that she was no other than the goddess *Astarte*, of the *Phœnicians*, may, with no small probability, be gathered from what is to follow. *Succoth Benoth* is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians*<sup>p</sup>, though it was apparently rather the shrine, or shrines of an idol belonging to some deity we have since translated into the lascivious goddess *Venus*, for the import of the word is, the tabernacles of *Benoth*, or, the tabernacles of the daughters<sup>q</sup>, though there are those who render them, a tabernacle of wings<sup>r</sup>, and suppose the idol itself to have been represented as a hen brooding over her chickens, and that she was designed in honour of the constellation, called vulgarly the hen and chickens, but more learnedly, the *Pleiades*; but this is a meer dream. It is more likely, that these tabernacles of the daughters were for *Venus*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Mylitta*, signifying *Genetrix*, or *Mother*, or *Urania*, as the *Greeks* will have it, and to this goddess the daughters of the country, or the women, were, once in their life-time, bound to make a sacrifice of their modesty and virtue, a practice which will be found among the customs of this people. And hence it is that a very learned author<sup>s</sup> gathers her not only to have been our *Venus*, but hence it is also that he derives the very name itself from *Benoth*, by changing the *B* for a *V*, and the *Tbeta* for the *Sigma*, whence you will have *Venos* (R). This is in some measure confirmed by an author, who seems to call her *Binos*<sup>t</sup>; but particularly by what we are told of a city in *Africa*, called *Sicca Venerea*<sup>u</sup>, a name which may have been transported from *Phœnice*, and is evidently formed from this *Siccotb*, or *Succoth Benoth*; and where there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies<sup>v</sup>. Her temples seem to have been fixed at this place, and at *Apbac*<sup>y</sup>, and at *Babylon*<sup>z</sup>, and may likewise have been erected at other places. As for those which had not yet any such buildings dedicated to this end, the priests seem to have supplied that defect, by the old way of portable tabernacles, which they carried about upon their shoulders, for the convenience of the public, and their own gain. The prophet charges the *Jews* with having imitated some such heathenish custom in the wilderness<sup>†</sup>.

The derivation of the name of Venus.

Both masculine and feminine.

THIS god, or goddess, for she is understood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed second to *Belus*, is generally understood to have been of much greater antiquity than the times we are sure he lived in; but this is upon a supposition

<sup>o</sup> See before in the notes, p. 858. <sup>p</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 30. <sup>q</sup> Vid. SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. <sup>r</sup> KIMCHI & JARCHI, apud eund. ibid. <sup>s</sup> HERODOT. l. 1. c. 131. <sup>t</sup> SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. <sup>u</sup> SUIDAS, ad vocem. <sup>v</sup> VALER. MAXIM. l. 2. c. 6. <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>y</sup> See before in the notes, p. 399. <sup>†</sup> HERODOT. l. 1. c. 199. <sup>†</sup> Amos v. 26. Acts vii. 43.

(R) *Vossius* (69) subscribes to this. *Beyer*, in his additamenta to *Selden*, disputes it, though with no great strength of argument.

a sition that the profane historians, poets, and mythologists are not out in the length of their computations, and hence you have an argument of her antiquity deduced from the words of *Æschylus*<sup>a</sup>, who calls *Phœnicia* the land of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, to which the scholiast subjoins, that so it was called, because it was sacred to her on account of the *Byblus* and *Libanus*, where stood her temple at *Aphac*<sup>b</sup>; but this may be no very great argument to prove it, for if the *Affyrians*, whence the *Phœnicians* had her, are not so very antient as pretended, this deity must be deprived of the veneration conceived for it, on account of its years. Though the date of this idol will not much depend upon the rise of the *Affyrian*, or *Babylonian* empire, if it was a star they meant by this *Venus*; for we have already  
b observed, that the *Chaldees*, as they are called, worshipped the stars by images before they consecrated the *Affyrian Belus*, or perhaps any other mortal man; so that it may be worth the while just to enquire, whether or no this idol was really designed to represent some star from among the host of heaven, or some woman who may have been deified for reasons, in those days, thought meritorious? or whether, as in the case of *Baal*, both a planet and a person may have been intended, and reciprocally translated into each other?

We have seen, by some parallel circumstances, that she was, to all appearance, the same with the *Phœnician Astarte*, and we shall produce several others, to confirm the same, in the course of this subject. In the mean time, to begin with  
c this *Benoth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddesses seem to be derived; She is called the celestial *Venus*, and said to have been first of all worshipped by the *Affyrians*<sup>c</sup>, whereby, though our author it is most likely means the *Syrians* properly so called, we shall plainly discover, that the former were the first authors of this worship, and transmitted it to the latter. This goddess was of both sexes, and accordingly it was the custom to worship her sometimes in the habit of a man, and sometimes in the habit of a woman<sup>d</sup>, the men and women mutually changing dresses with each other<sup>e</sup>, whence it is supposed, that *Moses* forbids<sup>f</sup> the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment. According to this, the worship of this planet, or idol, must have been of very ancient date; and that  
d the words of the text before us are meant of this mode of worshipping, is understood by *Maimonides*<sup>g</sup>, who observes, that in the book of magic, composed by one *Centir*, as he is corruptly<sup>h</sup> called, it is written, that a man should put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he stood before the star called *Venus*, and that a woman should put on the arms and armour of a man, when she stood before the star called *Mars*<sup>i</sup>; and hence the *Affyrian* priests are said<sup>k</sup> to have been unfit to wait on the goddess *Venus*, except they effeminated their countenance, and assumed all the softness and dress of a woman. And hence a *Greek* author<sup>l</sup>, who calls her the moon, says, that the men sacrificed to her in the habit of a woman, and the women in the habit of a man, and the reason, because she was both masculine and feminine;  
e whereby it is plain, that it is this *Affyrian Venus* that is here implied, though, being translated into *Greece*, he may not exactly have meant the same. That this *Uranian* or celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians* was the moon cannot be doubted, by the rank she holds next to *Bel*, or the sun; and that she was so will be immediately seen by what we certainly know of her under other names; and that she was of both sexes will appear as plain by the same evidence. For, to bring her still nearer to us, we shall find she was the same with the *Syrian* goddess.

This *Syrian* goddess, as we have her described to us, as well as by the rites performed to her, was no other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*. She was called *Juno*, and the statue of her was contrived so as to partake of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*,  
f *Nemesis*, and the *Destinies*, as if she included them all, and that so she did has been sufficiently proved by very great men<sup>m</sup>. She was drawn, or supported, by lions, she had rays on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the cestus, or girdle of the celestial *Venus*<sup>n</sup>, and, as she was contrived to be the source of all idolatry, in honour of the female sex; so we find her to have been equally honoured by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*<sup>o</sup>, who all came  
in

A Rite in the  
worship of the  
Affyrian or  
Babylonian  
Venus.

She is the same  
with the great  
Syrian goddess.

<sup>a</sup> In *Supplicib.* <sup>b</sup> See before in the notes, p. 399. <sup>c</sup> *PAUSAN.* in *Attic.* <sup>d</sup> *Vid. SELDEN* de *Diis Syr.* *Syntagm.* 2. c. 4. <sup>e</sup> *Vid. eund. ibid.* <sup>f</sup> *Deuteron.* xxii. 5. <sup>g</sup> In *More Nevech.* part III. c. 38. <sup>h</sup> *Vid. SELDEN,* ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> *MAIMONID.* ubi sup. <sup>j</sup> *JUL. FIRMIC.* c. 4. <sup>k</sup> *PHILOCHOR.* apud *MACROB.* *Saturnal.* 3. c. 8. <sup>l</sup> *Vid. LIL. GYRALD.* de *Diis Gent.* *SELDEN,* de *Diis Syr.* *Voss.* de *Idololat.* <sup>m</sup> See before, p. 373. <sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* p. 374.



in pilgrimage to this mighty goddess of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, which, in this respect, seems to have succeeded the city of *Babylon*; whence she had been chased by the *Persians*. Her eunuch priests, who took on them the habit and offices of women<sup>a</sup>, declare her to have been one and the same with the *Affyrian Mylitta*; and the *Babylonians*, who, among others, are said to have paid liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it.

She is the same  
with the  
Astarte of the  
Phœnicians.

If then it appears, that this great *Syrian* goddess was no other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*, the same will as evidently appear of the *Phœnician Astarte*. We have seen her the *Queen of Heaven*<sup>a</sup>, the moon, *Lucifer*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Io*<sup>a</sup>, and married to an *Affyrian*<sup>a</sup>. We have seen her the lustful goddess<sup>a</sup>, and the warlike deity<sup>a</sup>, and accordingly addressed to under both sexes; nor need we cite the monstrous effeminacies of the men at *Apbac*<sup>a</sup>, or the impudent and mercenary prostitution of the women at *Byblus*<sup>a</sup>, to prove that the one is in general a very faithful copy of the other; for, as to the prostitution of the women in particular, it must be confessed to owe its origin to an infamous custom among the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, which shall be mentioned hereafter.

She is the same  
with Derceto  
of Ascalon.

NOR do we find, that the *Atargatis*, or *Derceto*<sup>a</sup> of the proper *Palestine* in general, or of *Ascalon* in particular, was any other than the *Babylonian* or *Affyrian Venus*. For although she is made distinct from the great *Venus*, and is said to have undergone her displeasure, and in consequence of that to have been metamorphosed into a fish<sup>a</sup>; the worship that was paid to that animal, under the eye of the great goddess at *Hierapolis*, declares her to have been the same; and this is not conjecture only, for *Atargatis* is said to have been worshipped at *Hierapolis*, by a very judicious author<sup>a</sup>, who, in so saying, most evidently confounds her with the *Syrian* goddess, and makes them one and the same. Nor is he single in this, for others<sup>b</sup> do the same, and particularly one<sup>c</sup>, who calls her the mother of the gods, and *Astarte*, and the *Hierapolitan*, or *Affyrian* goddess. In short, *Atargatis* was also *Venus*, and *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and the *Syrian* goddess<sup>d</sup>, and consequently the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*. That she must, at the same time, have been *Astarte*, our reader will scarcely doubt, when he calls to mind that we have an authentic author<sup>e</sup> who says, that the *Syrians* abstained from fish, in regard to the rites of *Astarte*; so that we see her the same goddess transported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which she is said first to have plunged herself, to escape the fury of the<sup>f</sup> inexorable *Typhon* (S); and but just varied so as to give each particular country the honour of having an original of its own. So the *Syrians*, who seem to have adopted her first, and were nearest to the place of her native abode, preserved her, it is likely, in the most genuine form; the *Phœnicians*, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a *Phœnician*; and the *Philistines*, or *Ascalonites*, who were a little farther off, that they might make her their own also, turn her into a monster, woman upwards and fish downwards<sup>g</sup>, and, rather than not have her their own, are willing to allow her to have been in subordination to some other goddess, who had power over her to the degree of chastising her by a change from her first shape<sup>h</sup>.

It appears then, that all this adoration, to this various goddess, came from *Affyria* and *Babylonia*, and that it was established, in these countries, by the prevailing might of those two potent empires, who successively subjugated all their parts; and while they flourished, it is likely, they maintained a strict uniformity of worship and tradition among them; but these empires being abolished by the *Persians*, who had an aversion to all this *Sabianism*; each nation, forgetful of the source whence they derived their superstitions, claimed them as peculiar to themselves, and new modelled them accordingly.

Is worshipped  
as Semiramis.

AND now it may not be amiss to inquire, how far the tradition of *Semiramis* quadrates with what we are told of this goddess; as also, whether or no we cannot from

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 373. & seq.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. ibid.

<sup>a</sup> See before in the notes, p. 401.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> See before in the notes, p. 401.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 398, 399.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 399

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 875.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> STRABO, l. 16. p. 748.

<sup>d</sup> PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 5. c. 23.

<sup>e</sup> MACROB. in Saturn. 1. c. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. SELDEN, ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> ARTEMIDOR apud eund. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> MANIL. Astronom. iv.

<sup>f</sup> See before, p. 875. and in the notes, p. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> See before, p. ibid.

(S) We see here *Typhon* introduced into the *Babylonian* mythology, though he was an *Egyptian*; but we may perceive, by some parallel circumstances, that

there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

- a from thence make it out, that she, as well as the moon, the earth, or any other subject, may have been adored as the celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess. Her presence in the temple at *Hierapolis*<sup>1</sup> is as strong an argument as any, that the superstition there migrated from *Babylon*. Her inferior degree<sup>k</sup> there will, it must be owned, in some measure clash with her original superiority; but to that it is answered, this temple was rebuilt by *Stratonice*<sup>l</sup>, the wife of *Antiochus Soter*, who may have had some pique to the memory of *Semiramis*, whom she may have remembered with envy, and therefore resolved to degrade her; if it may not rather be attributed to the senseless caprice, or some strange inconsistency with relation to this *Affyrian* heroine, whom they might some how or other, and in some cases, make inferior to herself. But these
- b are points which we neither pretend to reconcile nor dive further into.

Thus much is certain, we shall in the tradition of *Semiramis* find so many circumstances to make us believe she was worshipped as the supreme goddess of the *Babylonians*, that few will hesitate perhaps a moment to be of this opinion. We have seen her born of a goddess at *Ascalon*<sup>m</sup>, who, for the shame of conceiving her, plunged herself into a lake, and became a fish<sup>n</sup>; and hence fish are said to have been worshipped, though indeed not so much upon her own account, as should seem, as on account of her mother *Derceto*, or *Atargatis*, who underwent this transformation. We have seen her miraculously fed by doves or pigeons in a desert<sup>o</sup>, and hence that bird became sacred; hence probably, and from other fabulous circumstances it is, that you have the dove from the land of *Affyria*<sup>p</sup>. We have seen it predicted, that she should not die, but vanish from the sight of men, and obtain divine honours from the *Asiatic* nations<sup>q</sup>. We have seen it was pretended she made her exit in the form of a dove, and that she went off attended by a flight of those birds<sup>r</sup>; and hence another reason is given why the dove became sacred. We have seen her the abandoned prostitute<sup>s</sup>, and the martial heroine<sup>t</sup>; and hence she may have been the celestial *Venus* adored under both sexes, and the *Phœnician Astarte*, now painted in arms<sup>u</sup>, and now represented as the patroness of lewdness and effeminacy<sup>v</sup>. In short, we have seen her the first that made eunuchs<sup>w</sup>; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch priests, or *Galli*, who attended upon the *Syrian* goddess<sup>y</sup>; which was certainly more the case than what is pretended in the idle story of *Combabus*, and *Stratonice*<sup>z</sup>, who, being wife to one of the *Seleucide*, lived some hundreds of years after *Semiramis*, and who, as we have suggested above, may have affected to raise herself upon the depression of this great *Babylonian* queen, who is said even to have first built the temple at *Hierapolis*<sup>2</sup>, which, though certainly false, may yet argue the tradition to have been, that she was meant by the celestial *Venus* or the *Syrian* goddess, and that she was really so might easily be made appear still farther, by her being directly called *Rhea*<sup>b</sup>, *Nemesis*<sup>c</sup>, and the like, if there could be any necessity farther to evince this opinion, after such variety of corroborating evidence.

- c UPON the whole we shall make no difficulty to conclude, that the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*, the *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Derceto* or *Atargatis* of the latter *Philistines*, were all derived from *Semiramis*, or whatever else her true name was, the first *Babylonian* foundress; who seems to have been translated into the bright and various *Queen of Heaven*, the moon, as *Belus*, or *Pul*, the first *Affyrian* monarch, was into the sun; and that whatever the mythologists and allegoricians may pretend by explaining all this worship into an adoration of the universe, or nature, or the earth, or any other element, which is what we are very ready to grant them, and what we shall more particularly treat in the history of the *Celtes* and *Scythians*, and the mythology of the *Greeks*, as we have partly already in the theology of the *Egyptians*<sup>d</sup>; yet nothing seems
- f now more universally allowed, than that all the *Jupiters* and *Juno's*, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are all derived from this source, and that on this *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* foundation the whole superstructure of the *Greek* polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the *Greeks* had their religion from

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 373.<sup>k</sup> See before, *ibid.*<sup>l</sup> See before, p. 374.<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 875.<sup>n</sup> See before, *ibid.*<sup>o</sup> See before, *ibid.*<sup>p</sup> See before in the notes, p. 875.<sup>q</sup> See before, p. 887.<sup>r</sup> See before, p. 180.<sup>s</sup> See before, p. 883.<sup>t</sup> See before, p. 880.<sup>u</sup> See before, p. 883.<sup>v</sup> See before in the notes, p. 399.<sup>w</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>x</sup> See before in the notes, p. 883.<sup>y</sup> See before, p. 374.<sup>z</sup> See before, *ibid.*<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Voss. de Idololatr. l. 2. p. 308.*<sup>b</sup> See<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 883.<sup>c</sup> *Vid. Jos. SCALIG in animadvers.*<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 204, 205, & seq.

from the *Phenicians* partly, and partly from the *Egyptians*, who, had theirs originally from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as may be pretty clearly gathered from the apparent religious state of the countries on this and that side of the *Euphrates* in the days of *Abraham*, as we have hinted before. The *Egyptians* seem in time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the *Babylonian*, as any body that will compare them together will at the first glance perceive. The *Phenicians*, who had equally communication with the two nations, seem to have mixed the variations in each together, and we have plainly seen that they worshipped what the *Babylonians* worshipped, what had been imposed on them by the tyranny of that empire; in short, *Astarte*, who, as we have proved as plain as things of this nature can be proved, <sup>b</sup> was the celestial *Venus* of the *Babylonians*, was also as plain the *Egyptian* goddess *Isis*. And indeed there was hardly any difference as to the main points between the religion of those two great and ancient nations, who being in constant rivalry with each other, and emulous of surpassing each other, you thence have the seeming differences between them in religious matters, the *Egyptians* particularly contending for the honour of antiquity \* and sanctity with the *Babylonians*, though by the *Mosaic* history they must yield to these last; nor is there any discrepancy between their great and favourite gods, but barely in the names they have conferred on them, to evince them reciprocally their own. Nor is any thing plainer than that there was, in the main, a perfect uniformity, between all the nations on both sides of the *Euphrates*, as to the fundamentals of their religion; and consequently, if we fix <sup>c</sup> the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the same time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immense labyrinth of heathenism and idolatry: But for want of this certain stand to take the survey from; for want of a due attention to the natural progress of idolatry, but especially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of profane writers to the tenour of scripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the first great *Affrians* or *Babylonians* that were deified and translated; our mythologists have rambled backwards to *Noah* and *Nimrod*, and the whole tribe of the postdiluvian patriarchs, to discover in them what is designed more particularly for other mortals, who lived many and many ages <sup>d</sup> after them; whereby they have most strangely perplexed this part of learning, which would be full intricate enough without this help towards making it the more so: What is still worse, they have cast an impenetrable mist upon the first days of profane history, which most certainly is fabulous, and quite so, if we make a very few exceptions, till about the first rise of the *Babylonian* empire, in the reign of *Josiah* king of *Judah*. For not only the art or method of writing a regular history was not discovered, or at least practised, as should seem, till the days of *Herodotus*, who lived in about the middle of the *Persian* empire; but the gods of all these nations being supposed to have been once meer men, and no more, the priests and others had no way to derive a depth of veneration for them, but by making them ancient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as possible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other instance of this than *Sanchoniatho's* *Phenician History* <sup>e</sup>, it would be abundantly sufficiently to justify us in what we say; and if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the *Syrians* in the days of *Josephus*, who, in those days, boasted of the antiquity of their great god *Adad*, who was one of their deified kings <sup>f</sup>, who, at most, did not live above 901 years before Christ <sup>g</sup>; it might be deemed enough for our purpose. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the most learned, who, inattentive to the history of the ancient empire of *Syria*, suppose this *Adad* to have been an *Affrian* or *Babylonian* deity <sup>h</sup>, and only, as should seem, because he is in profane authors called an *Affrian*, forgetting that <sup>f</sup> the name of *Affria* extended itself over all *Syria*, and the adjacent parts <sup>k</sup>. He was then, to all appearance, no *Babylonian* deity, but one who had been translated into the heavens by the ancient *Syrians*; and, as is most likely, revived again after the destruction of the *Babylonian* empire, whose new gods must have brought him into discredit <sup>l</sup>, not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the *Affrians* and *Babylonians*, but also as being unknown to the people transplanted into these parts <sup>m</sup> in

*Adad* not properly a *Babylonian* deity.

\* See before in the notes, p. 398.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 90, 93.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 86.

<sup>d</sup> See before.

In the notes, p. 388, 399.

<sup>e</sup> See before in the margin, p. 383.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. LVI. GYRALD. Hist.

Deor. Selden, de Diis Syris. Vossius, de Idolatr.

<sup>g</sup> See before in the notes, p. 857.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 888.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 890.

- a in the room of the first inhabitants, by the successors of *Pul*; though some flow or other received again into veneration; as we have observed before<sup>n</sup>. However, *Adad* was also the sun as well as *Bel* or *Baal*, *Osiris*, and others. And this is what we have thought necessary to premise preparatorily to what we shall hereafter have to say of the Greek mythology, and which we have on purpose deferred; till we came to this place, as the most proper for a research of this nature.

To return to our celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess, or *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, of *Fishes and doves* worshipped, and whence this superstition took birth, we have partly seen in the metamorphosis of *Derceto*<sup>o</sup>; and the birth, education, and apotheosis of *Semiramis*<sup>r</sup>; and we have

- b seen, that both at *Astalon*<sup>s</sup> and *Hierapolis*<sup>t</sup> they were equally revered; so that they may well deserve to be considered as deities with this people, and are seemingly so allied to this great and multiplied goddess; that though we have some other deities of this nation, who may deserve to take place of them, we have not been able to separate them from their great mistress. As for fishes in particular, they are said to have been revered by the *Syrians*, or the *Assyrians* rather, not only on account of the metamorphosis above<sup>u</sup>; but also because they were said to have saved one *Derceto*, [*Derteto*] a daughter to *Venus*, who happened to fall into the sea<sup>v</sup>, or because she took refuge among the fish when she fled from *Typhon*<sup>w</sup>. It is said, that, *Venus* and *Cupid* being in *Syria* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, the giant *Typhon* came suddenly upon them, and made them jump into the river, and take on them the form of fishes to save themselves<sup>x</sup>; in short, *Venus* and *Cupid* are said to have been translated into the zodiacal sign called *Pisces*<sup>y</sup>; such were the reasons given why they not only abstained from fish, but worshipped them likewise. As for doves, they seem to have been worshipped as symbols only of lust and fondness, which made up part of their goddess's character (T); but of these we have said enough in this place<sup>z</sup>.

- c *Salambo*, as she is called<sup>b</sup>, was also a goddess of the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, *Salambo*. and is plainly *Astarte*, or any other of the goddesses whom we have shewn to have been the same with her; but we particularly mention *Astarte*, because this *Salambo*, or *Salambas*, is said to have been a demon, or goddess, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her lost *Adonis*<sup>c</sup>, so that we need add nothing farther concerning her.

- Shach*, *Saca*, or *Sheshach*, is another god or goddess of the *Babylonians*, as usually *Sheshach* reckoned<sup>d</sup>, and supposed to have been the earth, and to have been the same the *Romans* afterwards worshipped under the name of *Tellus* and *Ops*<sup>e</sup>; and if so, she was partly the same with *Nylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods<sup>f</sup>, in whom all these titles and imaginary deities are said plainly to have centered. However there is some doubt, whether or no she may not be more properly a *Persian* goddess<sup>g</sup>, than a *Babylonian*; though that she was the latter may appear to satisfaction from the prophet<sup>h</sup>; who calls *Babylon* the land of *Sheshach*, before the *Persians* arose to any thing like the height they afterwards did; and at a time when *Babylon*, to all appearance, had disdained to have received any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddess, the *Babylonians* were wont to celebrate a festival for several days together, which we shall take notice of among the customs of this people, and which confessedly gave birth to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*.

*Nebo*,

<sup>a</sup> See before in the notes, p. 912.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 862.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 862.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 875.

<sup>e</sup> before, p. 875.

<sup>f</sup> See before, p. 883.

<sup>g</sup> See before in the notes, p. 875.

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 373.

<sup>i</sup> See before, p. 875.

<sup>j</sup> *THEON*. apud *GYRALD.* Hist. Deor. Syntagm. 1. p. 85.

<sup>k</sup> *MANIL.* ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> *DIODOR.* apud *HYGIN.* in *Astronom.*

<sup>m</sup> *VID.* *Voss.* de *Idolol.* 1. 2. p. 254.

<sup>n</sup> See before, p. 862, and in the notes, p. 875, 883.

<sup>o</sup> *HESEYCH.* apud *SELDEN.* & *ALIO.* Etymol.

<sup>p</sup> *Magn.* ad vocem.

<sup>q</sup> *Etymol.* *Magn.* ibid.

<sup>r</sup> *VID.* *Voss.* *SELDEN.* &c.

<sup>s</sup> *WILLET* upon

<sup>t</sup> *Dan.* 1. 16.

<sup>u</sup> See before, p. 919.

<sup>v</sup> *VID.* *SELDEN.* de *Diis* *Syr.* Syntagm. 2.

<sup>w</sup> *Jerem.* xxv. 26. to i. 41.

(T) This goddess is said to have been produced from a vast egg, which being rolled out of the water, by the fish of the *Euphrates*, was hatched by a dove, who sat thereon (70). This must be the primigenial egg, mentioned by *Helladius* (71); and, according to this, our great goddess must have been

the fabulous *Oannes* (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon so strange an inconsistency as this seems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the *Assyrian* goddess into the same with *Oannes*, may be a fruitless task.

(70) *NIGID.* apud *Voss.* de *Idolol.* 1. 2. p. 254.

(71) See before, p. 90.

(72) *Ibid.*

Nebo.

*Nebo*, or *Nabo*, was also an *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* deity<sup>1</sup>, and his name is often compounded in those of the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kings<sup>2</sup>: he therefore may be concluded to have once been in high account with them; and bids fair to have been one of their most antient gods. He is thought to have been the *Chemosh*, or the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites*, and accordingly we have formerly mentioned him in the religion of *Moab*<sup>3</sup>, and said almost as much of him as we know. We shall only add, that by the prophet he is joined with *Bel*<sup>4</sup>, and supposed generally to have been the sun; and therefore may have been prior to this latter, whom we have asserted to have been the deified *Pul*, the first *Affyrian*<sup>5</sup> who may, by the vicissitude of things, have taken place of him; though there are others who are of another mind, and conceive, that, by their being joined together, we are rather to understand him to have been designed for the moon<sup>6</sup>, *Bel* being, for certain, known to have stood for the sun. These therefore think it a senseless tautology to mention the same deity, at the same time, under different names; so that, instead of supposing him to have been one with *Bel*, we are rather according to them to conclude him to have been the same with *Mylitta*, the great goddess. But this will appear a weak argument to those who perceive how apt these people, and all that followed them, were to multiply one and the same god into many; and especially if it be recollected by what steps *Sabianism* or idolatry advanced among these apparently first founders of it, and how, by degrees, it began from the host of heaven till it degenerated, if we may use the expression, into the adoration of men; till a full stop seems to have been put to this practice, in honour of the great *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* family, who must, for very strong reasons suggested formerly<sup>7</sup>, have eclipsed all that went before them; so that nothing need prevent our supposing *Nebo* to have been worshipped as the sun before the rise of *Pul*, to whom he may, according to the fantastick theology of this people, have been accounted inferior afterwards. This *Nebo* seems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as signifying prophecy or divination<sup>8</sup>; but all this, and whatever else may be advanced concerning him, is too palpably obscure for us to dilate on; all we know, for certain, is, that he was some god of the *Babylonians*.

Sardanapalus.

HOWEVER, if true it be that he was the same with *Chemosh*, or *Baal-peor*, or *Pbegor*, and if what is said of the obscene rites of this god<sup>9</sup> be just, we have a seeming reason to assert, that the famous, or as the common tradition goes, infamous *Sardanapalus* took the place of this shameless idol, in the latter days of the *Affyrian* family; and that, to all appearance, the *Babylonians* converted him into this god when they destroyed the city of *Nimveh*, and extirpated the kings there. For that he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place given him in the same temple with the *Babylonian Venus* at *Hierapolis*, the *Holy City*<sup>10</sup>. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude<sup>11</sup>, but, whether or no this attitude was the same we have formerly mentioned<sup>12</sup>, it is certain, that by the traditionary character of him<sup>13</sup> (and as it is likely, that all the kings of *Affyria* to a man were deified after their death)<sup>14</sup> he may have served well enough for a god of sensuality and beastliness. And this is plainly inferred from the common way of spelling his name, for the most part, in antient manuscripts, which write him *Sardanapallus* with a double L<sup>15</sup>, and seemingly with an obscene intention, for *Pballus*, or *Pallus*, signifies the privities of a man; and hence *Cicero* pronounces<sup>16</sup> he was not more odious for his character than his name; and the *Priap* which stood near him<sup>17</sup>, in the temple at *Hierapolis*, may have been intended for him; for, as there were confessedly two statues of *Semiramis* in this temple<sup>18</sup>, the same may have been with regard to *Sardanapallus*, as we will for this once write him.

Rach.

OTHER gods the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* had, as *Rach*<sup>19</sup>, who is generally thought to have been intended for the sun, and therefore we may class him under the great *Pul* or *Belus*, who, as we have seen, was substituted for the same. But a dispute may here arise, whether or no he was a deified man, or some intelligence, as for example, that of the sun; and, if this latter be the case, he must be removed higher

<sup>1</sup> *Isai. xlv. 1.*<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 867.<sup>3</sup> See before, p. 286.<sup>4</sup> *Isai. ubi sup.*<sup>5</sup> See

before in the notes, p. 888.

<sup>6</sup> *Vid. Voss. de Idololat.*<sup>7</sup> See before in the precedingchapter, *passim*.<sup>8</sup> *HIERONYM. in Esai. in loc. supr. citat.*<sup>9</sup> See before, p. 285.<sup>10</sup> See

before, p. 373.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>12</sup> See before in the notes, p. 885.<sup>13</sup> See before, p. *ibid.*<sup>14</sup> *Vid. Jos. Scalig. Animadvers. ad Græc. EUSEB. p. 64.*<sup>15</sup> *De Republ. iii.*<sup>16</sup> See before, p. 373.<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>18</sup> *Vid. WILLET ubi sup. SELD. de Diis Syr. Syntagm. II. c. 17.*



- a higher up, as he must have been much more ancient than *Belus*. This we leave to the reader, for there is nothing particular besides related of him.

*Nego*<sup>c</sup> and *Nergal*<sup>d</sup> were also gods of this people, if they were not one and the same; but as they are generally agreed to have been worshipped as fire, we forbear *Nergal* farther mention of them, till we come to the religion of the *Magians*.

*Merodach*<sup>e</sup> also was a god at *Babylon*; but who, or what he was, is quite in the *Merodach* dark to us.

- In a word, we may call in the gods of the several nations, whose histories precede in this work to compleat the list of the *Babylonian* idols; for they are confessedly sprung from the city of *Babylon*; and hence it is that *Maimonides*, in speaking of the death of *Thammuz*, who was slain a martyr to the *Sabian* religion, relates, That all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the sun, at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of *Thammuz*<sup>f</sup>; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have spoken so largely to already.

Thus far then we have shewed it highly probable, that the great *Jupiters*, and other gods and goddesses of mortal origin, are to be derived from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and that, instead of being so ancient as mythologists and historians make them, they began not above 771 years before the birth of Christ, among the *Affyrians*, who first erected themselves into what we call a monarchy; as is generally confessed, though falsely, for the most part, related.

- c THE *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, had a veneration for fire, and therefore we might here consider them in that light, did we not reserve that subject for the section where we shall speak of the *Magian* religion, in the history of the *Persians*.

- THE story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*<sup>g</sup> might here claim to be considered, were we not well assured that the whole is spurious. We shall therefore only add, that by the *Dragon* here is generally understood a kind of *Serpent* or *Asp*<sup>h</sup>, which the *Babylonians* used as the symbol of God, for which they gave several reasons, as that this creature, without the assistance of limbs, and, by a kind of virtue or power latent within himself, could not only move<sup>i</sup> at a considerable rate, but also wind and turn himself into various forms; that he lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed his life with his coat every year; and that the acuteness of his sight might aptly enough qualify him to represent divine providence, or deity<sup>k</sup>. Other reasons were given for this serpent-worship both by the *Babylonians* and the *Egyptians*, but we waive them, and shall only observe, that these same people revered the same reptile as the symbol of health and of prudence, not forgetting also, that they made him the emblem of fraud<sup>l</sup>.

- As the *Babylonians* were hardly at all different in religion from the *Egyptians*, but in many articles concurred with them, and particularly in the adoration they paid to fishes<sup>m</sup>, so in other points of worship they were the same with each other. The goat<sup>n</sup> they worshipped as well as the *Mendesians*<sup>o</sup> in *Egypt*, and for the same reason; and the onion, as mean an object as it may seem, was considered with a religious esteem by both the nations<sup>p</sup>, and for a reason, it is most likely, we have already given<sup>q</sup>.

- Their god *Thurral*, *Thourias*, or *Mars*, we have spoken to already<sup>r</sup>; and now refer the reader for the religious rites and ceremonies of this people, besides what we have observed there, and shall relate hereafter, to what we have said of the kind in the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, and *Affyrians*.

- We have a general view given us of their temples, their idols, and their priests, in the epistle of *Jeremiab*<sup>s</sup>. Their idols were of gold, and silver, and wood, and carried about in procession, with multitudes attending them before and behind, and worshipping them. They were crowned and cloathed in purple, and besmeared with the smoke of incense, though they were carefully wiped and cloathed as they wanted it. Their temples were full of smoke and dust, raised and caused by the numerous resort of votaries; and the care of them committed to their avaricious priests, who would sometimes make free with the gold and silver presented to their gods, and either

<sup>c</sup> Vid. eod. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 861.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 867.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 402.

<sup>g</sup> In

the Apocrypha.

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 210.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

<sup>j</sup> Vid. Voss. de Idololatr. l. 9. p. 233.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. eund. ibid. See before, 855. & seq.

<sup>l</sup> See before, p. 205.

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 209.

<sup>n</sup> ALEX.

AND. ab ALEXAND. l. 6.

<sup>o</sup> See before, p. 211.

<sup>p</sup> See before in the notes, p. 883.

<sup>q</sup> BARUCH vi. passim.



keep it for themselves, or bestow it upon lewd prostitutes, who were accounted sacred. <sup>a</sup> Whatever was offered a sacrifice to their gods they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themselves; and cloath their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, their business was to light up numbers of lamps and tapers to their images, and to sit in the temples with their beards and heads close shaven, and uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, and roaring and crying out before their gods as for the lamentation of some person deceased; and finally, that their gods and temples might be in no danger of the spoiler, they were sure to lock and bar them up with great care. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and such their practice, which must have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the sequel. <sup>b</sup> In the mean time;

Human  
victims.

THE *Babylonians* having given rise to all the idolatries and superstitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we must charge them with the horrible custom of sacrificing human victims to appease or conciliate their god or gods. That this must have been an ancient custom with all these people, we have already as good as asserted, in what we have said of their religions; and have elsewhere endeavoured to trace it to its original, namely, the readiness which *Abraham* express'd to sacrifice his only son at the divine command, and the approbation which that patriarch received for his intended obedience <sup>c</sup>. Hence those, who believe that *Jephthah* did really sacrifice his own daughter, suppose him to have fetched, if not his warrant, at least his main encouragement for executing that rash and bloody vow <sup>d</sup>. But we have already taken occasion to confute that notion, and to set that matter in a clear light. But, with respect to the heathen nations who adopted this in human rite, it is likely that it grew in time so shocking to human nature, that the priests seem to have been unable to maintain it long in credit, and by degrees it came to be disused, and seems, in the latter days, at least, of the *Babylonians*, to have been confined to a particular sect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are said, by way of distinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have burnt their children in fire to *Adramelech* and *Anammelech*, the gods of *Sepharvaim* <sup>e</sup>. Who these two gods were, we have seen already <sup>f</sup>, and that these *Sepharvites* were *Babylonians*, properly so called, appears very plainly, if we can, <sup>g</sup> with the most learned geographers, agree that their city was that of *Sippara* in *Ptolemy*. However, there are traces of this antient cruelty to be discerned in the worship and rites of the *Syrian*, or rather *Assyrian* goddesses, at *Hierapolis*, to whom they without remorse made away with their children, by precipitating them down a steep at her temple <sup>h</sup>; which is all we need say about it.

To enter into the allegory of all this worship and deification is what we have above professed to avoid, for the present, and indeed, for the future, we shall have no great matter to add to the subject which we have in general treated already. In the history of the *Egyptians*, we have already declared almost as much as is known, as to the intent and meaning of all this idolatry in a physical or natural way; <sup>e</sup> nor could we expatiate thereon here without a direct repetition of what goes before. We need only observe, that if the *Babylonians*, and others, after them, made gods of the sun, the moon, or any other luminary; if they extended their view to the whole system of nature in the worship they paid to their great deities, or if by them they meant the earth itself, the air, or any other element or created being of any sort or degree, the whole must be attributed to a kind of mistaken gratitude at first for the benefits they received from them (V), which at length degenerated into every thing

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 472. d. e. before, p. 293, 861.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 751. a. b. and (O). <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 375.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 31.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 204.

(V) Sir John Maundeville (73) has so judiciously summed up the history and progress of idolatry, that, for the curiosity of it, we cannot, though somewhat long, but present it to the reader, in his own words: speaking of a people in *India*, he says, " Summe of hem worshiþe the sonne, summe the " mone, summe the fuyr, summe trees, summe " serpentes, or the first thing that thei meten at

" morwen; and summe worshiþe symulacres, and " summe ydoles. But betwene symulacres and " ydoles is a gret difference. For symulacres ben " ymages made afre lyknesse of men, or of wom- " men, or of the sonne or of the mone, or of any " best, or of any kyndely thing: and ydoles, is an " ymage made of lewed wille of man, that a man " may not finden among kyndely things: as an " ymage

- a thing that was bad and stupid; and this shall suffice for the present to have said concerning idolatry, and less than this we could not have said in this place, where the whole seems to center, and where the whole, or at least a great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of use to us hereafter, in speaking of these deities, or some borrowed from them in climes far remote from this.

It may be now time to speak of the customs of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*; *Their customs.* and of these one of the chief seems to have been their method of disposing of all their young women in marriage. No man seems to have had a right to dispose of his own daughters, but as soon as they were of age fit to marry, they, with others, were

- b exposed in some public place appointed for the purpose, where, in the midst of a crowd of men, who attended upon these occasions, they were sold one by one. The most beautiful of them were first put up, and delivered to the highest bidder, and so on. When all that were valuable for their charms were thus disposed of, the money, that was raised by this sale, was applied in behalf of some of them to whom nature had not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. The homely ones were then offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poorer sort, to whom the use of a little money was more precious than all the beauty of a wife, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the wealthy men had before been in vying for the fair ones. The consequence of this was, that their young women were
- c all disposed of in marriage; the poorer sort of the men only labouring under this particular restriction, that they should give security to take the girls they had consented to, before they were in proper possession of the money they had agreed to take with them\*.

WHEN a *Babylonian* had lain with his wife, they both sat by hot perfumes, and *Purification.* took care to wash themselves about twilight, accounting themselves unclean till they had performed this ceremonious office, and unfit to touch any thing\*.

EVERY *Babylonian* woman was once in her life-time bound to prostitute herself to *P. prostitution.* strange men, at the temple of *Venus.* A number of them sat crowned with knots and garlands

\* HERODOT. I. 1. c. 196. STRAB. 16. l. p. 745.

\* HERODOT. I. ibid. c. 198. STRAB. ibid.

" ymage, that hathe four hedes, on of a man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of sum other best, that no man hathe seyn afre kyndely disposicion. And thei that worschipen symulacres, thei worschipen hem for sum worthi man, that was sum tyme, as *Hercules* and many othere, that diden many marvayles in here tyme. For thei seyn wel, that this be not goddes: for thei knowen wel, that there is a God of kynde, that made all thinges; the whiche is in hevene. But thei knowen wel, that this may not do the marvayles that he made, but zif it had ben be the speccyalle zifte of God: and therefore thei seyn that he was wel with God. And for be cause that he was so wel with God, therefore thei worschipe him. And so seyn thei of the sonne; be cause that he chaungethe the tyme, and zewethe hete and norischethe alle thinges upon erthe; and for it is of so gret profite, thei knowe wel, that that myghte not be, but that God loveth it more than any other thing. And for that skylle, God hath zeven it more gret vertue in the world: therefore it is gode resoun, as thei seyn, to don it worschipe and reverence. And so seyn thei, that maken here resounes, of othere planetes; and of the suyrr also, be cause it is so profitable. And of ydoles, thei seyn also, that the ox is the most holy best, that is in erthe, and most pacyent and more profitable than any other. For he dothe good ynow, and he dothe non evylle. And thei knowen wel, that it may not be with outen speccyalle grace of God: and therefore maken thei here god, of an ox, the on part, and the other halfondelle of a man; be cause that man is the most noble creature in erthe; and also for he hathe lordschipe aboven all bestes; therefore make

" thei the halfendel of ydole, of a man upwardes, and the tother half of an ox downwardes: And of serpentes, and of other bestes, and dyvers thinges, that thei worschipen, that thei meten first at morwe. And thei worschipen also speccyally alle tho that thei han gode meetynge of; and whan thei speden wel in here jorneye, afre here meetynge; and namely such as thei han proved and assayed be experience of longe tyme. For thei seyn, that thilke gode meetynge ei may not come, but of the grace of God. And therefore thei maken ymages lyche to tho thinges, that thei han beleve inne, for to beholden hem and worschipen hem first at morwe, or thei meeten any contrarious thinges. And there ben also summe cristene men, that seyn, that summe bestes han gode meetynge, that is to seyn, for to meete with hem first at morwe; and summe bestes wykked meetynge: and that thei han proved ofte tyme, that the hare hath fulle evylle meetynge, and swyn, and many othere bestes. And the sparhawk, and other foules of raveyne, whan thei seen afre here praye, and take it before men of armes, it is a gode signe: and zif he sayle of takynge his praye, it is an evylle signe. And also to suche folk, it is an evylle meetynge of ravenes. In theise thinges, and in suche othere, ther ben many folk, that beleven, be cause it happeneth so often tyme to falle, afre here fantasyes. And also there ben men ynow that han no beleve in hem. And sithe, that cristene men han such beleve, that ben informed and taughte alle-day, be holy doctryne where inane thei schold beleve, it is no marvayle thanne, that the *Paganes*, that han no gode doctryne, but only of here nature, beleven more largely, for here symplencesse (74)."

garlands at the door of the temple, while some were continually going and others <sup>a</sup> coming. They were so ranged between lengths of line, and parted by the same in such manner, that the men had passage among them, and the convenience of getting at those they best liked. The women having once set down before the temple, it was unlawful for any one of them to return home, till some stranger had thrown money into her lap, or bosom, and taken her aside; the man, as he threw the money to her, saying, *I implore the goddess Mylitta for thee*. The money, how little soever it might have been, was by no means to be rejected, being accounted sacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that had accosted her in the form prescribed, but she was absolutely to retire with him without delay; and having suffered his embraces, and performed the accustomed rites to the goddess, <sup>b</sup> she returned home; after which no temptation, though ever so great, could procure the enjoyment of her. Those who were handsome were soon dispatched, but those, who were not so happy, lingered a long time before they could fulfil the law; so that they sometimes waited two or three years in a wretched expectation (W). Those who were rich, and scorned to sit with the meaner sort, were conveyed thither in some covered vehicle, and seated therein <sup>b</sup>, while their servants waited their return at some distance.

*Festival of Sacca.*

FOR five days in one month of every year they celebrated a festival they called *Sacea*, or *Sacca*, during which, the servants commanded their masters, one of them being, for the time, constituted chief over the house, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called *Zogana* <sup>c</sup>.

*Manner of treating the sick and burials.*

THEIR manner of treating their sick was very extraordinary. Having no physicians among them, it was their custom to expose them publicly in the most frequented places, that so every body might see them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the *Egyptians* <sup>d</sup>.

*The Babylonians; their character.*

THE *Babylonians* were excessively credulous, superstitious to the utmost, and as lewd and as debauched as a nation well could be. Their credulity must appear by <sup>d</sup> the esteem their *Chaldeans*, priests, or jugglers were in among them, and their superstition must appear by the same, and what we have said of their religion; and so excessively were they prone to idolatry, that we even find an instance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worship him <sup>e</sup>. Debauchery ran high among them, in which they were justified by the example of their princes, who lived beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather by the banquet *Belsazzar* was giving when he saw the fatal inscription on the wall <sup>f</sup>. Nor was the king's example all, their religion as inculcated by their priests, and, as we have seen, in the rites of their great goddess, and others, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes <sup>e</sup>, compleated them the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands would, for money, expose their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particularly said to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries. The women, upon these occasions, first appeared modest and reserved, till, putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was the practice even with the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to reveal what modesty obliges to conceal <sup>h</sup>. Such is the character given of the *Babylonians*, and it seems exactly to agree with their religion, which encouraged such monstrous impudence in the women and shameflessness in the men; though it cannot be supposed, that in the beginning of their empire they were quite so dissolute as here represented. <sup>f</sup>

THEY

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. c. 199. STRABO; *ibid.* <sup>c</sup> BEROS. apud ATHEN. Deipnosoph. l. 14. p. 639.  
<sup>d</sup> HERODOT. *ibid.* l. 198. STRABO l. 16. *ibid.* <sup>e</sup> DAN. ii. towards the end. <sup>f</sup> *ibid.* c. v.  
<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 926. <sup>h</sup> QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1.

(W) We have this custom, with some additional circumstances, in *Baruch* (75); *The women*, says he, *also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, sit with him, she reproacheth her fellow that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken*. From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been supposed they were cords of rushes (76), which might be easily broken.

(75) vi. 43.

(76) See PURCH. *Pilgr.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 65.

- a** THEY seem to have indulged themselves in dress as well as in other respects, *Their habit.* and to have affected some pride and effeminacy therein; their under garment was a linnen vest, down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies were anointed all over <sup>i</sup> with oil of sesame <sup>k</sup>. They each of them wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought staff, or scepter, adorned at the head with some particular ensign, or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lilly, or an eagle, or some such badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of these sticks, or staves. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers <sup>l</sup>. Traces of which may be picked out of the figures remaining at *Persopolis*,  
**b** as we may observe hereafter.

THIS people was famed for learning, and particularly those of them that were *Learning of the* peculiarly called *Chaldeans*, who were, as is said, their priests, their philosophers, *Chaldees.* astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers and the like. And, in respect of this pretended claim to learning and supernatural knowledge, the *Chaldees* are distinguished quite from the *Babylonians*, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves next to the *Arabians* and the *Persian* gulf <sup>m</sup>, where we have placed them accordingly. They were divided into several sects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borsippeni*, and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular places <sup>n</sup> where different doctrines on the same points were held, or from particular persons who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the *Greeks*, as *Alena*, *Naburian*, *Sudin*, and many others <sup>o</sup>.

WE have hitherto considered this tribe as set apart for devotion and the superstitious functions belonging to the religion of this people; we are now to speak of them as philosophers only, and of the doctrines they taught as such, as well as of their manner of institution.

- WE have already seen how they pretended to have first come by their learning <sup>p</sup>, *Had not their learning from the Egyptians.* and their strange tale concerning their first instructor *Oannes*, who, long before the deluge, came out of the sea, and formed them in the several branches of policy, religion, and learning, and particularly explained to them geometry and astrology; and have observed that he was, according to their tradition, a monster, partly man and partly fish, and that by his coming out of the sea he must have been some stranger, that his name might be, with no great violence, derived from a word, which in *Syriac* signifies a *Traveller*, or a *Foreigner* <sup>q</sup>; as also, that by some circumstances he must have been the same they meant by their *Mylitta*, or great *Venus* <sup>r</sup>. To which we shall now add, that, by what is said of his inventions and useful communications to men, he may have been considered as the *Egyptian Isis*, or *Osiris*, or both. However this may have been, the report of *Oannes's* appearance in *Chaldea* from out of the sea has given birth to an opinion, that *Osiris* and *Oannes* were at least contemporaries, and that the *Babylonians* had all their learning from the *Egyptians*, and that  
**c** not much earlier than the days of *Ammon* and *Sesac*, or *Sibsbak*, whom our author <sup>s</sup> will have to have been the same with *Sesostris*, or not long before the days of *David* and *Solomon*. To prove this, he exhibits the authority of several antient authors, the one <sup>t</sup> writing, That the *Egyptian Belus*, the son of *Neptune* and *Libya*, carried colonies from *Egypt* into *Babylonia*, and that, settling upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, he instituted priests with the same privileges as in *Egypt*, and that these were called *Chaldeans*, and were to observe the stars after the manner of *Egypt*; another <sup>u</sup> declaring the *Babylonian Belus* had his name from the *Egyptian* of that name, the son of *Libya*. In a word, our author <sup>v</sup> concludes, that when *Sabacco*, the *Ethiopian*, invaded *Egypt*, multitudes of that country fled from him into *Chaldea*, and carried with them their  
**f** astronomy, astrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved in the æra of *Nabonassar*; and as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the *Egyptian* pyramids. All this, according to our author's hypothesis, seems plausible enough, but must be confessed to differ vastly from what we read in scripture, by which the reverse rather should appear.

BOTH

<sup>i</sup> HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 195. <sup>k</sup> STRABO ubi sup. p. 745.  
 Geogr. l. 16. p. 739. <sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.  
 in the notes, ibid. <sup>n</sup> See before in the notes, p. 923.  
 amend. p. 210, 211, & seq. <sup>o</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. 1. c. 17.  
 Is. NEWT. ubi sup.

<sup>p</sup> HERODOT. STRAB. ibid. <sup>q</sup> STRABO  
 See before, p. 90. <sup>r</sup> See before  
 Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Anc. Kingd.  
<sup>s</sup> PAUSAN. l. 4. c. 23. <sup>t</sup> Sir

*Arguments to  
prove it.*

BOTH the nations, their very countries, and situations, have certainly in all respects a very near resemblance of each other, and an exact parallel might be deduced between them to make it self-evidently appear. We have seen that they were constant rivals with each other for antiquity<sup>a</sup>; in which the *Babylonians* must have had the preference, according to scripture, where we read, that they kept possession of what we may call the original seat of mankind after the flood; and must have been therefore settled before any of the other nations, who left them behind in *Shinar*, a country which must have been a good deal improved before the dispersion, when all the rest went out in quest of new seats. This historical circumstance may be sufficient to rank them the first of nations, though the *Egyptians* would never allow them that honour; and if these unjustly arrogated the point over them in this respect, why may they not have done the same with regard to others?

THE truth is, both these nations have been strangely addicted to fable, and both of them may be fairly questioned in most we know of their pretences to superiority; and are doubtless to be equally disbelieved. But if the *Egyptians* are preferred to the *Babylonians* in any respect by the *Greeks*, it must be attributed to partiality and prejudice, in favour of such near neighbours as they were in comparison; and if not to this, at least it may be owing to their better acquaintance with the former than with the latter, and to their hearing of the story but on one side. We have at least as good authority to argue in behalf of the *Babylonians* as can be produced in favour of the *Egyptians*.

THE early transaction of attempting to raise the tower of *Babel*, in the very country of this people, must imply them to have been well versed in architecture, and in some of the concomitant arts, even in those early times; and as for the learning of either of the nations, it does not seem to have been such as to deserve the contending for; it appearing to have been rather the corruption of human knowledge than the refinement of it, or, at least, it seems to have been built upon such principles, as were a reproach to sound reason, rather than an honour to the human understanding, and rather calculated to deceive than to inform; to spread the mists of ignorance, than to clear up the lights of knowledge.

HOWEVER, to turn the tables, we have as good an authority as to the contrary, that the *Egyptians* were instructed in all their knowledge by the *Chaldees*, and namely by *Abraham*<sup>1</sup>, who was one of this country. This is the tradition of the *Jews*, the *Arabians*, and the *Indians*, which deserves at least as much credit, and even more, with regard to this people, as the pretences of the *Egyptians*, who were immediately parties concerned, or of the *Greeks*, who were particularly biased in their favour. Nor are these orientals unsupported by the traditions of the westerns, according to whom, the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Belus* was the inventor of the sidereal science<sup>2</sup>, and the nation he belonged to the foremost in antiquity for empire and power, and consequently for the arts and learning; and as they derived their instructor *Osanes* from times preceding the deluge<sup>3</sup>, as should seem, and suppose him to have sprung from the primigenial egg; it is seemingly plain, that whatever constructions may have been put upon his appearance from out of the sea, or the derivation of his name, they acknowledged themselves beholden to no nation under the sun for what they pretended to know; and indeed it must be confessed, that by the bulk of what we understand, both by sacred and profane writers, our author has here strained things too violently to accommodate them to his hypothesis; but, to insist no longer on this doubt, let us take a survey of what the learning was that is so contested.

*Their manner  
of institution.*

THEY acquired not their learning in the manner of the *Greeks*, but possessed what they knew by tradition from father to son, and, being exempt from all offices or impositions to divert their studies, they had nothing to do but to apply themselves to the instruction they had received, from better hands than from the mouth of a mercenary pedagogue, or master. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and, by a tenacious adherence to their point, they became perfectly knowing in what they professed<sup>4</sup>.

SUCH was the manner of their institution, and the tenaciousness of their adherence to what they had received from their fore-fathers, which if true, we need no other proof

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 922.

<sup>1</sup> See before in the notes, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> DIONYS. SICUL. Bibl. Histor. l. 2. p. 82.



- a proof to assure us, that they made little or no progress, even in the learning they particularly professed, and that so it really was may be discovered in the sequel.

They taught that the world was eternal; that it never had beginning, and never shall have end; though they acknowledged a divine providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and are pretended to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact motions of the heavenly bodies, but also to have found out certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity <sup>c</sup>.

- b By this it appears, that whatever advances they made as astronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may so express ourselves, as astrologers. From this delusive amusement, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, the power of averting of evil, and procuring of good; upon these accounts they were highly revered under the title of magicians, tho' in fact not much better than fortune-tellers <sup>d</sup>.

They planets they called *Interpreters*, and made the greatest account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call *Saturn*; the next in degree of eminence with them was *Sol*, or the sun; *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*; six in all, which were all the planets they reckoned: These they called *Interpreters*, as by their motions and aspects they in a more evident manner portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, and sometimes by their setting, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as also from the appearance of comets, from eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of prognosticks they pretended to foresee the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular <sup>e</sup>.

- c UNDER these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called *Counselling Gods*; and half of these they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half to take cognizance of what was done by men, or transacted in the heavens. And they gave out that once in ten days one of the superior of these stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that in return one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same nature; and that this their mutual correspondence was natural to them, and to continue for ever. They reported, that the chiefs of these *Counselling Gods* were 12 in number, and assigned to each of them a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac <sup>f</sup>.

ALL these stars they gave out to have influences over the natiivities of men, and to forebode whatever is to befall them of evil, or happen to them of good, in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected 24 stars, and placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the south. Those of them within our sight they assigned to the living, and those not within it they called the stars or *Constellations of the Dead*; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: In short, the *Chaldeans* were complete astrologers, and pretended to excel all other nations therein <sup>g</sup>.

- d THEIR astronomy, which ought to have taken place of the former, in respect of its dignity above it, must yield its rank here, it being seemingly what they cultivated as a science secondary to the other; and accordingly we find it to have been quite coarse and plain. They had notions that the earth was like a vessel or boat; and that it was hollow within; and had a way of supposing this doctrine by various arguments <sup>h</sup>.

e We have seen their division of the zodiac into 12 signs, throughout which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: But they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the tardiness of their motion; though, by their theory of the moon, the contrary should appear, for they taught that she completed her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumscribed in the heavens. They taught that she shone with a light not her own, and that, when she was eclipsed, she was

<sup>a</sup> Dion. Sicul. Bibl. Hist. l. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.



was immersed in the shadow of the earth. As to eclipses of the sun they were still a more extravagant, and in the dark, especially as to the time when they would happen <sup>1</sup>. In short, the whole of their philosophy and learning seems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial astrology; a science, falsely so called, and as much condemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

Their boasted  
learning con-  
demned.

NOR has this boasted knowledge and learning of the *Chaldees* been arraigned by the moderns only; it has also been condemned by the antients, as inconsistent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal necessity, and destroying the freedom of our will <sup>2</sup>. And this was the mighty learning for which the *Chaldeans* were so famed, as to be denominated, as it were, a distinct nation from the *Babylonians* for the sake of it; and indeed from scripture we gather they were no better; for *Daniel*, speaking of them, divides them into four sorts or kinds, as magicians, astrologers, forcerers, and *Chaldeans* <sup>3</sup>; to which he afterwards adds <sup>4</sup> the diviners, or such as divined by lots, and soothsayers, or such as foretold events by the inspection of entrails. And though there are those who suppose the *Chaldeans*, as here distinguished from the five other sorts, to have been a sect peculiar to themselves, and to have been of deeper and more solid learning <sup>5</sup>; we may easily perceive that they, as well as the rest, pretended to divination, and that they were called upon, as well as the rest, to discover what was hidden to other men. Whence we may safely conclude, that they all in their several ways were consulted as so many oracles, and that they were all devoted to the same end, however they may have been divided <sup>6</sup> as to the means and methods of attaining it; so that seemingly these *Babylonians* had their science branched out amongst them, much after the manner the *Egyptian* physicians had theirs <sup>7</sup>. Their learning must have been made up entirely of superstitious practices, and delusive arts, and if any better they had, they must have concealed it under such ænigma's, and far-fetched resemblances and allegories, as must have rendered it quite a secret, even to themselves, who, considering that they are said from father to son to have received implicitly whatever was taught them, may have been as little able to explain what was really intended by their doctrines, as others were to conceive them to any solid purpose; and it seems not to have been without good reason that many <sup>8</sup> of latter times have made slight of them as philosophers, and concluded that the *Greeks* were in this respect little, if at all, beholden either to them or the *Egyptians*.

Babylonians in  
distinction of  
the Chaldees;  
their arts.

As the *Chaldees* were peculiarly the men of learning among this nation, so the *Babylonians*, properly so called, were the men of art; though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them than the former, if true it be that they were wholly addicted to, and set apart for the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which must, as should seem, have made up the system of their philosophy. For in this case the *Babylonians*, as distinguished from the *Chaldeans*, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as may be gathered from the immense buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of the mathematics and geometry. This we may say in general; but how far, or how far not, they excelled in perspective and the true harmony of proportion, may not be quite so easy a matter to determine, though that their ornaments and decorations fell short of what was afterwards seen in *Greece*, can never be doubted. This may be plain to any one that has seen the representations of the ruins of *Persepolis*, which must certainly have been built in the *Babylonian* manner, which, how far it was beneath the *Grecian* for elegance and proportion, may be more properly considered, when we come to speak of the *Grecian* architecture, and to compare it with that of the *Egyptians* and this people, who, it is certain, were more ambitious of being vast in their performances of this nature, than exquisite. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and statues, however gaudy, rich, and colossean, were nothing to compare with the same that took birth with the *Grecian* artists.

Musie.

MUSIC they had, but in what perfection we must never hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to labour in so unfruitful a field. But that they had a variety of instruments among them, we are well assured, by the above-mentioned prophet, who tells us <sup>9</sup> that they had flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and all kinds of music.

<sup>1</sup> DIOD. SICUL. lib. 2. <sup>2</sup> Vid. BARDESSAN. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evangel. l. 6. c. 10. p. 273. & ALIOS apud eund. ibid. <sup>3</sup> DAN. ii. 2. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. ver. 27. <sup>5</sup> PURCH. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 12. p. 63. <sup>6</sup> See before, p. 218. <sup>7</sup> CÆL. RHODOG. JOSEPH. SCALIG. PRUCER, &c. &c. <sup>8</sup> DAN. iii. ver. 5.—19.

<sup>a</sup> *music*. What these instruments exactly were, nobody will ever know; but if we may judge of their skill in harmony, by what we can discover of their painting and statuary, they will appear vastly inferior to the *Greeks* in the harmonic science.

THEIR poetry we have nothing to say to; but must leave the reader to form *Poetry*, his judgment of it, by that of the other eastern nations, their neighbours, both ancient and modern. Nor do we pretend to say by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the *Chaldeans*, or the *Babylonians*; but, as it has at all times been sacred to religion and superstition, we may suppose the former, as priests, laid claim thereto, as a part of their province.

PHYSIC we have declared to have been no regular science among this people, *Physic* in what we have said of their manner and custom of treating the sick; though that the same, as a science, grew into vast repute with the *Persians*, their successors, will be observed when it comes properly in turn.

As to their language, which was the *Chaldee*, we have already shewn it to be almost *Language*, the same with the *Syriac*, and that the difference is not much greater than between the *English* and the *Scotch*: Their common alphabet we have already given<sup>1</sup>; and as for the *Mendeian* character, which is also peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but also so nearly like the *Estrangelo* of the *Syriac*, that we have thought it unnecessary to insert it. *Bochart*<sup>2</sup> supposes they had a sacred character as well as the *Egyptians*, but upon no very satisfactory foundation.

THE *Babylonians*, properly so called, were great architects, and ingenious in the *Architect.* casting of metals, and great workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked when we come to speak of their great city of *Babylon*; and therefore it may be needless to expatiate on it in this place, when we have reserved another, where we intend to do all possible justice to their great labour and industry in these respects, since they will be found to have fallen short of no one nation under the sun in it, but to have, perhaps in great measure, shewed the way to it to every nation besides.

NOR were they less famous for their manufactures, and particularly for their rich *Manufactures* embroideries, sumptuous vestments, and magnificent carpets, and fine linnen; info- and fine linnen. much, that we read of *Cato*, that he immediately sold a *Babylonian* cloak, or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was ashamed to wear<sup>3</sup>; and elsewhere, that at *Rome* there had been paid, for a suit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining-room, six thousand four hundred fifty-eight pounds six shillings and upwards<sup>4</sup>. It were to no purpose to quote authors for farther instances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb; or to aim at a detail of the several products of their industry: we would only add, that the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Tyrians*, had their purple, which they sent into the eastern parts by way of traffic<sup>5</sup>. This purple they had from a port called *Apologus*, near the *Euphrates*<sup>6</sup>; but as it is disputed whether or no this was what may be called a discovery among them, and whether they were not before used to supply themselves therewith from *Tyre*<sup>7</sup>, we shall not insist thereon, any farther than to take notice, that their country afforded the best material of its sort, for dying, meaning alom, both natural and artificial<sup>8</sup>.

THIS people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Particular* *Chaldeans* properly so called; there seems to have been other subordinate tribes or tribes. sects of them. Three of these are said to have fed upon nothing but fish<sup>9</sup>; and thereby seem to have infringed a sacred law among them, in reverence of their great goddess, for whose sake the *Babylonians* seem to have abstained therefrom. The same we have elsewhere observed<sup>†</sup> to have been done by the *Egyptians*, some of whom worshipped the fish which others of them fed upon. However, it may not have been upon a religious principle that this people departed from the rest of their countrymen; and the rather as it seems to be imputed to necessity<sup>10</sup>, these tribes living among the fens, and being destitute of corn; to supply the want of which, it was their custom to dry their fish in the sun, which they afterwards made into paste, and, having baked it, ate it instead of bread<sup>11</sup>. Something yet more extraordinary than this we are told of the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH. in vita Catonis. and measures, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. BOCHART. PHALEG. c. 7. col. 28.

<sup>5</sup> See before, p. 200. d. & alib.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 719.

<sup>7</sup> PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 8. c. 48.

<sup>8</sup> ARRIAN. Peripl. Mar. Eryth. in minor.

<sup>9</sup> STRAB. l. 16. p. 746.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 378.

<sup>11</sup> See ARBUTH. of anc. coins, weights,

<sup>12</sup> CANAN c. 17. col. 773.

<sup>13</sup> HUDSON, vol. II. p. 20. 21.

<sup>14</sup> Vid. eund. ibid.

<sup>15</sup> HERODOT. l. 1.

<sup>16</sup> HERODOT. ubi sup.

habitants of *Borsippa*, where the bats being much larger than usual in other places, they<sup>a</sup> used to salt them for food<sup>f</sup>; and this, whether it proceeded from any superstition or want, which last seems a little hard to believe in so plentiful a country as this must have been, we leave undecided.

Commerce.

THE trade of this antient people is no where, that we know of, professedly treated of; but that it must have been very considerable is not in the least to be doubted, and especially when *Babylon* was in the meridian of her glory; whoever contemplates the splendor of this monarchy, and the commodious situation of this country in general, and its capital in particular, cannot doubt but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. *Babylon* was situated, as it were, in the very midst of the old world, and by means of the two great rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, had very easy communication with the western and northern parts, as also with the eastern, by the means of the *Persian* gulf. In a word, it may either, by land or by water, have had easy commerce with all the points of the compass: and as it was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own, to exchange with its neighbours round about, and lay so within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted but that trade was as extensive here as ever it was any where. Whether the *Babylonians* were famous for shipping of their own, we are pretty much in the dark; though it cannot well be disputed, but they must have been considerable as navigators. Something like it is hinted by the prophetic evangelist (X), and since *Babylon* is by him peculiarly styled *the city of waters*, as the prophet expresses himself, it is but natural to conclude, that they very much abounded in shipping of their own.

### S E C T. III.

#### *The Chronology of the BABYLONIANS, from the first Rise of the Monarchy, to its Dissolution.*

WE are here to consider the *Babylonians* in two very different views; first, as<sup>d</sup> composing a small, though perhaps a formidable kingdom, immediately after the deluge, the chronology of which we have already settled as exactly as the nature of the thing will bear<sup>e</sup>; and secondly, as constituting a potent and wide-spreading empire, founded by, and at last rising upon the ruins of the *Assyrians*, their brethren<sup>h</sup>; so that in effect we are here only to look back to the early times of the *Assyrian* monarchy, of which this was a collateral branch, and possessed, as should seem, by princes of the same blood with those who filled the throne of *Niniveb*. We may refer the reader back to what we have said in the chronology of the *Assyrians*, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they properly took rise in one and the same person, meaning *Pul* king of *Assyria*, and nearly at one and the same time. But not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of *Babylon* from the kingdom of *Assyria*, and to exhibit, according to our custom, a series of the kings of *Babylon*, according to several authors.

<sup>f</sup> STRAB. ubi sup. p. 739.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 126.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 902.

(X) Besides what might be gathered to prove this point, in the *Prophets*, the book of *Revelations*, (77) describing the fall of *Babylon*, has these words, which at once display the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, and convince they must have abounded in shipping: *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen* . . . *The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more: The merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine, or sweet-wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments,*

*and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men* . . . *The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and waiting, and saying, Alas! alas! that great city that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls* . . . *And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stand afar off, and cried* . . . *Alas! alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness* . . . *is* . . . *made desolate* (78).

(77) *xviii. 2.* 19,

(78) *Ibid.*

A TABLE of the Successions of the Babylonian Kings, according to Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon, and the Ecclesiastical Account.

According to the most correct copies of Ptolemy's canon.		According to the ecclesiastical account in Syncellus.	
	Years.		Years.
1 Nabonassar reigned	14	1 Nabonassar or Salmanassar reigned	25
2 Nadius	2	2 Nabius	8
3 Chinzirus and Porus	5	3 Chinzirus and Porus	5
4 Jugens	5	4 Illuleus	5
5 Mardoc Empadus	12	5 Mardocempadocus	12
6 Arkianus	5	6 Arceanus	5
7 Inter-reign I.	2	7 Inter-reign I.	2
8 Belibus	3	8 Belithus	3
9 Apronadius	6	9 Aporanadisus	6
10 Rigebélus	1	10 Iregiballus	1
11 Mesessimordacus	4	11 Messisimordacus	4
12 Inter-reign II.	8	12 Inter-reign II.	8
13 Assar-Addinus	13	13 Isarindinus	13
14 Saofauchéus	20	14 Saofuchius	9
15 Chyniladanus	22	15 Cimeladanus	14
16 Nabopalassar	21	16 Napobalassar	21
17 Nabocassassar	43	17 Nabuchadonosor his son	43
18 Ihuaredannus	2	18 Ebidan Merodach	5
19 Niricassolassar	4	19 Nireglesarus or Baltasar	3
20 Nabonadius	17	20 Nabonadius, or Assyages, or Darius, or Assuerus, or Artaxerxes	17
210		200	

a THIS table contains on the one side a genuine and most correct copy of Ptolemy's astronomical canon (Y), and on the other a corruption of it. We shall not here inquire into the differences between these two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. Syncellus, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has another, under the same head, the authors of which are Africanus and Eusebius<sup>1</sup>. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be necessary to prove the first rise and duration of the Babylonian empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by Ptolemy, whose canon is so exactly agreeable to scripture history, that if this latter could possibly stand in need of confirmation as to the historical parts of it, so far as it relates to the history of the great empires of the Assyrians and Babylonians, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous profane æra's, that of Nabonassar, the first king in it, and without which there would be the most palpable darkness over the affairs of these people. Nothing is more surprizing than that this most noble monument should have been so little examined by the light naturally reflected on it from the sacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and historians from out of the labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by the extravagances of one fabulous Greek writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the christian moderns. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of Pul's first appearance on this side the Euphrates, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Christ;

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Can. Chron. SÆCUL. xvii.

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and sent by Dr. Overal, Dean of St. Paul's, to Seth Calvisius, and first published, with Ptolemy's Hypothesis, by Dr. Bambridge, (79), professor of the mathematics at Oxford (80).

(79) Vid. GREGOR. Postum. de æra & Epoch. c. 7. p. 149. (80) Vid. MARSH. Can. Chron. Sæcul. xv.

Christ; which shews the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Assyrian* <sup>a</sup> origin, according to the prophet \*; *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof.* The kingdom of *Babylon* was then founded by the *Assyrians*. This is so plain, that it may be needless to add any thing more to it, especially after what has been already said in the chronology of *Assyria*, to make this appear.

*Ptolemy*, we may perceive, could discover no king of *Babylon* older than *Nabonassar*, and therefore begins with him; and the scripture mentions no king of *Assyria* before *Pul*, who appeared on this side of the *Euphrates* about 23 years before the first year of the canon; and as *Nabonassar* is an *Assyrian* name, most evidently compounded of *Nebo-addon-assur*, we may thence conclude that he was the son or grandson of *Pul*, who upon his death divided his monarchy between his children. This seems a most evident point, and abundantly helps us to understand what the prophet means in the text above; and without which it is impossible to understand how the *Assyrians* should have founded the land of the *Chaldees*. This kingdom of *Babylon* being then of *Assyrian* extraction, and considered as a sister-kingdom with *Assyria*, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with somewhat more certainty than that of the *Assyrian* empire, which we could have no notice of till the first appearance of *Pul* in the west. It may begin then with us in the 24th year of *Pul*'s <sup>c</sup> appearance to the westward of the *Euphrates*, 2252 years after the flood, and 747 years before Christ: It ends 2462 years after the flood, and 537 years before Christ. So that its whole duration was no more than 210 years compleat; to which if we add the 23 or 24 years of *Pul* before the date of this canon, we shall have a number not exceeding 234, for the years of the duration of the great *Assyrian* family; whether at *Niniveh*, or at *Babylon*, with respect to what we know of the rise of these kingdoms; and that *Niniveh*, which is confessedly the oldest, did not much exceed this number, must appear to any one that gives himself the trouble to recollect what we have so amply observed in the third, fourth, and fifth sections of the preceding chapter. <sup>d</sup>

THE *Chaldees*, we are told, were founded by the *Assyrian*, and by the undoubted authorities of scripture, and *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon, this *Assyrian* can have been no other than *Pul*. If any one can prove the existence of another *Assyrian* conqueror or founder before him, we shall be very ready to congratulate him upon the discovery. The canon itself directs us when to date the fall of the *Babylonian* empire, namely, in the 18th year of *Nabonadius*; though according to the canon he reigned but 17 years; for every king's reign there begins with the last Thoth of his predecessor's reign.

## S E C T. IV.

### The History of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of this people, as constituting a wide and <sup>e</sup> most famous monarchy, we must just take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have existed before the deluge. In doing of this, we have little more than to remind the reader that we have already exhibited the antediluvian princes of this part, according to the several authors, and that we have already said as much of its first founder *Nimrod* as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are said to have been his immediate successors in this infant kingdom, a list of which we have here transcribed.

\* *Iai. xlii. 13.*

## A TABLE of the Kings of Babylon, that immediately succeeded Nimrod.

According to Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
	Years.		Years.
1 Evechoos or Nimrod reigned . . . . .	6	1 Evechoüs or Nimrod reigned : . . . .	6
2 Chomasbolus . . . . .	7	2 Chofmabolus . . . . .	7
3 Porus . . . . .	35	3 Porus . . . . .	35
4 Necbubes . . . . .	43	4 Necbubes . . . . .	43
b 5 Abios . . . . .	48	5 Abius . . . . .	48
6 Oniballus . . . . .	40	6 Oniballes . . . . .	40
7 Zinzirus . . . . .	45	7 Zinzirus . . . . .	45
	<hr/> 224		<hr/> 224

Our authors, we see, perfectly agree as to these kings who are called the dynasty of the *Chaldees*, and indeed, in this case, *Syncellus* has faithfully copied *Eusebius*. This dynasty, which lasted no more than 224 years, was no sooner expired, than the *Arabians* became uppermost, and produced a race of six kings at *Babylon*. This *Arabian* dynasty lasted 216 years, and the two dynasties together 440 years. The whole interval, as we have stated it between the first of the reign of *Nimrod*, and the call of *Abraham*, is 646 years. This *Arabian* dynasty then expired 206 years before the call of *Abraham*, and was succeeded by the *Affyrian* dynasty, beginning with *Belus* and ending with *Sardanapalus*; as we have given it in the chronology of the *Affyrians* <sup>k</sup>. The *Affyrians* must then have erected their monarchy long before the call of *Abraham*, and the same must have continued at least a thousand years after him, without any intermission, according to the most common accounts, which may be sufficiently disproved by this one argument. Besides, there can be well no doubt but these *Arabian* kings were, according to scripture, of the country of *Elam*, or *Persia*; for under *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, we find *Amraphel*, king of *Sbinar*, the undoubted *Babylonia*; warring upon the kings of the *Canaanites*; we may then as good as satisfy ourselves, that this *Arabian* dynasty, as it is called, subsisted after the call, when *Abraham* rescued his brother *Lot* from them; so that hence it may appear, that, if any people can claim to have been properly the first monarchy, the *Elamites* or *Persians* are the people, as we shall observe in its proper place.

FROM the year of the flood 431, or from its foundation, we have no certain notice of any thing relating to this kingdom, except, that about 600 years afterwards, there was a king of it called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *Elam* <sup>l</sup>. This is all we have to say concerning these early times of this antient kingdom, except we adopt the *Ctesian* accounts of *Semiramis*, who, according to him, must be called the foundress of *Babylon*; and that is what has been sufficiently confuted already.

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the series we have given of the *Affyrian* kings, as they stand in *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, is reckoned as the third dynasty of the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, and called the *Affyrian*; but, concerning this, we must refer the reader to our chronology of the *Affyrians*, where we hope he will meet with what may satisfy him of the little weight this succession of dynasties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon should be called the fourth dynasty of the orientals, and distinguished by the title of the *Babylonian*; but this we must reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and especially with us, who distinguish so widely as we do, between the antient kingdom of *Babylon*, and the monarchy or empire of the same.

WE have now brought all the history we know of this people down to the æra of *Nabonassar*; but before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of *Babylon* we can possibly acknowledge, from the days of *Amraphel* above to the said *Nabonassar*, we must relate what is fabulously reported of the man, who, according to some profane authors, must be accounted the first king of *Babylon*.

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<sup>k</sup> See before, p. 865.<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 424.



The story of  
Belshazzar, or Na-  
mybrus.

He is by some called *Belefsis* <sup>m</sup>, and by others *Namybrus* <sup>n</sup>, and both affect to give us an extraordinary story of him, which will be almost all we shall be able, in these authors, to find concerning the *Babylonian* empire, till it was put to an end.

UNDER the name of *Belefsis*, this first prince is represented as a crafty and a mean-spirited knave, and as nothing less than a hero. It is said he was base enough to circumvent *Arbaces*, his colleague and friend, in the most shameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midst of the war, made to his god *Belus*, That if success was the event of it, and the palace of *Sardanapalus* was consumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the ashes that were left to *Babylon*, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to stand as a monument to all who should navigate the *Euphrates*, of the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. He, it seems, had been privately informed by an eunuch, he kept close up to himself, of the immense treasure which had been consumed in the conflagration of the palace at *Niniveh*, and, knowing it to be a secret to *Arbaces*, he was tempted to forge this pretence. His request was granted him, the ashes were given to him, to do with them as he would; and not only so, but *Arbaces* constituted him king of *Babylon*, with an exemption from all tribute. *Belefsis*, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treasure with him to *Babylon*; but, when the secret was discovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs who had been assistant in the war, and who, upon his confession of the crime, condemned him to the loss of his head. But *Arbaces*, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independant government of *Babylon*, saying, The good he had done ought to serve us a veil to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion <sup>o</sup>.

IN process of time, and under the successor of *Arbaces*, he became a man of dress, and shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. *Namybrus*, for so we must now call *Belefsis*, being informed, that a certain robust *Mede*, called *Parfondas*, held him in the utmost contempt, and had solicited the emperor of the *Medes* to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take *Parfondas* and bring him to him. *Parfondas* hunting some-where near *Babylon* with the king of the *Medes*, and straggling from the company, happened at length to fall in with some of the servants of the *Babylonian* *Namybrus*, who had been tempted with the promised reward. He had been all the day at his exercise, and being very thirsty, and these servants being purveyers to the king of *Babylon*, he asked them for a draught of wine, and they, knowing him, very readily plied him therewith, and not only so, but prevailed upon him to stay and eat a meal with them. *Parfondas*, who was thoroughly fatigued, thankfully accepted the offer, and, sending the prey he had taken to his king, indulged himself in what was laid before him, and especially in some rich wines, which were plentifully poured out on purpose to inebriate him. *Parfondas*, quite flustered, called for his horse that he might go to the king of the *Medes* where he was incamped, but, instead of his horse, they brought him some beautiful women, and desired he would pass his night with them, and defer his departure till the light of the next morning. He consented, and being sated with his pleasures, and fallen into a profound sleep, they rushed upon him in the midst of the night, bound him, and carried him off to *Namybrus*; who no sooner saw him, than he began to expostulate with him for his seditious attempts to displace him in *Babylon*, without any the least offence given on his part, that should make him an enemy. To this *Parfondas* resolutely answered, That he thought himself to be more worthy of the dominion than so indolent and effeminate a prince as he was; which the other taking into high disdain, and reflecting on him for the manner in which he had suffered himself to be surprised by his servants, vowed he would make him as soft, and as tender, and as delicate as any body <sup>p</sup>.

HAVING thus sworn by the gods *Belus* and *Moliss* [or *Mylistis* as it should be] he called for the eunuch who had charge of his music girls, and ordered him to shave him, and smooth and paint him, and dress him just after the manner of those girls, and to see that he learned their art, and by all the means and methods possible to transform him into one of them; accordingly, as the fable goes on, *Parfondas* became in a short time quite emasculated, and to all outward appearance even more delicate than

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 886. <sup>n</sup> NICOL. DAMASC. in Excerpt. VALES. p. 424. <sup>o</sup> CRIS. apud DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 78. <sup>p</sup> NICOL. DAMASC. ubi sup.

a than the fairest female of them all, and exceeded them all in singing and playing, and the other arts of allurements; and whoever saw him, at the entertainments the king gave, not only pronounced him a woman, but the most beautiful of the train in waiting<sup>1</sup>.

THE king of the *Medes*, *Artaxerxes* it seems by name, had in vain sought after his favourite companion *Parfondas*, and in vain offered rewards to whoever should produce him alive or dead, and, hearing no news of him, gave himself up to grief for his faithful servant, concluding he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chase when he lost him. At length, after seven years, it happened that, an eunuch having been most cruelly scourged and beaten by *Nanybrus's* order, *Parfondas* took  
b the opportunity of the man's discontent, and, with great promises, prevailed on him to fly to the king of the *Medes*, and to make known to him his metamorphosis. The eunuch went, and told what he was ordered, and the king of the *Medes* no sooner heard it, than he was moved with the highest indignation. Immediately he dispatched an officer to *Nanybrus* to demand *Parfondas*; but, when the officer arrived at *Babylon*, he denied that he had ever known any thing of any such person. This answer being carried back to the *Mede*, he sent a more resolute and robust officer than the former, with letters commanding *Nanybrus*, without delay or reserve, to send him the man whom he had shamefully debased and confined among his eunuchs and music girls, or to expect the sudden loss of his head; and ordered the officer,  
c if he persisted in the denial, to bind him with his sash, or girdle, and to lead him to immediate execution. *Nanybrus* scared at this, and consulting his own safety, promised to deliver up the man, though he could abundantly justify himself with the king of the *Medes* for what he had done in this respect. He then entertained the officer at table, and the dishes were no sooner placed before them, than 150 women, among whom *Parfondas* was, made their appearance, singing, and playing upon various instruments; but *Parfondas* was more charming to the eye and to the ear by far than any of the rest; and accordingly *Nanybrus* inquiring of the *Mede* which he liked best? he immediately pointed at *Parfondas*. The *Babylonian* at this clapped his hands, and fell into an immoderate fit of laughter; and asking  
d his guest, whether or no he should be willing to pass his night with his favourite? and he declaring his desire that the thing might be so; *Nanybrus* told him he could not possibly grant it: Why then did you ask me the question, said the *Mede*? *Nanybrus* paused a while, at last, This, says he, is the *Parfondas* you want. The officer was astonished, and incredulous of what he heard, till at last the *Babylonian*, convincing him that what he told him was fact, alledged, that what he had done with *Parfondas* he could answer for before the king of the *Medes*. *Artaxerxes*, wondering at the prodigious alteration he saw in *Parfondas*, asked him, how it had been possible for him to live so long under such a load of infamy? *Parfondas* pleaded necessity, and the desire he had to see his face again, as also to live to see himself revenged; and begged  
e of all things that he would take revenge for him accordingly. *Artaxerxes* promised him fair, and *Parfondas* recovered himself to his former masculine habit and appearance<sup>2</sup>.

*Artaxerxes* came to *Babylon*, attended by *Parfondas*, who was continually calling upon him for justice; but, when *Nanybrus* appeared before the king, he pleaded his cause with great resolution, urging that *Parfondas*, towards whom he never was guilty of the least offence, would subdulously and barbarously have procured his death, that so he might succeed him in the kingdom of *Babylon*. The king of the *Medes* observed that this was but a weak excuse for his having presumed to act as judge in his own cause, and inflict punishments in his own right, instead of appealing to him, and submitting to what he should have thought most proper to be done in the case; and,  
f in short, declared that in ten days time he would pass the sentence on him he had deserved<sup>3</sup>.

*Nanybrus*, terrified at this, repairs to an eunuch called *Mitrapbernes*, who was in greatest favour with the king of the *Medes*, and promised him 10 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 10 golden cups, 200 of silver, and a great quantity of fine cloathing, if he would but stand his friend. As for the king of the *Medes* himself, he made him, by this eunuch, at the same time, an offer of 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver, 100 golden goblets, 300 of the same in silver, innumerable vestments, and other rich gifts, if he might but have his life spared, and the kingdom of *Babylon* secured to him<sup>4</sup>.

THE

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Idem ibid.

THE eunuch, thus tempted, repaired to the king's bed-chamber, and pressed a him very much in the behalf of his client, representing that he had done nothing worthy of death; that he had not even taken a cruel revenge on *Parfondas*; that he had abstained from his blood, and served him only in kind. He then urged, that, if after this it should be thought right to deprive him of life, he might be spared for his sake, and promised that, if the favour was granted him, the *Babylonian* should present him with vast gifts, and give *Parfondas* 100 talents of silver. The king, at length, gave ear to the insinuations and arguments of this his favourite eunuch, and sentenced *Nanybrus* to a fine accordingly; which, as it gave great joy to *Nanybrus*, affected *Parfondas* equally with indignation and disdain, who bestowed his maledictions upon the man that first found out gold, seeing, for the sake of that, he was to live the sport and derision of an effeminate *Babylonian*. The eunuch, who had thus interposed with his good offices, understanding that *Parfondas* still glowed with rage, and even more than ever; not only exhorted him to be reconciled to *Nanybrus*, but told him it was the king's will and pleasure he should be so. But *Parfondas*, deaf to all that could be said to him on this subject, continued to meditate revenge, both on *Nanybrus*, and his friend the eunuch; and in the end had the satisfaction of being revenged on both <sup>b</sup>.

BUT we have been too particular in these stories about this pretended protomonarch of *Babylon*, so self-evidently fabulous, that to dilate thereon would only lead us into a repetition of what is gone before in disproof of the whole. <sup>c</sup>

The genuine  
history of the  
Babylonians.

Nabonassar.

FROM this fictitious relation then, to proceed to the genuine history of the *Babylonians*, in which there is a vast chasm of many hundreds of years between the times of *Nimrod* and *Amraphel*, to the times we are now reached down to; the first *Babylonian* king we meet with after these, and those we have mentioned to have succeeded between them, that we meet with in history sacred or profane, is *Nabonassar*, the first in *Ptolemy's* canon. Concerning this king, so well known for the æra that passes under his name, we have nothing particular recorded; but as it may be of great use to know in what manner he came to be king of *Babylon*, and how it comes to pass that *Ptolemy* could be assured of no *Babylonian* king who lived before his time, so late in comparison of what has most generally, and till very d lately, been pretended, we will venture to supply the deficiency by some probabilities and conjectures which may carry so much weight with them, after what we have said of the first rise, progress, and apparent obscurity of the antient kingdom of this people, as may satisfy every reader, that no point of history has been so perfectly mistaken, as that which relates to the first rise of the *Babylonian* kingdom, so much talked of by profane writers.

TOWARDS this attempt we have done much already, but this must be here premised, or rather repeated, that, however, we distinguish the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* from each other; they were but two branches of one and the same family. By scripture this seems clearly to appear, where the *Babylonian* names are pure *Assyrian*; <sup>e</sup> and by profane authors as much is explicitly confessed, who unanimously agree, that the city of *Babylon* was built by the *Assyrians*; and hence we are to conclude, that the antient nations, that were in immediate subjection to *Nimrod*, have properly nothing to do with the great *Babylonian* kingdom, which arose in after-times, but must wholly relate to those people who migrated with *Asbur*, or *Assur*, and ever after retained his name. If any proof of this could be wanting, after what we have so often attempted in favour of it, we might not only recur to *Ctesias* himself, and to *Herodotus*, but to the whole tribe of *Greek* and *Latin* writers; we therefore shall insist no farther on it here, supposing it to be what must be universally granted, and shall only observe that in *Ptolemy's* canon the kings of *Babylon* are called *Assyrians*, and that in the same the kings of *Persia* are called the kings of the *Medes*, as it were in honour to the two nations of which they were natural branches; for, in strictness, the history of the empire of *Babylon* is no other than a continuation of the history of the *Assyrian* empire; just as the empire of the *Persians* is of the empire of the *Medes*; and hence, in the title of the canon above, you have mention only of the *Assyrians* and the *Medes*, though none but the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia* are to be found therein, excepting the princes which follow *Alexander* the great, <sup>f</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

HAVING

- a HAVING settled this point, as we think beyond the possibility of dispute, we shall next endeavour at the proof of what we suggest, by the very situation of the countries in respect of each other, and the nature of things; by which it must be plain, that the kingdom of *Babylon* took birth with the kingdom of *Assyria*, and that they were twin sisters, or at least produced within a few years of each other. Previous to this we must just repeat, that *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* with us, does not appear as a conqueror westward above 24 years before the first of the reign of *Nabonassar*, and we would venture to assert, that *Pul* must then have been in the middle of life, and that after this he may have lived at least 24 years. And this being supposed, as it very naturally may, we shall have as good a proof as we can almost require, that he divided his empire between two of his sons; for, according to *Ptolemy*, *Nabonassar* had *Babylon* for his portion, and according to scripture, *Tiglath-pileser* had *Assyria* for his; for in scripture we find him as the immediate successor of *Pul*, in about seven years after whose death, as we have here stated it, he appears on this side of the *Euphrates*, and leads off with him a number of captives of different tribes and nations; so that no chronologies can more exactly concur together than the scripture and the canon in this particular; and what is more, they will, at the same time, help us to some lights to guide us to the truth of what *Ctesias* and his followers have so seemingly disguised, as we shall not fail to observe. In the mean time to return to our point, The very situation of these countries may convince us, that the thing was as we contend; for they so mutually extend against each other on the banks of the *Tigris*, which was the common boundary of both, and the only partition between them, and *Babylonia* was so throughout a barrier between *Assyria* and the western parts, that the *Assyrian* could not have reached any of them, but by crossing some part or other of the country of *Babylon*\*, so that but to imagine that he attempted to cross the *Euphrates*, before he had made a conquest of this rich and fertile land, were an absurdity of the most glaring kind. Accordingly we find that *Ctesias*, how inconsistent soever he may have been in other points, was so sensible of this, that he makes this the first conquest the *Assyrians* attempted, even though he as good as confesses his *Ninus* never to have crossed the *Euphrates*, concluding it would appear
- c ridiculous, that a man, who had taken it into his head to become a conqueror, and to extend his dominion over all other other countries, should not first make sure of so near a neighbour, which must have been more tempting to him than any other he could possibly have in view, as well as most dangerous if left unconquered.

Now, as we have plainly seen that the two kingdoms took birth together in one man, it is inconsistent to suppose they were not in subordination to one another; and accordingly it appears that *Nabonassar* was the younger son, and consequently in subjection to his brother *Tiglath-pileser*, who is stiled the king of *Assyria*, and held his residence at the original seat of the empire, *Niniveb*, which, that it was older than the city called by us *Babylon*, is not only to be gathered from the prophet†, and other passages in scripture, but from the bulk of profane authors, who concur, that *Niniveb* was finished before the foundations of *Babylon* were laid.

THIS being settled, we shall have no more reason to wonder, that these two kingdoms were in perfect harmony, than that two brothers should agree together; the ambition of the one must have contributed to the grandeur and prosperity of the other reciprocally; and that a right of superiority was acknowledged by the younger branch at *Babylon*, towards the elder at *Niniveb*, may be easily conceived. If this was not exactly the case, we shall have such difficulties start up against us, both in the history of *Babylon* and that of *Assyria*, as are quite insurmountable. We know they existed as collateral kingdoms, for while the great *Sennacherib* was in his full glory, and warring in the west, we read of an embassy from *Merodach Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to *Hezekiah*; not to mention the other kings before him and after him in the canon. Now if there had not been the strictest union, and a most natural subordination, between the two kingdoms on the other side of the *Euphrates*; is it to be imagined, that any king of *Assyria* would have crossed that river to war in the west, while he was disjoined from his own country by so formidable and powerful a kingdom as *Babylon* must have been, and who might have taken the advantage in his absence, when he had, as it is likely, drained his country

*The kingdom of Babylon is subjection to that of Assyria.*

\* See the map of these countries. † See before, p. 936.

try of the choicest of his soldiery, to spoil and destroy it? Or might they not have <sup>a</sup> joined the *Ciseuphratenfians* against him, and have surrounded him on all sides, and, by the additional numbers they must have brought into the field, have routed and utterly destroyed him? And must not this or the other have really been the case some time or other, if the kings of the two countries had not been bound together by the most solemn ties of obligation every way? Could the *Babylonians*, who were confessedly a kingdom all the time, have been so supine as supposed, with such a neighbour at their very door, and when, at the same time, they must have known that all the western nations would most readily have joined them to destroy these ambitious princes, who, by so frequently crossing the *Euphrates*, exposed themselves, as powerful as their armies may have been, as often, in great measure to their <sup>b</sup> mercy? Other irresistible arguments may be urged, to maintain us in what we would here advance; but, apprehending we have said rather more than enough to convince the reader already, we shall pass them over as needless.

Nabonassar  
likely to have  
been the Ninus  
of profane  
authors.

FROM all this we may gather, that *Nabonassar*, this first king of *Babylon*, bids as fair to have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*, as *Tiglatb-pilefar*, and rather more so; and particularly as he was, as is most likely, the husband of *Semiramis*, who, if she had any right to be denominated from any city of these parts, was confessedly, according to the common notion, a *Babylonian*, as we shall observe immediately. For notwithstanding the *Ninus* of *Ctesias* is said to have raised the city of *Niniveh*, in which he differs from what we think very evident, he agrees in so many other <sup>c</sup> points with the person of *Nabonassar*, that he makes full amends for it. We have seen him the visible son of *Pul*, whom we have asserted to have been the *Belus* of that author; and that he was a warrior cannot be doubted, when it is considered, that the family he was a branch of had just begun to establish a power, by conquest, over all the nations they could reach. But that he may have been magnified a little beyond the truth, or indeed a great deal, must not astonish us, when we remember, that this younger family, rising upon the ruins of the elder, may have arrogated more to themselves than was really their due, and that even what they did arrogate may have been enlarged by tradition, which always spreads as it goes.

THUS far again we see a resemblance between *Ninus* and *Nabonassar*, the con- <sup>d</sup> quests of the former are confined wholly to the *Transseuphratenfian* regions, he never once makes his appearance on this side of the river<sup>1</sup>, except in the romantic lists of his conquests. And so it is most likely to have been with *Nabonassar*, who may have warred upon the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and neighbouring people, while the emperor, his eldest brother, was prosecuting a war, and grasping at conquests of far greater importance, whereby he hoped to become master of the great and wealthy kingdoms of *Syria*, *Phenice*, and *Palestine*, and thereby to pave his way to *Egypt* itself; states, which for their great opulence must, above all others, have allured a race of princes, possessed with an unnatural lust to live upon the spoil.

As we have seen that he may possibly have been the *Ninus* of profane writers, we <sup>e</sup> are next to declare, that he can never have been either the *Sbalmaneser* of scripture, or the *Belefsis* of *Ctesias*, according to the generality of christians. *Sbalmaneser* he cannot possibly have been; for he had, according to the canon, been dead five years before *Sbalmaneser* seems to have begun his reign; nor can he have been *Belefsis*, for, if he be a prince any where in the canon, he must have been *Nabopolassar*, and indeed can have been no other. Now *Nabopolassar* did not begin to reign at *Babylon* till full 108 years after *Nabonassar* had been departed this life. Nor consequently can he have been *Nanybrus*, who was confessedly the same with *Belefsis*.

Semiramis  
most likely to  
have been the  
wife of Nabo-  
nassar.

To dwell no longer on the mistakes that have been committed with regard to this first king of *Babylon*, we would next observe, that the *Semiramis* of the Greeks <sup>f</sup> must have been his wife, if ever there was such a queen of *Babylon*; whereby we shall still more amply evince that he may have been *Ninus*. We have been told she was born at *Ascalon* in *Syria*, that she was brought from that country by a certain officer belonging to the king of *Assyria*, and that *Ninus* fell in love with her, though married to that officer, and made her his queen<sup>2</sup>. Now as we have stated the chronology of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, it was about the middle of *Nabonassar's* reign at *Babylon*, that his seeming brother, *Tiglatb-pilefar*, crossed the *Euphrates*, and captivated some of the tribes and nations to the westward. Among these

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 872, 873, & seq.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 877.



- a these captives it is very likely *Semiramis* may have been, according to the story of *Ctesias*; and as she must have been a woman of very superior wit and beauty, it is not strange that some great *Assyrian* lord should take her to his bed, and even make her his most favourite wife. It is possible also that she may have attended him to the war with the *Bactrians*, as related<sup>a</sup>, where we have made it probable that *Nabonassar* may have commanded. And that this was something of the case appears by this, that *Ninus* lived not very long with her, and left her behind him with a young child<sup>b</sup>. Now *Nabonassar* reigned but 14 years in all<sup>c</sup>; and it was in the seventh year of his reign that *Tiglath-pileser* first made any captives from this side of the river. If then we suppose, as according to the story we may,
- b that she lived with her first husband five years, she must have fallen to the lot of *Nabonassar*, if she was his wife, in the latter end of his 12th, or the beginning of his 13th year, and so he can have lived with her but barely two years; and this agrees seemingly with *Ctesias*, who, as we apprehend, makes the duration of their marriage to be very short<sup>d</sup>.

- If we build upon any foundation, as possibly we may, we shall hereby be able to discover how it came to pass that she had the sovereign sway over *Babylon*, as also that her reign was but very short. For considering her own personal excellencies, that she must have been the idol of her deceased husband, and the mother and nurse of a tender infant he had left to succeed him, nothing is more natural
- c than that she should assume the reins of the government, and in consequence thereof attempt to make herself an everlasting name for her exploits abroad, and her works at home. Accordingly it is possible she may have headed armies to some of the people mentioned in her story; and though she did not build the city of *Babylon*, which by all circumstances we may assure ourselves she did not; she may so have added to it, or embellished it, as to have entitled her as much, in proportion, to the honour of being reckoned the foundress of *Babylon*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had to be esteemed the founder. A woman, of the sort she must have been, could never slip so favourable an opportunity of making herself conspicuous to all ages; and by her example she is said to have stirred an emulation in a queen, who succeeded
- d almost 200 years after her, and who, it seems, vied with her to the degree of eclipsing her<sup>e</sup>. The name of this queen is *Nitocris*, and between her and *Semiramis* there is said to have been five generations<sup>f</sup>, which, according to the common way of computing, being equal to 150 years, and the sum of the years of the *Babylonian* kings amounting to 210, if from thence we deduct the 14 years of *Nabonassar's* reign, and as many from that of *Nabonadius*, who was the last king, and the son of this *Nitocris*<sup>g</sup>, we shall have a remainder of 182 years. This will be an argument against us, with regard to what we are attempting to prove of *Semiramis*, and we confess it; for after this rate *Semiramis* must have lived above six generations before *Nitocris*; we would therefore, since we have so many concurrent
- e circumstances in our behalf, conclude that *Herodotus* is mistaken in this matter, which he well may be, in so traditionary a piece of history as this must have been in his time. If no historian had made greater mistakes than this, we should not have been involved in such labyrinths as we have often been throughout the course of this work.

- Now, if things were as we suspect them to have been, this great and deified *Semiramis* reigned but two years<sup>h</sup>, for her son, according to this, lived no longer, and must have died at two or three years old; and indeed we have formerly made it an objection<sup>i</sup>, that she should have reigned so great a length of time after her son was arrived at years of discretion. Nor can she have been any other than the
- f wife of *Nabonassar*, by the tradition which makes her the foundress of *Babylon*, of which she is reported to have laid the very foundations; this is supposing her to have been the first queen there, and if so, as at the bottom of the profane accounts there may be something of truth as we have observed<sup>k</sup> before, she can have been queen to no *Ninus*, but *Nabonassar*, and can have reigned no longer than her infant son, who was king but two years.

HAVING thus picked some seeming truth out of *Ctesias's* fiction, we may from the several particulars reflect a light on the worship that was paid to her, particularly

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 876.

before, p. 877.

before in the canon, ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 877.

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 185.

<sup>d</sup> See before in the notes, p. 883.

<sup>e</sup> See before in the canon, p. 935.

<sup>f</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 871.

<sup>i</sup> See

<sup>j</sup> See

<sup>k</sup> See

hence it came to pass that Semiramis ruled over Babylon.



cularly in *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Babylon*<sup>1</sup>. For she may have really been born in a the first, transported from the second, and deified in the third; so that, each having a sort of natural claim to her, it is no wonder they so eagerly contended to do her honour. All this may stand with the times we here suppose her to have lived in; but can possibly suit with no other that we know of. And that she was of mean extraction at *Ascalon*; that she was in the state of a servant in *Syria*, or the parts adjacent; and that thence she was carried to *Niniveh* or *Babylon*, does not only appear by the *Ctesian* account of her, and by what is positively asserted of her, that she was originally a servant, or slave<sup>m</sup>; but also by the fable invented to cover the obscurity of her birth. In a word, the circumstances, as related of her by profane authors, may very naturally be deduced from the circumstances of the first rise of the *Assyrian* b monarchy in scripture; and it is plain they are put backwards a number of ages, only to reflect the greater degree of reverence on her; nor must we wonder that she had forty years added to the length of her reign, by the priests, or others, who may have had a greater interest in magnifying her, than in an adherence to the naked truth, any more than that she should be said to have done infinitely more than that it is certain she did; or that in the end she should have been deified; for whatever could contribute to derive the greater honour on her, contributed the more to confirm her in the superstitious awe that in time came to be contracted for her.

Particulars  
concerning her.

HAVING thus seen that *Semiramis* must, in all probability, have been the wife c of *Nabonassar*, the first *Babylonian* king, and son to the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, we shall next take notice of some circumstances concerning her, which we purposely omitted when we gave her history as queen of *Assyria*. She is equally famed as the foundress of the city of *Babylon*, and as a fortunate heroine, who aimed at no less than the conquest of the whole known world, as we have seen: That she may have embellished or added greatly to that city, we have granted, nor can we refuse some sort of credit to so general a tradition; nor will we deny but she may have warred against the *Bactrians*, and other nations in those parts<sup>n</sup>; and this her masculine turn of mind may, by the way, confirm us in a belief, that she was from her youth bred up to the toil and labour of a servant, as reported, which must naturally have formed her to such exploits. As for what she did at *Babylon*, it must have been d but little in comparison to what was done to it afterwards, when it came to be improved by the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we shall hereafter observe; only for the present taking notice, that as the city must in her time have been in its infancy, and she at most reigned but two years without the participation of her husband, and not above four years in all, and in the midst of the wars then waging by the *Assyrians* with all the nations round about, it is not conceivable but she must have left that city in no very extraordinary state for magnificence or grandeur.

AGAIN, as her reign must have been very short, we would urge that she did not any thing like what is reported of her as an heroine; and that it is almost clear that she did no more than finish the war with the *Medes*, or with the *Bactrians*, or e perhaps with both, as tradition informs us; and that thus she completed what her husband *Nabonassar*, according to our supposition, had begun, and conducted towards an end. More she certainly cannot have done in the short space of her administration, whether in the days of her husband or of her son; and this must have intitled her to immortal fame, if at the same time, as it seems we must grant, she did any thing notable towards the improvement or embellishment of the city of *Babylon*; nor is it strange that after this we should be shewn her through the magnifying-glass of prophane authors, who had their accounts from the *Babylonians*, who may have thought they could not possibly do themselves too much honour in reporting wonders of this their first and most fortunate queen. And all their tales being greedily swallowed even by the most judicious, we have her thence compared f with *Sesostris*<sup>o</sup>, a fabulous hero, and hence we see her building of fleets, arming of legions, raising of *Babylon*, and, in short, circumnavigating the red sea, or *Indian* ocean, and reducing the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians*<sup>p</sup>, and hence her altars, together with those of *Hercules*, the *Liber Pater*, and others towards the confines of *India*<sup>q</sup>. Hence she is represented to have been a tyranness of the most rigid and inexorable sort; and

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 920.    <sup>m</sup> See before in the notes, p. 878. & *PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 35. c. 18. p. 694.*  
<sup>n</sup> See before, p. 880. 'B'    <sup>o</sup> *PLUTARCH, ΓΥΜΝΙΚΩΝ ἀρεταί, p. 243.*    <sup>p</sup> *Idem, Περὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας*  
*τύχης ἡ ἀρετῆς λόγος, p. 336.*    <sup>q</sup> *PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 6. c. 16. p. 314.*    <sup>r</sup> *Excerpt. Chronol.*  
*ex AFRICAN. EUSEB. & alius, p. 74.*

a and hence she is fabled to have been so active in keeping the people in subjection and awe, that hearing of a tumult, and an insurrection of the *Babylonians*, as she was dressing her head, she would not give herself time to finish what she was about, but rushed forth from her chamber with her hair half about her ears, to reduce the revoltors, and would never do so much as set her hair in order before she had done as she had resolved<sup>a</sup>; and that thenceforward she was represented by a statue at *Babylon*, in an undress, and with her hair half dishevelled<sup>b</sup>. Hence it is she is represented as a monster of lust<sup>c</sup>; and hence she is celebrated for the many mighty deeds and exploits we have formerly related of her<sup>d</sup>, and others equally fabulous, which we shall not here insist on. In fine, she is said to have been the first *Assyrian* queen and lady, to have first surrounded *Nineveh* with walls, and to have changed its name into *Babylon*<sup>e</sup>; a strange absurdity, we need not animadvert on. But after all that is boasted of her by the same author<sup>f</sup>, he acquaints us that she died in her bed<sup>g</sup>.

THE second king of the *Babylonians* is called *Nadius*<sup>a</sup>, who reigned but two years; and if what we have ventured to conjecture in the foregoing reign was at all the case, as by comparing things together, as we have there done, it seems to have been, this *Nadius* must have been the *Ninyas* of *Ctesias* and his followers, and must have died an infant of about three years old.

THE next that filled the throne were *Chinzirus*<sup>b</sup> and *Porus*, who reigned five years: Concerning these we have nothing to conjecture. The names seem to belong to two persons, and they may have been brothers; or it may be, that one man may have born both the names, which seem to have no direct affinity either with the *Chaldees* or the *Assyrians*.

*Jugæus*<sup>c</sup> reigned next; there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as those that immediately preceded, and those that came after him, down to *Assar-addin*, did nothing worthy notice, and that they may have passed their days in sloth and effeminacy.

*Mardoc-empad*<sup>d</sup>, he is certainly the *Merodach-baladan* of scripture, the same that sent an embassy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the latter in scripture, agree exactly; and it must have been in the seventh or eighth year of his reign that he sent to *Hezekiah*. In *Isaiab*<sup>e</sup> he is called *Merodach-baladan*, as we have written him above, but in the book of *Kings* he is called *Bero-dach-baladan*<sup>f</sup>, and in both places, the son of *Baladan*, whence we gather, that the *Jugæus* above, who seems to have been his father, would perhaps have been more properly called *Baladan*, though that is what we would not venture to do. If, as is most generally supposed, he sent this embassy to *Jerusalem*, to enquire concerning the regression of the shadow upon *Abaz's* sun-dial<sup>g</sup>, he must be concluded to have been a prince of curiosity, and a man that cultivated astronomy, or at least encouraged it in others: Though that this was all the business of this embassy, may be disputed; for there seems to have been some other view in it, by the parade *Hezekiah*, upon this occasion, made of his warlike stores and treasures<sup>h</sup>. It may be suspected there was something more than the solution of a curious enquiry intended; for as *Sennacherib* was then alive, it cannot well be conceived how there should have been such a liberty taken by his *Babylonian* relation or dependant, as to correspond with an enemy by ambassadors. This is the first *Babylonian* king we read of in scripture to have had any intercourse with the kings at *Jerusalem*; and he must have been a man of resolution and ambition, if we suppose he wanted to draw *Hezekiah* into an alliance with him against the *Assyrian* emperor. Upon the whole, the men he sent from *Babylon* seem rather to have been private agents than public ambassadors, and what was transacted with them seems to have been quite a secret. He may have understood, that the *Medes* were on the point to revolt, as they certainly did a very short time afterwards, and that other nations, their neighbours, were ripe for the same; this he may have known, and may therefore have attempted alliances with the *Jews* and others, on this side the *Euphrates*, against *Sennacherib*, to secure his own dominions, or to enable him

<sup>a</sup> VALER. MAXIM. l. 9. c. 3.  
the fourth Sect. of the Hist. of *Assyria*.

<sup>b</sup> See before in the canon, p. 935.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings xx. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> SUIDAS ad vocem Σμίσσας.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> PLIN. ubi sup.

<sup>i</sup> See before in

<sup>j</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Isai. xxxix. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Isai. xxxix. 2.

him to withstand such incursions as he may have dreaded from the same people; a but we forbear to expatiate farther hereon. Thus far is certain, that things now began to threaten some calamity to *Assyria*; and it is likely *Merodach-baladan* might have foreseen it, and bestirred himself to make sure of what belonged to himself. This prince reigned 12 years, and was succeeded by

Arkianus.

First inter-reign.

*Arkianus* <sup>b</sup>, concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an inter-reign of two years<sup>1</sup>. This is distinguished as the first inter-reign in the *Babylonian* kingdom, and thereby it might be fairly concluded, that the line of *Nabonassar* became extinct in the last king, or that it was set aside, if it be not more rational to suppose that the kingdom was not hereditary, so as to fall of course to the eldest son. There may have been disputes among the sons<sup>b</sup> about the succession; or the king of *Nineveh*, who may have appointed the kings of *Babylon* according to his own pleasure and good liking, may not, in this space of time, have determined who should next be king of *Babylon*. *Assar-baddon* was now emperor of *Assyria*, and the *Medes* had actually revolted five or six years before, and he may now have been at a loss who to substitute in the throne of *Babylon*, which, if what we have observed be right, may have been filled by slothful and inactive princes ever since the death of *Nabonassar*, or his wife, if she was so, *Semiramis*. For while the kings of *Nineveh* were successively warring in the west, the kings of *Babylon* may have degenerated considerably, and have fallen into disgrace and vice, in conformity to what profane authors relate of the successors of *Semiramis*; <sup>c</sup> and may, by their indolence or connivance, have encouraged the *Medes* to shake off the yoke.

Belibus.

*Bélibus* <sup>k</sup> succeeded to this inter-reign, but by what means, or by what right, we know not, except that it may plainly appear, that he was appointed by *Assar-baddon*. He reigned but three years, at the end of which term, whether he died, or was displaced, may be doubted, by the shortness of his duration as king.

Apronadius.  
Regibélus.  
Metessimordacus.

He made room for *Apronadius* <sup>l</sup>, who reigned six years, and gave place to *Regibélus* <sup>m</sup>, who possessing the throne but one year, made way for *Metessimordacus* <sup>n</sup>, who held the scepter but four years, and gave place to an inter-reign<sup>o</sup>, which lasted full eight years. This chasm or deficiency may be reasonably urged as a proof, that the kings of *Babylon* were at the pleasure of the king of *Assyria*, and appointed by him, as he thought proper, out of the *Babylonian* family; the shortness of the four preceding reigns, may persuade us, that the kings, between this inter-reign and the former, did not succeed each other as father and son, and the same we may indeed conclude of the kings between *Nabonassar* and the first inter-reign, who were but a little while on the throne, and seem to have been rather appointed governors for a certain term of years, than kings succeeding in right of each other, and reigning to the end of their lives. And it is reasonable to suppose that the elder family at *Nineveh* must in time have assumed considerably over the younger at *Babylon*, and contracted a jealousy of them, and at length imposed such hardships on them, or have some way or other behaved to them so as to provoke them at last to join with the *Medes* to destroy them. Thus the thing seems to have been.

Second inter-reign.

Assar-addin.

THE eight years of this inter-reign being expired, *Assar-addin* <sup>p</sup>, the *Esar-baddon* of scripture, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Babylon*. We have already said all we positively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of *Assyria*. It is remarkable that he should deliberate so long as eight years, before he assumed the government of *Babylon* in person. We formerly made it a doubt<sup>q</sup>, whether or no he seated himself master here by art or by violence; but by what we think we plainly discover of these collateral kingdoms of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, he now set aside the *Babylonian* family as useless or dangerous to his empire, which must now <sup>r</sup> have been in a very crazy condition. By this step of policy he seems to have re-established the *Assyrian* monarchy; and remarkable it may be thought that he made no attempts towards the recovery and extension of the *Assyrian* conquests westward, till he had thus taken *Babylon* to himself. Hence it may appear that the former division of the empire, however small it may have been, was now judged hurtful to it; and that so it is like to have been, appears by the consequences of this junction, which presently after raised the *Assyrians* to a higher pitch than ever they had been,

at

<sup>b</sup> See before in the canon, ubi sup.  
<sup>m</sup> Ibid.    <sup>n</sup> Ibid.    <sup>o</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> See before, ibid.    <sup>p</sup> Ibid.    <sup>q</sup> See before, p. 895.    <sup>r</sup> See before, ibid.

a at least in the western parts, where under this king they established their power more firmly than it ever had been, and even conquered *Egypt*<sup>1</sup>. The obscurity of the kings of *Babylon* between *Nabonassar* and this *Affar-addin*, may have given birth to what is related of the sloth and inactivity of all the kings that succeeded between *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus*, a name which we have as good as proved to have belonged to this prince<sup>2</sup>; but at the same time we have shewn there were two of the name, a warrior, and an effeminate man. This then must have been *Sardanapalus* the warrior, for his history declares him to have been such, but this is what we need not repeat. He reigned at *Babylon* 13 years, and was succeeded by

*Saosducheus*, or *Saosduchinus*<sup>3</sup>, who, as well as his predecessor, was king both of *Saosducheus*.

b *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. We have already said all of him we have been able to collect<sup>4</sup>, as king of *Affyria*. He reigned 20 years, and was succeeded by

*Chyniladan*<sup>5</sup>, whom we have shewn to have been the *Nabuchodonosor* of the *Chyniladan* book of *Judith*<sup>6</sup>, where we have given all the history we know of him. He, as well as his two predecessors, was king both of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, and reigned 22 years. The length of these three reigns, which in sum make up 55 years, which exceeds the sum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between *Nabonassar* and *Affar-addin*, by two years, may convince us of what we hinted a little higher, that the kings of *Babylon* during that interval were little better than governors, placed and displaced by the kings of *Affyria* at their will and pleasure; and continued or discontinued just as they approved themselves more or less trusty, and serviceable to the *Affyrian* kings. Hitherto the kingdom of *Babylon* had been dependant on the emperors at *Nineveh*; it now begins to emerge, and to rear up its head as an empire, and to raise itself on the ruins of the *Affyrian* monarchy.

For *Nabopallasar*<sup>7</sup> succeeded *Chyniladan*, and is said to have wrested the king-*Nabopallasar*. dom of *Babylon* from the *Affyrians*, and to have seized on it himself, and is plainly the man who transferred the seat of the *Affyrian* monarchy to *Babylon*. His name declares him to have been an *Affyrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul* and *Nabonassar* his son, it partaking equally of both; for as *Nabonassar* is plainly compounded of *Nebo-addon-assur*, this man seems to have rejected the *Addon* for *Pul*,<sup>8</sup> Year of the Flood, 2373. Year before CHRIST, 626. and to have had his name compounded from *Nebo-pul-assur*; which it is likely he may have assumed upon his revolt from the *Affyrian* *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardanapalus* above mentioned<sup>9</sup>, and claims, as should plainly appear by his name, to have been lineally descended from *Pul* by *Nabonassar*, and so, it is likely, pretended to a right of inheritance in the kingdom of *Babylon*, of which his family had been unjustly deprived by the elder branch of *Affyria*. This seems to us a very natural conclusion, and if so, he had a fair opportunity of asserting his right; for being appointed over *Chaldea*, upon the death of *Chyniladan*, who left the *Affyrian* affairs in great confusion, and at a time when the *Medes* were in the full vigour of their pursuit against the kings at *Nineveh*<sup>10</sup>, he took the advantage, and seizing on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself, he entered into alliances with *Astyages* the *Mede*, and to confirm the same, desired his daughter *Amyite* in marriage for his son *Nabocolassar*<sup>11</sup>, and joining heartily in the war with him against the kingdom of *Affyria*, they reduced it to a very humble condition, though, as we have made it appear<sup>12</sup>, he did not live to see the final destruction of it; for the irruption of the *Scythians* put a stop to the progress of these new allies, for the space, as we are told, of 28 years<sup>13</sup>.

This prince is called by contraction *Nabulassar*<sup>14</sup>, but by the same author he is also called *Nabuchadonosor*<sup>15</sup>, as he is by others<sup>16</sup> *Nebuchadnezzar*, whence he is distinguished from his son, as the first of that name<sup>17</sup>; in a word, he, and no other, can have been the *Belefs* of *Ctesias*<sup>18</sup>, and the *Narybrus* of *Nicholas* of *Damascus*<sup>19</sup>; but what is seemingly strange, he is also called *Sardanapalus*, which we have taken notice of already<sup>20</sup>. This prince, besides what he must have suffered and apprehended from the *Scythians*, who, during his time, prevailed in *Asia*<sup>21</sup>, was in imminent danger

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 896.    <sup>2</sup> See before in the notes, p. 896.    <sup>3</sup> See before in the canon, ubi sup.  
<sup>4</sup> See before, p. 897.    <sup>5</sup> See before in the canon, ubi supr.    <sup>6</sup> See before, p. 897. (U)  
898, &c.    <sup>7</sup> See before in the canon, ubi supr.    <sup>8</sup> See before, p. 902. a, (C)    <sup>9</sup> See before  
in the notes, ibid.    <sup>10</sup> See before, ibid.    <sup>11</sup> ALEX. POLYHIST. apud SYNCER. p. 210. EUSEB.  
in Chron.    <sup>12</sup> See before, p. 903. (E, F)    <sup>13</sup> See before, ibid.    <sup>14</sup> Beros. apud JOSEPH.  
contr. AP. I. 1. p. 1044. & Antiq. I. 10. c. 11.    <sup>15</sup> Idem apud eund. Antiq. I. 10. c. 11.    <sup>16</sup> In  
Libr. JUCHASIN. p. 136.    <sup>17</sup> DAVID GANTZ II. Chion. I. 2. n. 285.    <sup>18</sup> See before,  
p. 938. b.    <sup>19</sup> See before, ibid.    <sup>20</sup> See before, p. 902. (A)    <sup>21</sup> See before, p. 903. (E)

danger of being blasted in his hopes by an invasion from *Egypt*. For *Pharaoh Necbo*, at that time king of the country, understanding that the kingdom of *Assyria* was as good as dissolved, by the combination of the *Babylonians* with the *Medes*, and that the confederates themselves were under restraint from the *Syrians*, thought this a proper opportunity to be revenged on the *Trans-euphratenians*, who had captivated the kingdom of *Egypt*, in the days of the great *Esar-baddon* <sup>1</sup>, and to raise himself an empire over the kingdoms and countries on this side of the *Euphrates*, which had, for some time past, been under the kings of *Assyria* by conquest. He prosecuted his design, succeeded to his wish, and even took the great city of *Carchemish*, *Circutium*, or, as it is most corruptedly written, *Carchabesa*, upon the *Euphrates* <sup>2</sup>. This we are told was his case, but we have already proved it to be <sup>b</sup> false; for before this invasion of *Necbo* he must have been dead some time, as appears by the circumstance we are told of *Josiah's* death, who was slain at *Megiddo*, in making head against *Necbo*, as he was marching against the king of *Assyria* <sup>3</sup>, who can have been none other than *Sarac* <sup>4</sup>; for as *Josiah* reigned full 31 years <sup>5</sup>, he must, according to the course of scripture and *Ptolemy's* canon, have survived *Nabopolassar*. It is therefore plain that we cannot rely upon *Berosus* <sup>6</sup>, when he informs us, that he sent his son *Nabuchadonosor* to quell the rebellious satrapa, or governor of *Egypt*, *Phenicia* and *Syria*, as he plainly calls *Pharaoh Necbo*; nor did *Nabuchadonosor* effect this till after his death, and after he had subverted *Nineveh*, which was brought to pass by his valour and good fortune, in conjunction with *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, his brother-in-law <sup>7</sup>. There was then no war between *Babylon* and *Egypt*, during the life of *Nabopolassar*, nor was there any such Officer as a satrapa set up by the *Assyrians* over *Egypt*, *Phenicia* and *Syria* in his time; *Egypt* had recovered itself a considerable time before, from the conquest and captivation of *Esar-baddon*; and *Judah* was all this time under her own king *Josiah* <sup>8</sup>; and that all the western regions, on this side of the *Euphrates*, had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke is plain, not only by the history of *Chyniladan* <sup>9</sup>, but by the trouble the great *Nebuchadnezzar* had afterwards to reduce them to *Babylon*. We may perceive then that *Berosus*, in the passage before us, confounds the father and son together, and that he is too hasty in bringing on the destruction of *Nineveh*; for till that had been effected, there is no supposing the <sup>d</sup> *Babylonians* could have pretended to cross the *Euphrates*; and that there was a king of *Assyria* subsisting in the day that *Josiah* was killed by *Necbo*, we learn from scripture <sup>e</sup>, and that *Josiah* survived *Nabopolassar*, we understand by comparing the same with the canon <sup>4</sup>. This satrapa of *Egypt* and *Syria* must be understood proleptically, except we suppose the office to have subsisted upon the conquests of *Esar-baddon*; which if it did, whoever enjoyed it had little to boast but the empty title, as may be easily discovered. We are certain then of no one particular fact relating to *Nabopolassar*, except that he revolted from the king of *Assyria*, that he joined with the *Mede*, in order to put an end to that kingdom, and that he reigned 21 years, and was succeeded by his son

*Nabopolassar*. *Nabopolassar* <sup>6</sup>; who is the great *Nebuchadnezzar* of scripture, and is by the *Greeks* called *Nabuchadonosor* (A). It was he that compleated what his father had aimed at, and subjected what had been before the *Assyrian* empire, to the obedience of that of *Babylon*; it is he therefore that must be called the first *Babylonian* monarch. It has been said, that his father, grown old and feeble, had intrusted him with the reins of the

Year of the  
Flood, 2394.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 605.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 896. <sup>2</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi sup. c. 7. <sup>3</sup> See before, p. 267. <sup>4</sup> See before in the notes, p. 903. <sup>5</sup> See before, p. 845. <sup>6</sup> See before, p. 902. <sup>7</sup> See before, p. 845. <sup>8</sup> Apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contra APION. l. 1. <sup>9</sup> See NEWTON's Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend. p. 292. <sup>a</sup> 2 KINGS xxiii. 29. See before in the notes, p. 896. <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 841, 842, 843, & seq. <sup>c</sup> See before, p. 897, 898. <sup>d</sup> 2 Kings ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> See before in the notes, p. 903. <sup>f</sup> See before in the canon, p. 935.

(A) His Name, taken which way you will, may be discovered to have been *Assyrian*, by the termination *Assur*. We have already given the seeming derivation of it <sup>||</sup>, and only mention it here to remind the reader of what we have so often asserted, that the *Babylonian* monarchy, how much soever it may have been distinguished from the *Assyrian*, was no more than a continuation of it. And this may be the more pertinently remarked here, as this prince

was not only the first emperor at *Babylon*, properly so called; for his father can never be quite considered as such; but as he was also the man in whom the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* greatness arrived at its utmost height, as appears by *Daniel*, who, summing up the whole of it in his person, declares, that the golden head he saw in his vision, was meant to signify that monarch. <sup>\*</sup>

<sup>||</sup> Before, p. 867. f.

<sup>\*</sup> Dan. ii. 38.



a the government some years before he died, and that, in consequence of this, he waged war with *Pharaoh Necho*, who had conquered all *Syria* to himself, while the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were under restraint by the *Scythians*, or busied in the reduction of *Nineveh*; and that in this war he not only wrested *Carchemish*, or *Circesium*, or *Circutium*, a considerable town on the *Mesopotamian* side of the *Euphrates*, from *Pharaoh Necho*, and routed him with a great slaughter; but reduced all the provinces on this side of the *Euphrates* which had been seized by *Necho*, and made a conquest even of *Egypt* itself, where, understanding his father was dead at *Babylon*, he took the necessary measures to secure those countries, and by the shortest way of the desert, hastened to that metropolis. This we have shewn to be a mistake; b so far as it is possible to detect an error of this nature (B). Nor can he be reasonably

f BEROS. apud JOSEPH. CONTR. APION. l. 1. & apud EUSEB. in PRÆP. EVANG. l. 9. c. 40. p. 455.

(B) We have already (1) demonstrated the thing to have been as we here suggest, concerning the death of *Nabopolassar*; but as it is a point which immediately concerns the history of this branch of the *Affrian* family, we may be allowed to repeat our attempt here, by stating it in another manner, and to make it still clearer, if it be possible so to do. From the death of *Affar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 30 years, and from the first of the reign of *Chyniladan* to the 12th, that he warred upon the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manasseb* was taken prisoner by *Affar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, and, according to all appearance in the 9th or 10th year of *Affar-addin*'s reign at *Babylon*. The 9th or 10th year we say; because, as he took *Manasseb* captive not long before he invaded *Egypt*, and was to hold *Egypt* but three years (2), according to the prophet, and reigned at *Babylon* but 13 years, we cannot be induced but to think he effected his conquest of *Egypt* in the latter part of his reign, and that, as he certainly must have kept the same in subjection all his life-time, he died within three or four years after he had taken *Manasseb* prisoner. This being stated, if *Manasseb* was made a captive in the 9th or 10th year of *Affar-addin* at *Babylon*, and as *Manasseb* reigned 34 years after his said captivity, if to the 32 years between the war *Chyniladan* made upon the *Medes*, and the death of *Affar-addin*, we add three or four years, to make the 13 years of this last king complete at *Babylon*, it must follow, that *Manasseb* died either in the 10th or 11th year of the said *Chyniladan*; and as between the last year of *Manasseb*, and the first of *Josiab*, there is an interval but of two years, *Josiab* must have begun his reign either in the 12th or the 13th year of the same *Chyniladan*; from the 12th or the 13th of *Chyniladan*, to the last year of his successor *Nabopolassar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, must, according to this, have been either 30 or 31 years. Now *Josiab* reigned 31 years, and therefore must either have outlived *Nabopolassar* by one year, or have died the same year he died; supposing the reign of this *Babylonian* to have ended with his life, and we know not how to think otherwise, for if he had committed the reins of his government ever so much to the guidance of his son, he must have been considered, according to all appearance, but as his lieutenant; the father must still have been king, though we consider him but as colleague with his son, and the years he lived and reigned, either in whole or in part, must have been reckoned to him accordingly. Now when *Josiab* was killed, there was a king of *Affria* still in being, it was not against the *Medes* and *Babylonians* that *Pharaoh Necho* went up, as *Josephus* in a hurry mistakes the matter: his business was apparently to get a share of the *Affrian* empire, which the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were

on the point of dividing between them; *Nabopolassar* then could have claimed no lawful homage of the king of *Egypt*, who can have been no rebel to him. nor can he have even sent his son to such remote parts as *Egypt*, when he had so much to do at home, and found that his whole force, combined together with that of the *Medes*, was not more than necessary to destroy the old *Affrian* family; not to mention the *Scythians*, who, if ever they held any dominion in these parts of *Asia*, must have held it now, in this interval between the fall of the *Affrians*, and the rise of the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*. *Berosus* then, in what he says of *Nabopolassar*'s sending his son against his pretended satrapa of the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, seems rather to have designed to magnify this first *Babylonian* hero, than to adhere to the truth. No attempt can have been made either by him or his son, on this side of the *Euphrates*, till *Nineveh* had been destroyed, and the *Scythians* expelled. Now in the very last year of his reign, *Pharaoh Necho* came upon his very frontiers, and took *Carchemish* from him, as we have here stated it, though as we computed before †, this invasion and success of the *Egyptian* must have fallen out full four years after his reign had been expired. So that take it which way you will, and make all the allowances you possibly can, in the behalf of *Berosus*, it is plain he is not sincere with us in this case. *Pharaoh Necho*, who must have been the satrapa or governor he talks of in the western parts, must have been by far a more powerful prince than *Nabopolassar*, his pretended master; and we are, for this reason, inclined to think, that by the same rule he degrades this potent *Egyptian*, he must have spun out the life of his *Babylonian* beyond its natural limits, and have made him a mightier man than he was. If *Berosus* abounded with many such mistakes as these seem to have been, he deserves to be as little regretted as *Trogus*, or any other we have condemned.

Here we would beg leave to rectify an oversight, and seeming inconsistency, that formerly (3) escaped us, where we supposed the city of *Nineveh* to have been some time destroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which, as we have stated things there, coincides with the year in which *Josiab* was slain by *Necho*, though, according to scripture, there was then an *Affrian* king absolutely in being, and tho' we have elsewhere determined (4), that *Nineveh* was not ruined till the second, third, or fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which is what we still adhere to as most probable: by the computation here above, it must appear, that *Nineveh* had been some time destroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; though there had been, as there actually was, a king of *Affria*, when *Josiab* was slain at *Megido*.

(1) See before in the notes, p. 897, 903.  
A 897. (Q)

(3) See before, *ibid.* (Q)

(2) See before, p. 895.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 904. *sub not.* (G)

\* *Antiq. l. x. c. 6.*

† See



reasonably supposed to have crossed the *Euphrates* before he, in conjunction with his a brother-in-law *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, had put an end to *Nineveh*, and established himself on a solid basis in the east. But after he had once settled his affairs, it is probable enough that he marched beyond that river (C) to recover what formerly made a part of the *Assyrian* empire, taking *Carchemish* from the *Egyptians*, and reducing *Syria* as related; but as for *Egypt*, he laid no hands on that till many years afterwards; as not only appears by the history of *Egypt* itself, as delivered by profane authors, but also by the plain concurrence of scripture.

*He takes Car-* HAVING destroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and possessed himself of *Carchemish*\*, *hemish*, and he crossed over to this side of the river *Euphrates*, and having conquered *Syria*, and *conquers Syria*. the neighbouring countries, he came with a mixed number of nations<sup>b</sup>, and having ravaged<sup>c</sup> *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, and the *Jews* in *Galaaditis*, he at length laid siege to *Jerusalem*<sup>k</sup>, and took it on the 9th of the month *Cisleu*, or *November*, a day the *Jews* commemorate even in our times with a fast<sup>l</sup>. He now took *Jeboiakim* prisoner, and bound him in chains with design to carry him to *Babylon*; but he changed his mind upon the humble deportment of the captive king, who swearing to be true to him as his vassal and tributary, he restored him to his liberty; though he did not abstain from the plunder of *Jerusalem*, whence he transported the vessels in the temple to that of *Belus* in *Babylon*<sup>m</sup>, and took with him some of the choicest and most promising youths, whom he committed to the care of *Ashpenaz*, the prince of his eunuchs, with a charge to see them instructed in the learning<sup>n</sup> and language of the *Chaldees*, and to educate them in such manner, that they might be fit to attend him as his royal domesticks. Of these particular notice is taken of *Daniel*, and his three friends *Hananiab*, *Misbael*, and *Azariab*<sup>o</sup>.

*Returns to Ba-* THUS did *Nebuchadnezzar* begin to establish himself in the west (D), whence *bylon*. returning to *Babylon*, he resolved to adorn and enlarge the seat of his growing empire, in proportion to the sovereignty it was to possess over the nations far and near<sup>p</sup>. But whilst he was thus employed at home, it happened that he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams<sup>q</sup>. Under great anxiety of mind, he called together his magicians, forcerers, astrologers, and *Chaldeans*, and not only demanded of them the interpretation of a certain dream which had escaped his memory, but also what the dream had been. These tried in vain to convince him that his demand was above the power of any mortal; their excuse only wrought him to that degree of fury, that he resolved to put them all to death<sup>r</sup>, and gave his orders accordingly to *Arioch*, the captain of his guard. *Arioch* was on the point to execute this bloody command, when he was accosted by *Daniel*, who expostulating with him upon the rashness of the decree against the wise men, and requesting him to suspend the execution of it, gave him assurance that he would shortly satisfy the king in what he was so solicitous to know<sup>s</sup>.

*His dream of* *Daniel* then went into the presence of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and begging that he *the image*. would grant him a little time to consider of the thing, repaired to his three companions above-mentioned, and joining with them in an address to heaven, the secret was revealed to him in a night vision<sup>t</sup>. Thus instructed from above, he went to *Arioch*,

g BEKOS. ubi sup. h EUFOL. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. 2 Kings xxiv. 2. i EUPOLEM. ubi sup. k 2 Kings xxiv. 11, 12. Dan. i. 2. l USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mucd. 3398. m Dan. i. 2. See also before, p. 848. c. d. n Dan. i. 3. o Ibid. 6. p BEKOS ubi sup. q Dan. ii. r Ibid. ver. 12. s Ibid. ver. 16. t Ibid. ver. 19.

(C) *Eupolemus* (5) tells us, that *Nabuchadnosor*, king of *Babylon*, understanding that *Jeremiah* had prophesied in his favour, entreated *Astibares*, the king of the *Medes*, to assist him in this expedition against *Syria* and *Palestine*. That accordingly the army of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* united together, and consisted of ten thousand chariots, one hundred and eighty thousand foot, and one hundred and twenty thousand horse. By this author then it appears they had made an end of the *Assyrian* monarchy, before they attempted any thing upon *Syria*, which, though it is certain, without any such evidence, we may yet quote it to confirm what we have endeavoured to clear up in the note above.

(D) Thus it was, and most natural it must appear: he had settled himself in the east, and his business now was to strip *Pharash Necho* of his new empire over *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to the *Assyrian* monarchy. He does so, drives the *Egyptians* from *Carchemish*, whence they pretended to curb the *Babylonians*, even in their own country, recovers all the dominions of *Syria* and *Palestine*, quite to the river of *Egypt* (6), and the king of that country dares no more shew his head in these parts (7); being more solicitous to defend himself in his own country (which was to be invaded in its turn, as having been joined to the *Assyrian* empire by *Efor-addon* (8),) than to attempt any thing else.

(5) Apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. (6) 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (7) Ibid. (8) See before, p. 896. 2, (1, K.).

<sup>a</sup> *Arioch*, the captain of the guard, and begged of them that he would not so much as think of the orders he had received against the wise men, but conduct him to the king, whom he was prepared to satisfy <sup>u</sup>. When the king saw *Daniel*, or *Belteshazzar*, (that was his name in *Babylon*) he asked him if he could tell him his dream, and what is portended; to which he answered, with a prefatory introduction to instil into the haughty prince some notions of the might and majesty of God, that his dream had been as follows <sup>v</sup>, That in his sleep he saw an image, vast and resplendent, and terrible to the sight; that the head of this image was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet of part iron and part clay; that he saw a stone, thrown down by an invisible hand, which struck the image on the feet, which being part iron and part clay, were immediately crushed to pieces; after which, all the metals in the body of the image became as dust, which was swept away by the wind, and no more seen; while the stone, which had caused this destruction, remained behind, grew into a mountain, and filled the whole earth <sup>w</sup>. That as for the interpretation of this extraordinary dream, He himself, as king of kings, was signified by the golden head of the image; that a second kingdom, inferior to his, should arise, which was denoted by the breast and arms of silver; and that from thence, a third kingdom of brass should arise, and lord it over the whole earth; that a fourth kingdom should arise and be as strong as iron, and destroy all that had gone before; but that the feet and toes being part iron and part clay, this fourth kingdom should be nevertheless partly strong and partly feeble: That after these, God would set up a kingdom which should endure for ever, and that this was signified by the stone hewn or thrown without hands, and which had shattered the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay of the image into dust, which had been scattered abroad by the wind <sup>x</sup> (E).

*Nebuchadnezzar*, amazed at what he heard, fell on his face and worshipped *Daniel*, commanding that they should straight offer him an oblation and sweet odours, acknowledging his God to be a God of gods, and a Lord of kings <sup>y</sup>. He then promoted him to a great height of dignity, made him great presents, invested him with the government of all the province of *Babylon*, and made him chief of the presidents of all the wise men. *Daniel*, mindful of his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Meshaach*, and *Abed-nego* (so they were called in *Babylon*) begged of the king that they might have charge of the affairs of the province of *Babylon*, which was granted accordingly; while *Daniel* was appointed to sit in the gate of the king, as next immediately to himself <sup>z</sup>.

WHILE *Nebuchadnezzar* was at *Babylon*, news came to him, that *Jeboiakim* had rebelled against him, and refused to pay him any more tribute; but not having a proper opportunity to chastise this distant king in person, he ordered the *Chaldees*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to make incursions into the territories of *Judab* <sup>aa</sup>. In this manner did they continue to perplex him for the space of three years; till at length uniting their forces, they came and laid siege to *Jerusalem*, and *Jeboiakim* received soon after the reward of his treason and impiety, according to the prediction of *Jeremiah* <sup>ab</sup>, as we have related it in a former chapter <sup>ac</sup>. The circumstances of

<sup>a</sup> Dan. ii. 24. <sup>u</sup> Ibid. ver. 31. <sup>x</sup> Ibid. ver. 35. <sup>y</sup> Ibid. ver. 45. <sup>z</sup> Ibid. ver. 47.  
<sup>aa</sup> Ibid. ver. 49. <sup>ab</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 1. <sup>ac</sup> Jerem. xxii. 18, & seq. <sup>ad</sup> See before, p. 848. b.

(E) "In this vision of the image composed of four metals, the foundation of all *Daniel's* prophecies is laid. It represents a body of four great nations, which should reign over the earth successively, viz. the people of *Babylonia*, the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. And by a stone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to pieces, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, it further represents, that a new kingdom should arise after the four, and conquer all those nations, and grow very great, and last to the end of all ages.

"The head of the image was of gold, and signifies the nation of *Babylonia*, who reigned first, as *Daniel* himself interprets. Thou art this head of gold, said he to *Nebuchadnezzar*. These nations reigned, till *Cyrus* conquered *Babylon*; and within a few months after that conquest, revolted

to the *Persians*, and set them up above the *Medes*.  
 "The breast and arms of the image were of silver, and represent the *Persians*, who reigned next. The belly and thighs of the image were of brass, and represent the *Greeks*, who, under the dominion of *Alexander the great*, conquered the *Persians*, and reigned next after them. The legs which were of iron, represent the *Romans*, who reigned next after the *Greeks*, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For in that year they conquered *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*, the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks*; and from thence forward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with great power, till the days of *Theodosius the great*. Then by the incursions of many northern nations, they brake into many smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of the image, composed part of iron and part of clay."

<sup>ad</sup> Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on the Prophecy of Daniel, Part i. c. 3. p. 25, 26.

of this siege are differently related by *Josephus* <sup>a</sup>, according to whom, *Nebuchadnezzar* must now himself have been before *Jerusalem*, and must have taken it in person; and have put the flower of the inhabitants to the sword, and have carried off 3000 of the chief citizens into captivity.

Year of the  
Flood, 2400.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 539

BUT to return to scripture <sup>e</sup>; these confederated nations, though they had thus destroyed the king of *Judab*, did not possess themselves of *Jerusalem*, but continued to blockade it till *Nebuchadnezzar* came, who appeared, in a few months (F), at the head of his whole army; and investing it with a regular siege, he forced *Jeboiachin* to surrender himself, and put him to death in the manner formerly related. He now resolved at once to exert the utmost of his rigor, and to give a full glut to his avarice; and in consequence thereof, he emptied the sacred and the royal treasures, and cutting to pieces the golden vessels of the temple, he carried all off, together with the inhabitants that were considerable either for valour or ingenuity; draining the land to that degree, as to leave none but the poorer sort just to cultivate the land; and appointing *Mattaniah*, whose name he changed into *Zedekiah*, king over the desolate kingdom of *Judab*. Thus did he march back in triumph to *Babylon*, laden with the spoils of the *Jews*, and followed by numbers of that captive people, who, by their valour and skill, might have been, and no question were, of great use to him in the stupendous works he had begun or projected at *Babylon*, and highly serviceable to him in the prosecution of his other conquests. And thus ended his second war with the *Jews*.

No sooner was this over, than *Jeremiah* <sup>b</sup> began to prophecy the increase of this prince's dominion, and particularly that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (G). This country, which is reckoned to have been the *Susiana* of the *Creeks*, lay so opportunely for him, being, as it were, a borderer on him, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of this advantageous prophecy. And accordingly we find, that, in after times, the capital of this country, *Shushan*, was sometimes honoured with the presence of the *Babylonian* monarchs.

THIS mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. So, when the kings of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrrians* and *Zidonians*, would have tempted *Zedekiah*, the thoughtless king of *Jerusalem*, to rise against the *Babylonian*; *Jeremiah* <sup>c</sup> sent to each of the ambassadors in his court, a present of yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to *Nebuchadnezzar*; that they should all serve him, his son, and his son's son; that such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but that

<sup>d</sup> Antiq. l. x.    <sup>e</sup> Ubi sup.    <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 848.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid.    <sup>c</sup> Jerem. xlix. 34—39.  
<sup>i</sup> Ibid. xxvi.

(F) If it be wondered, how it came to pass that *Nebuchadnezzar* neglected, for at least three years, to appear in this war personally: it is answered (9). That is uncertain what detained him so long, though it is very probable he was busied in the conduct of his vast designs at *Babylon*; that, however, he may have been engaged as a mediator between the *Medes* and the *Lydians*, who, after a war of several years, being on the point of fighting a decisive battle, were interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun (10), which, as they interpreted it, prevailed on them to submit to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes, they should agree to chuse for each other. It is now supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar* was chosen by the *Mede*, and that he was employed in that affair, while the nations mentioned made war upon *Judab*; but *Herodotus* expressly saying it was *Lalynetus* (11).

who was this mediator, we shall defer what may be suggested thereon to the time of his reign.

(G) By the words of the prophecy, *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom; Behold, I will break the bow of *Elam*, the chief of their might. And upon *Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heav'n, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the out-casts of *Elam* shall not come. For I will cause *Elam* to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will sit my throne in *Elam*, and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord. (12)

(9) PRIDEAUX'S Connex. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. Vol. I. part i. l. i. p. 67. 8vo.  
(10) HERODOT. l. i. c. 74.    (11) Idem. l. i. c. ibid.    (12) Jerem. xlix. 35—38.

a that those who quietly submitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of *Babylon*, should find mercy, and remain in the possession of their country<sup>k</sup>; such was absolutely to be their fate if they resisted, and such their reward if they behaved submissively under their bondage.

A more sublime elevation no man can be shewn in than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, God's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But how great and terrible soever he be here represented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the western nations especially; who, notwithstanding the severe remonstrance and declaration of *Jeremiah*, were contriving how they should free themselves from the king of *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar* understanding that the *Egyptians*, the *Jews*, and the other nations, were contriving to withdraw themselves from his obedience; and that *Zedekiah*, whom he had appointed king of *Jerusalem*, had been encouraged by *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Aries*, king of *Egypt*, to set him at defiance, resolved particularly to punish their ingratitude and infidelity<sup>l</sup> in the most extraordinary manner; and putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the same time to chastise all these presumptuous nations. Here being arrived, and considering with himself, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in suspense for a while, dubious where he should first open the war; till at least he referred this important business to the ordinary methods of divinary direction in practice with the *Chaldees*; and these having consulted the entrails of their victims, their images, or teraphim, and their arrows (H), delivered it as their opinion, That the war should first break out against the *Jews*<sup>m</sup>. The *Babylonian* army then made its readiest way against that people, and, in a few days, became master of all their cities, except *Lachish*, *Azekah*, and *Jerusalem*<sup>n</sup>; which last, in the latter end of *December*, the same year, was blocked up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, with all his formidable army, and a close and vigorous siege ensued<sup>o</sup>.

WHILE he was thus employed, he had advice, that *Pharaoh Hophra* was on his march to relieve the besieged; whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the *Egyptian* battle<sup>p</sup>, and attack him before he could be possibly joined by any of the discontented nations mentioned above; but before he left *Jerusalem*, he took care to send all the captive *Jews* in his camp, amounting to 832 persons, under a good guard to *Babylon*<sup>q</sup>. He then moved against the *Egyptians*, who, not daring to abide the onset, as the prophet's words seem plainly enough to intimate<sup>r</sup>, retreated as fast as *Nebuchadnezzar* advanced; though divers<sup>s</sup> tell us they ventured on a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

## H A V I N G

<sup>k</sup> Jerem. xxvii. <sup>l</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jerem. xxxix. 1. li. 4. <sup>m</sup> Ezek. xxi. 19—24. <sup>n</sup> Jerem. xxxiv. 7. <sup>o</sup> 2 Kings, ubi sup. Jerem. xxxix. 1. li. 4. <sup>p</sup> Jerem. xxxvii. 5. <sup>q</sup> Idem lii. 29. <sup>r</sup> Idem xxxviii. 7. <sup>s</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. ubi sup. c. 10.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the *Arabs* till *Mahomedism* prevailed, which absolutely forbids it (13), and appears to have been the very same in use with the *Babylonians* at this time. "The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of *Mecca*; but generally in divination they made use of three only; on one of which was written, *My LORD hath commanded me*; on another, *My LORD hath forbidden me*; and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew them over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the

like. [*Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh. & al Reid. in Kor. c. 5. Al Mostatraf. &c. Vid. Poc. Spec. p. 327. &c. & D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Académ.*] This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the ancient *Greeks*, [*Vid. Post. Antiq. of Gr. vol. i. p. 334.*] and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in scripture, [*Ezek. xxi. 21.*] where it is said, that the king of *Babylon* stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright, (or, according to the version of the Vulgate, which seems preferable in this place, he mixed together, or shook the arrows) he consulted with images, &c. The commentary of St. *Jerom*, on this passage, wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforesaid custom of the old *Arabs*. He shall stand, saith he, in the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written upon, or marked with the names of each people, that he may see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to attack." (14)

(13) See the *Koran*, c. 5. p. 94. of Mr. Sale's translation. (14) See the *prelim. Disc. to the same*, p. 126, 127.

Year of the  
Flood, 2411.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 588

HAVING thus driven the *Egyptians* back again into their country, he had leisure a once more to prosecute the vengeance he had resolved to take on the king at *Jerusalem*, which city he besieged once more, raising works about the place, from whence he so annoyed the inhabitants, that they did not so much as dare to shew their heads on the walls<sup>1</sup>. And yet this siege continued so long, and was in a way of continuing so much longer, that *Nebuchadnezzar* seems to have lost all patience, and to have retired to recreate himself at *Riblab*<sup>2</sup>; if it was not business rather than pleasure that drew him thither. While he was at *Riblab*, his generals, *Nebuzaradan*, *Nebushasban*, *Rabfari*, *Nergal-sharezzer*, and *Rabmag* (I), stuck close by *Jerusalem*; and, at length, perceiving the inhabitants to be quite exhausted of their strength and courage, they assaulted the city in the middle of the night<sup>3</sup>, and took it, after b a twelvemonth's siege. At first they missed *Zedekiah* and his family, but they took him the next morning, as he was attempting to escape. *Nebuchadnezzar* no sooner saw *Zedekiah* brought before him at *Riblab*, than severely upbraiding him for his perfidy and ingratitude, he caused his children, and all his friends that had been taken with him, to be put to death before his face, and then depriving him of his eye-sight, ordered him to be bound with chains of brass, and in that deplorable condition to be carried away captive to *Babylon*<sup>4</sup>.

He then dispatched *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, with orders quite to dismantle the city of *Jerusalem*, to burn the temple there, and the royal palace, and in short the whole place. This was executed with the utmost rigour, and to compleat c the tragedy every soul in the land was led away into captivity, except some few of the most miserable of the people, who were left to take care of the soil, and the fruits as yet ungathered. Thus did the *Chaldeans*, under *Nebuchadnezzar*, deal with the *Jews*; they stripped the temple of all its furniture, and destroyed the brazen sea, and the two brazen pillars<sup>5</sup>.

AMONG the prisoners *Nebuzaradan* brought with him to *Riblab* were *Seraiah* the high priest, *Zephaniah* the second priest, the three governors of the temple, *Zedekiah's* chief general, and five of his favourites or counsellors, together with his muster-master, who was also his secretary; *Nebuchadnezzar* ordered all these to be beheaded. In the midst of his fury, however, he concluded it was adviseable not to d leave the land without some body to look to the miserable remnant that was in it, and to this office he appointed one *Gedaliah*<sup>6</sup>: Nor did he fail to extend his mercy and favour towards the prophet *Jeremiah*, giving *Nebuzaradan* a favourable charge with regard to that holy person, to leave him to his choice of remaining behind in his own country, under his particular protection, or of going forward with him to *Babylon*, there to enjoy himself in peace and plenty in his palace. And now *Nebuchadnezzar* returned once more in triumph to the city of his residence, adding great strength and glory to it, by an immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

WITH the gold he amassed in this expedition, it is thought he erected<sup>7</sup> the e monstrous colossus of that metal in honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura*, in the province of *Babylon*. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and having summoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations and languages, should no sooner hear the sound of various musical instruments, than they should fall down and worship the golden image *Nebuchadnezzar* the king had set up; under the fearful penalty of being thrown into the midst of a burning fiery furnace<sup>8</sup>. They failed not to obey at the signal given, all but the *Jews*, and particularly *Shadrach*, *Meshech*, and *Abednego* (K), who being brought before the king, and f accused

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>2</sup> 2 Kings ubi sup. ver. 6.  
<sup>3</sup> Ibid.    <sup>4</sup> P. RIDEAUX ubi sup. l. 2. p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. ver. 4.    <sup>6</sup> See before, p. 850.    <sup>7</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>8</sup> Dan. iii.

(I) *Josephus* (15) calls them *Nergelzar*, *Aremantur*, *Emegar*, *Nabafaris*, and *Echarampsaris*.

(K) It may be thought strange that *Daniel* was not accused as well as his friends, it being impossible to suppose he fell down and worshipped the image. To this it is answered (16), that he must have been

either absent, or, if present, must have been too great a man to be accused: It is observed (17) to be most probable that he was present, it being impossible well to conceive how so important an officer could have been absent upon so general a summons, and upon so solemn an occasion; but that his enemies

(15) *Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.*

(16) See P. R. ubi sup. p. 87.

(17) Idem ibid.



a accused of the neglect, and contempt, and persisting in a refusal to do as was commanded, he became quite furious against them, and ordered that the furnace should be heated seven times more than it ever had been, and that they should be thrown into it c. They were immediately bound with all the apparel about them, and thrown in, though the heat or the flame of the furnace was so violent, that it killed the men who had charge of the execution d. This was no sooner over than Nebuchadnezzar became all astonished, and hastily inquiring if they had not thrown three men bound into the furnace, and being answered accordingly, he cried out, *I see four men loose walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God* e. He then drew near to the mouth of the furnace, b and conjured the three men, as servants of the most high God, to come out to him. They did so, and all were astonished at what they saw, when they perceived they had not received the least hurt or alteration, even in their garments f. Nebuchadnezzar blessed the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and soon after issued out a decree, that whosoever of any people, nation, or language, should presume to speak any thing irreverently against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the criminal should be cut in pieces, and his house turned into a dunghill g.

This mighty prince thus reformed, was obliged once more to cross the Euphrates, to make war on the nations on this side, whose turbulence of spirit could not rest. It had been prophesied, that he should subdue Egypt (L), and serve her as Judah c had been served, and that the same fate should also befall the city of Tyre (M).

In completion of these predictions he sat down with his army before Tyre, and underwent a most tedious siege of 13 years there, and at last had nothing but an empty

Year of the  
Flood, 2314.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 585.

c Ibid. ver. 20.

d Ibid. ver. 22.

e Ibid. ver. 25.

f Ibid. ver. 27.

g Ibid. ver. 29.

enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and chose to pave the way to his destruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculously delivered, Daniel escaped all danger of course.

(L) The prophet's words are (18), *Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou art as a whale in the seas; and thou camest forth with thy rivers, and troublest the waters with thy feet, and foulest the rivers. Thus saith the Lord God, I will therefore spread out my net over thee, with a company of many people, and they shall bring thee up in my net* . . . For thus saith the Lord God, *The sword of the king of Babylon shall come upon thee* . . . There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain, with their terror they are ashamed of their might, and they lie uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword . . . Pharaoh shall see them, (that is, Pharaoh shall see the Zidonians, or Tyrians, destroyed before him; for Nebuchadnezzar subdued Phœnicia before he invaded Egypt) and shall be comforted over all his multitude, even Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the LORD GOD. That this prophecy immediately relates to Nebuchadnezzar, appears by the recapitulation, made in this same chapter, of the conquests of this monarch, as *Assur, or Assyria, Elam, &c.* as for Jerusalem it may not have been mentioned, as not being yet destroyed. The same prophet dilates much upon this fearful destruction and captivity of Egypt in other places (19). Jeremiah is quite explicit upon this occasion, and mentions (20) this king by name, *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadnezzar my servant* . . . And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as are for death, to death; and such as are for captivity, to captivity; and such as are for the sword, so the sword. And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives, and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace. He

shall also break the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt, and the houses of the Gods of the Egyptians shall be burn with fire. Much more to the same purpose is to be found in this same prophet (21).

(M) These are the words of the prophet (22), *Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Alas, she is broken, that was the gates of the people* . . . Therefore thus saith the Lord God, *Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus* . . . Behold I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north . . . I will slay with the sword thy daughters in the field, and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers. By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets; he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise; [This seems to contradict what is said of the Tyrians removing to the island, and the emptiness of the place when Nebuchadnezzar got possession of it, but may be meant only to exaggerate the destruction of the old town.] and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses; and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water . . . And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more . . . Then all princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments; they shall cloath themselves with trembling, they shall sit upon the ground . . . and be astonished at thee; and so on in this place, and in others (23) of this same prophet, to the same purpose.

(18) Ezek. xxxii. 2—31.

(19) xxix. xxx. xxxi.

(20) xlvi. 10—13.

(21) xlii.

xi. xvi. xvi. &c.

(22) Ezek. xxxii. 2—16.

(23) xxxvii. xxxviii.



empty town for his pains<sup>h</sup>. For the *Tyrans* perceiving his obstinacy against them, <sup>a</sup> and sensible they must sooner or later fall into his hands, bethought them of removing to the island opposite to them, and not much above half a mile from the shore, where they built them a new city, whither they conveyed all their effects, and left *Nebuchadnezzar* to vent his rage upon the empty walls of the old town, which he failed not to do<sup>i</sup>. However during this siege he from time to time, by detached parties, seems compleatly to have subjugated all the countries about; and this he certainly did, in pursuance of the several prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*. Thus during this siege, he sent *Nebuzaradan* with a party into *Judea*, to take vengeance on them for the murder of their late governor *Gedaliah*: In consequence of which he brought off with him all the inhabitants he could meet with, and <sup>b</sup> which amounted to no more than 745 persons, so nearly had the king already compleated the desolation of the land.

Year of the  
Flood, 2427  
Year before  
CHRIST, 572

WHAT *Nebuchadnezzar* may probably have done at *Tyre*, before he departed thence, we have declared already<sup>k</sup>. But to make amends for this disappointment, it was promised by the prophet, that *Egypt* should pay him for what he had suffered before *Tyre*<sup>l</sup>. *Egypt* was at this time as weak as *Tyre* was apparently strong; for the country was at this time in great distraction, caused by a civil war then raging between *Apries* and *Amasis*<sup>m</sup>. But concerning this his expedition against *Egypt*, we have no manner of account, except what we find relating thereto in the prophecies of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*; whereby we understand that *Egypt* suffered as much by <sup>c</sup> him as any nation had till then done (N). About this time also we suppose him to have conquered the *Libyans* and *Ethiopians*, and other adjacent nations, according to other prophecies concerning him (O). As for *Egypt*, it is quite uncertain in what state, or upon what conditions, he left that country, or whether or no he did not appoint *Amasis*, so famed among the *Egyptians*, his lieutenant or viceroy there<sup>n</sup>. The glory and prosperity of the reign of this *Egyptian* king, as represented by the *Egyptians* themselves<sup>o</sup>, need not prevent us from concluding he was no better than a substitute and tributary to the king of *Babylon*, and the rather, as the prophet foretels of them, that they should be confounded and desolate for 40 years afterwards<sup>p</sup>, which is a space of time nearly equal to the reign of *Amasis*<sup>q</sup>; and his defection in the end may have been as good a reason as any formerly given for the <sup>d</sup> rage, as it is represented, of *Cambyfes* against him<sup>r</sup>, when the *Persians* had destroyed the empire of *Babylon*.

But to desist from conjectures of so very dubious a nature, *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to have carried his arms into the very heart of *Libya* and *Iberia*, and to have far exceeded even *Hercules* himself<sup>s</sup>. Thus far we have seen him a warrior beyond all that had gone before him; we have now done with his martial deeds, and must retire with him to *Babylon*, and take a view of what he did there; and since the magnificence of

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 417. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. <sup>k</sup> See before, ibid. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 268. <sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 269. <sup>n</sup> See before, ibid. <sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 271. <sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 268. <sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 273. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 272. <sup>s</sup> *ABYDEN*, ex *MEGASTH.* apud *EUSEB.* *Præpar. Evang.* l. 9. p. 456. & *BEROS.* apud *JOSEPH.*

(N) This, besides what we have cited from other prophets to prove it, is directly said by *Jeremiah* (24), who addressing himself to such of the remnants of the captivity as thought to have found a sure place of refuge in *Egypt*; Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: If ye wholly set your faces to enter into *Egypt*, and go to sojourn there, then it shall come to pass, that the sword which ye feared shall overtake you there in the land of *Egypt*, and the famine whereof ye are afraid, shall follow close after you there in *Egypt*, and there ye shall die. So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into *Egypt*, to sojourn there, they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into *Egypt*: and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a reproach, and a reproach, and ye shall see this, saith the Lord (25). See also the next Note.

(O) Son of man \* prophecy and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Howl ye, howl ye, two worth the day. For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the heathen: Great pain shall be in *Ethiopia*, when the slain shall fall in *Egypt*, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundation shall be broken down. *Ethiopia* and *Libya*, and *Lydia*, and all the mingled people, and *Chub*, and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword. Thus saith the Lord, They also that uphold *Egypt* shall fall, and the pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of *Syene* shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord God. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries, that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. And they shall know that I am the Lord, when I have set a fire in *Egypt*, and when all her helpers shall be destroyed. In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships, to make the careless *Ethiopian* afraid, and great pain shall come upon them, for so it cometh (26).

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) *Ibid.* 15 — 18.

\* *Ezek.* xxx.

(26) *Ibid.* 2 — 9.

- a of that city is wholly attributed to him, we cannot do it better than by a description of it, which we have particularly reserved for this place; for it was this prince that enlarged and adorned it, and enriched its temples with the spoils he had taken, and, in fine, did most of what is attributed to *Semiramis*, except the immediate foundation; and indeed as it is evidently under him, and almost under him only as monarch of *Babylon*, that the country flourished, lorded it over the nations, and divided the empire with the *Medes*, who upon his death seem to have been upon no very good terms with the *Babylonians*; so nothing is more natural than to conclude that the city attained to the height of its splendor under him, and that whatever may have been done to it afterwards, was rather to preserve it from assaults of the enemy,
- b than to set it off as the queen of the east.

TOWARDS the description of *Babylon*, and what *Nebuchadnezzar* did there, we have <sup>Babylon described.</sup> little or nothing to add to what has already been said for us; and therefore we shall have no more to do than to transcribe it, and particularly in the method of a late learned author<sup>1</sup>.

- Semiramis*, as we have seen by some<sup>1</sup>, and *Belus*<sup>2</sup> by others, is said to have founded this city; but whether it was originally founded by *Belus* or *Pul*, or his son *Nabonassar*, the first *Babylonian* king in *Ptolemy's* canon, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city itself; the temple of *Belus*; *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace, and the
- c hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river; and the artificial lake and canals made for the draining of the river; works which for magnificence and expence were exceeded by no one attempt of human labour, excepting the wall of *Cbina*.

- THE walls that surrounded the city were every way prodigious; for they were <sup>The walls.</sup> in thickness 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compass 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles<sup>3</sup>. These are the measures according to *Herodotus*, who was himself at *Babylon*; and though there are those who differ from him in these dimensions, yet most who agree in any measures of these walls, give us<sup>4</sup> the same, or nearly the same he does (P). These walls formed an exact square<sup>5</sup>, each side of which was 120
- d stades, or 15 miles in length, and were all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen<sup>6</sup>, a particular product of the neighbourhood of this city<sup>7</sup>, and much more durable and strong than lime. On the out side of these walls was a large ditch full of water, and the earth dug out of it served to make the bricks which built the walls<sup>8</sup>, so that from the great dimensions of the walls, those of this ditch or moat may be readily conceived. In each side of this square were 25 gates, 100 in all, and all of solid brass: Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between those corners and the gates next on each side, and each of these towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts
- e of the walls where towers were needful for defence<sup>9</sup>. For some parts of them being upon a morass, and inaccessible by an enemy, there the labour and cost was spared, which, though it must have spoiled the symmetry of the whole, must be allowed to have favoured of good oeconomy. This is indeed what one would not have expected from a prince who had been so determined, as *Nebuchadnezzar* must have been,

to

<sup>1</sup> PRIDEAU x Connest. p. 1. l. 2. <sup>2</sup> See before, p. 878. <sup>3</sup> ARYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. PRÆP. EVANG. l. 9. p. 457. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. <sup>4</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 178. <sup>5</sup> PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 6. c. 26. PHILOST. l. 1. c. 18. <sup>6</sup> HERODOT. ubi supr. <sup>7</sup> Idem ibid. c. 179. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. STRAB. l. 16. p. 743. DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 69. ARRIAN. de expedit. ALEX. l. 7. <sup>8</sup> See before p. 145. sub. not. (1). <sup>9</sup> HERODOT. ubi supr. <sup>10</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 68.

(P) *Diodorus Siculus*, as we have seen before (27), diminishes the circumference of these walls very considerably, and takes somewhat from the height which *Herodotus* gives them, though he seems to add to the breadth of them, by saying, That six chariots might drive abreast thereon; while the former writes, That one cannot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each side of the top of these walls, which, according to him,

were but one story high (28); which may pretty well reconcile them together in this respect. It is observed (29), that those who give the height of these walls but at 50 cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspes*, who had caused them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the variations we meet with in authors that have spoken of this city, would be both endless and fruitless.

(27) P. 878.

(28) L. i. c. 179.

(29) Vid. PRID. ubi sup. p. 95.

to make the city compleat both for strength and beauty; and hence it should seem <sup>a</sup> that we see a woman in after-ages compleating the walls of *Babylon*; which may have been no more than supplying the deficiency of towers in the part so destitute of them, which may be better considered when we come to speak of her in particular. The whole number then of these towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been necessary to have made the uniformity compleat all round. From the 25 gates in each side of this square, there was a strait street, extending to the corresponding gate in the opposite wall, whence the whole number of the streets must have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long, 25 of them crossing the other 25 exactly at right angles <sup>d</sup>. Besides these whole streets, we must reckon four half streets, which were but rows of <sup>b</sup> houses facing the four inner sides of the walls. These four half streets were properly the four sides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 foot broad <sup>e</sup>, the whole streets being about 150 of the same. By this intersection of the 50 streets, the city was divided into 676 squares, each of four furlongs and an half on each side, or two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses, all of three or four stories in height, and beautified <sup>f</sup> with all manner of ornaments; and the space within each of these squares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleasure or convenience.

A branch of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the midst <sup>c</sup> of it, from north to south (Q), over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length <sup>g</sup>, or rather more, and indeed much more, if we hearken to others, who say it was no less than five stades or furlongs in length, though but 30 foot broad <sup>h</sup>, a difference we shall never be able to decide (R); this bridge however is said to have been built with wonderful art <sup>i</sup>, to supply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At each end of this bridge were two palaces <sup>k</sup>; the old palace on the east side, the new one on the west side of the river; the former of which took up <sup>l</sup> four of the squares above-mentioned, and the latter <sup>m</sup> nine of them. The temple of *Belus*, which stood next to the old palace, took up another of the same squares.

THE whole city stood in a large flat or plain in a very fat and deep soil <sup>n</sup>; that <sup>d</sup> part or half of it on the east side of the river was the old city <sup>o</sup>, and the other on the west was added by *Nebuchadnezzar* <sup>p</sup>, both being included within the vast square bounded by the walls aforesaid. The form of the whole was seemingly borrowed from *Nineveh*, which was also 480 furlongs; but though it was equal in dimensions to this city, it was less with respect to its form, which was a parallelogram <sup>q</sup>, whereas that of *Babylon* was an exact square: It is supposed that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had destroyed that old seat of the *Assyrian* empire, proposed that this new one <sup>r</sup> should rather exceed it than not <sup>s</sup>, and that it was to fill this great intended city with inhabitants, that he transported such numbers of captives from other countries hither. Whether this method, which had been constantly followed by the kings of <sup>c</sup> *Assyria*, was really the most effectual to secure their conquests, we will not pretend to determine; sure it is, no city could be more fertily situated for maintaining such a prodigious number of inhabitants, if he had lived to fill it. BUT

<sup>d</sup> HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 180. \* DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 67. <sup>e</sup> HERODOT. ubi supr. PHILOSTR. l. 1. p. 738. <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 878. <sup>g</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 68. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 186. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. PHILOSTR. l. 1. c. 18. <sup>h</sup> BEROS. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Judaic. l. 10. c. 11. HERODOT. ubi supr. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. QUINT. CURT. ubi supr. PHILOSTR. ubi supr. See before, ubi supr. <sup>i</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. <sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>l</sup> HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 193. <sup>m</sup> BEROS. ubi supr. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>o</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. p. 65. <sup>p</sup> Vid. PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. vol. 1. l. 2. p. 97. in 8vo. <sup>q</sup> Vid. eund. ibid.

(Q) It seems rather to have been a branch of the *Euphrates* (30) than the main stream itself, that thus divided this city. In *Ptolemy's* maps it is seated upon the *Naharmalcha*, or royal river.

(R) By the former of the dimensions of this bridge, it is plain the city was not immediately upon the great river of *Euphrates*, but rather upon some artificial canal, or inferior branch of the main stream. By the latter indeed it may seem, that it

stood upon the main stream itself; however, as they both agree so well in the breadth of the bridge, we may be inclined to think the former was the truest length thereof, the latter being quite disproportionate thereto; and hence we may be brought to conclude, that the city of *Babylon* was not immediately upon the great river *Euphrates*. Other arguments, this way tending, may be alledged; but as it is a point of such obscurity, we waive them.

- a BUT it plainly appears that even in his successor's time, it was never wholly inhabited, so that even in the very meridian of its glory, it may be compared with the flower of the field, which flourishes to-day, and to-morrow is no more; for, as we shall see in the course of this work, it never had the time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* visibly intended to have made it; for within 25 years after his death *Cyrus* removing the seat of the empire to *Shushan*, *Babylon* fell by degrees into utter decay, as appears by the condition 2. *Curtius* tells us *Alexander* found it in † when he came to lay siege to it, (S) and yet it must be owned, as we just now hinted, that no country could have been better able to support so vast and populous a city as this was intended to have been, had it been the will of fate that it should have been completed up to the first design. But neither did *Nebuchadnezzar* live long enough, or  
 b the empire itself subsist a time sufficient to bring this to pass. THE

† *L. 5. c. 1. vid. prid. ub. sup.*

(S) So far was that city from being finished according to its original design, that our author tells us *Alexander* found no more than 90 furlongs of it were then built, which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length, (which is the utmost that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than 8100 square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained 14400 square furlongs, and therefore there must have been 6300 square furlongs that were unbuilt, which *Curtius* tells us were plowed and sown. And besides this, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side, between house and house. And the same historian tells us this was done, because this way of building seemed to them safest. His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per 90 stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt; credo quia tutius est pluribus locis spargi.* i. e. Neither was the whole city built upon, for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited, but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other. Which words [they thought it safest] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health; for hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations and other inconveniences are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason *Delhi*, the capital of *India*, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world are thus built; the usage in those places being, that such a rated space of ground be left void between every house and house that is built in them; and old *Rome* was built after the same manner. So that putting all this together, it will appear, that *Babylon* was so large a city in scheme rather than reality: for, according to this account, it must be by much the larger part that was never built, and therefore, in this respect, it must give place to *Nineveh*, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants, at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which the scriptures tell us, were 120,000 in the time of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited."

Here we beg leave to remark, that nothing can be concluded from what is cited by *Curtius*, at a time when the city must have suffered a very great decay, and when the houses and private buildings in particular must have been deserted and gone to ruin, and leveled with the ground, the ground that became void

amounting to a considerable space, may have been converted to the uses of tillage and pasture. For when *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, it must have been little better than the skeleton of the old city; so that let what *Curtius* reports concerning it be ever so true, it proves no more than that such was the state of *Babylon* when *Alexander* came there, not what it had been, and doubtless was, when the seat of the *Babylonian*, or latter *Affyrian* empire. Again, as to what is alledged in the citation above, to confirm what is asserted by *Curtius*, as to the distance left between house and house, and the example produced in *Delhi*, and other cities in hot countries, which are built in that straggling manner, it may be needless to animadvert thereon, when at the same time it is granted, that in the length or breadth of 15 miles there was no more than 25 streets, or 26, including the two half streets, or rows, at the ends and at the sides. A city built in this proportion must have been small enough, and by the proportions it must appear, that there were such void spaces behind all the houses, as must have answered all the purposes of preventing suffocations, and other inconveniences the inhabitants may have been in danger of. And besides, if *Delhi*, and other cities in the east, are built in the extensive and incoherent manner above suggested; other cities there are, in climates to the full as warm, and under much better regulation, which are not only built without this discontinuity, but as close as possible, and with streets so narrow, that there would not be much more than room for one of our coaches to pass through them; as *Canton* in *China* (32), and other cities in the same country, and others.

Lastly, it is almost certain, that *Nineveh* was never so big as *Babylon*, notwithstanding what is inferred from the 120,000 souls there, who could not distinguish their right hand from their left; which, as we have suggested formerly (33), may be as justly understood of a religious blindness, as a natural incapacity; and is a figurative expression, which may be very aptly used on the occasion when *Jonah* was to open their eyes, that they might see the dangers their sins were like to bring upon them. *Nineveh* was, in the time of *Jonah*, in its infancy (34); there was as yet no king of *Affyria*, distinguished as such (35), and therefore to suppose that city, in the days of *Jonah*, to have been more considerable than *Babylon* was, at the height of her meridian, is a little out of the way. Nor will it be much more just to imagine it to have exceeded this city, even when it was at the greatest; for it is plain, by the history of all the *Affyrian* kings at *Nineveh*, that they never established a settled dominion over the parts of their empire, as it is called, but were for ever diverted by foreign wars, so that they lived rather upon the spoil, from time to time, as they made their incursions upon this kingdom or that, than upon any regular or continued revenue or tribute from the several

(31) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (32) See the Dutch Embassy. (33) See before in the notes, p. 889. (34) *Ibid.* (35) *Ibid.*

Temple of  
Belus.

THE next work in *Babylon*, attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, is the temple of *Belus* <sup>1</sup>. <sup>a</sup> This temple or tower, as to its form and dimensions, we have sufficiently described already <sup>2</sup>, where we have also declared our thoughts concerning the first foundation and completion of it <sup>3</sup>; but some particulars we must however add, to give a more distinct idea of what it was. The ascent to it was by steps on the outside, by the slope lines which formed the eight retractions or benchings in, which shaped it, as it were, into eight distinct towers, as may be observed in the representation we have copied of it. What the uppermost of these towers was set apart for, we have seen already; but on the top of this there was, it seems, an observatory <sup>4</sup>, by the means of which the *Babylonians* are pretended to have advanced themselves to their great pretended knowledge in the sidereal sciences. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar* <sup>b</sup> it is thought this tower was all the temple of *Belus*; but as he did by the other ancient buildings of the city <sup>7</sup>, so he did by this <sup>2</sup>, making great additions thereto by vast edifices erected round it <sup>2</sup>, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of *Jerusalem* by 1800 foot <sup>b</sup>. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole, and in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed <sup>c</sup> that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and is therefore concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass <sup>d</sup>, which it is thought <sup>e</sup> may have been made out of the brazen sea, and <sup>c</sup> brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind which *Nebuchadnezzar* had transported from *Jerusalem*; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated his spoils from that of *Jerusalem* <sup>f</sup>.

In this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, and one of them, as we have seen <sup>g</sup>, 40 foot in height, the same, as is commonly supposed <sup>h</sup>, with that which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura* <sup>i</sup>. This last is said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 foot high, which, though it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former of 40, yet this last is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one <sup>k</sup>, by supposing that in the 90 foot the height of the pedestal is included, and that the 40 foot are for the height <sup>d</sup> of the statue without the pedestal (T); and being said to have weighed 1000 talents

<sup>1</sup> Beros. ubi sup.    <sup>2</sup> See before in the notes, p. 145. (K).    <sup>3</sup> Ibid.    <sup>4</sup> Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 98.  
<sup>5</sup> Beros. apud Joseph. ubi sup.    <sup>6</sup> Idem apud eund. ibid.    <sup>7</sup> Herodot. ubi sup.    <sup>8</sup> Vid.  
Priod. Connect. vol. i. part 1. l. 2. p. 100. in 8vo.    <sup>9</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>10</sup> Herodot. ubi sup.  
<sup>11</sup> Vid. Priod. ubi sup.    <sup>12</sup> Dan. i. 2.    <sup>13</sup> Chron. xxxvi. 7.    <sup>14</sup> See before, p. 879. d.    <sup>15</sup> Vid.  
Priod. ubi sup.    <sup>16</sup> See before, p. 954.    <sup>17</sup> Vid. Priod. ubi sup.

several people they over-ran, who never rested quietly for any space of time, under their yoke. *Esar-ladon* was the most powerful of them all, and extended his dominion even over *Egypt*, which none of his predecessors ever did, and was in a fair way of effecting the monarchy his fore-fathers had in vain aspired at; but he dying soon after he had thus established himself, and being, as it seems, succeeded by a prince of no active genius, the empire mouldered away by degrees till it became no more. *Nebuchadnezzar*, of all the *Affyrian* race, seems to have raised the family to the utmost it ever was. His great successes, and the length of his reign, in comparison of what was enjoyed by any *Affyrian* king before him, may abundantly convince us, that he raised *Babylon* to a pitch of magnificence and grandeur which had never been seen at *Nineveh*; and if thereto we add his passion to aggrandise and embellish this city, which plainly eclipsed her sister in *Affyria*, we cannot so much as doubt of it; though, after all, we are very ready to think *Babylon* never was so very enormous as represented.

(T) With the pedestal or without, this golden colossus must be allowed to be a wonder, and especially if it was all of gold. We will forbear to talk of the proportions of this statue, as a late learned author (36) has done; they may have been just,

for ought we know, though that is what we are apt to suspect; as well as that *Diodorus*, by the statue he mentions (37), means that which *Nebuchadnezzar* raised in the plain of *Dura*. It shall suffice, that we take notice that the same late learned author (38) imagines this statue, vast as it was, weighed but 1000 talents of *Babylon*, and consequently that, according to the value of the *Babylonish* talent in *Pollux's Onomasticon*, it amounted to three millions and a half of our money. The golden statue in *Diodorus*, is placed in the temple of *Belus* (39), where *Herodotus* has also seemingly two golden statues of solid gold, the one, which he represents as large, of *Jupiter* or *Belus* (40), in a sitting posture, on a throne of gold, and with a table of the same metal before it, the whole together weighing 800 talents of *Babylon*; and another of 12 cubits high, all of solid gold, which if it weighed so much as 800 talents, must have been much larger than the former; which, with its throne and all its furniture, weighed no more; and that to *Herodotus* (41) seems so much, that he with his usual caution, reports it on the credit of the *Chaldeans* themselves. Whatever was the difference in weight between these two statues, it may thence appear, that *Diodorus*, in allowing but 1000 talents for his statue of 40 foot high, is egregiously mistaken, and consequently that our author (42) was a little inattentive

(36) See Priod. ubi sup. p. 101.    (37) See before, p. 879.    (38) Priod. ubi sup.    (39) See before, ubi sup.    (40) See before, p. 916.    (41) l. 1. c. 183.    (42) Priod. ubi sup.



<sup>a</sup> talents of *Babylon*<sup>1</sup>, it is thence computed that it was worth three millions and an half of our money<sup>m</sup>. In a word, the whole weight of the statues and decorations in *Diodorus Siculus* amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold; the whole is estimated at above<sup>n</sup> one and twenty millions of our money; and a sum about equal to the same in treasure, utensils, and ornaments, not mentioned<sup>o</sup>, is allowed for; which we leave to the reader, with this one observation, that our author supposes this immense treasure to have been about 2000 years in collecting, and that as he is most apparently mistaken in that, he may as likely be out in his computation, which, if it was curtailed considerably, might have been, together with other plunder of the fort, a sufficient indemnity to *Xerxes* for his *Grecian* expedition.

<sup>b</sup> NEXT to this temple <sup>p</sup>, on the same east side of the river, stood the old palace <sup>q</sup> of the kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in circumference. Exactly opposite to it, <sup>r</sup> on the other side of the river, was the new palace, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*; it was eight miles in circumference, and consequently four times as big as the old one. Both these palaces we have already described according to such accounts as we have remaining of them<sup>s</sup>, but must add, that as vast as this palace must have been, it was the work of no more than 15 days<sup>t</sup>. *The two palaces.*

BUT nothing in the city of *Babylon* has obtained a greater degree of admiration, *The hanging-gardens.* than what we call the penfile or hanging-gardens, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his wife *Amyitis*<sup>u</sup>, who was a *Mede*<sup>v</sup>, and desirous to have something of a prospect <sup>w</sup> that might look like her own country, which was as woody and mountainous as *Babylonia* was otherwise. They are said to have contained a square of four plethra on each side, and described to have consisted of terrasses one above another, and carried up to the height of the wall of the city; the ascent from terrass to terrass being by steps ten foot wide. The whole pile consisted of substantial arches upon arches, and was strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side of 22 foot thick, and the floors on each of them were laid in this order: First, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of stones 16 foot long, and four foot broad; over this was a layer of bitumen, and over this two courses of brick, closely cemented together with plaister; and over all these were thick sheets of lead, <sup>d</sup> and on these the earth or mould of the garden. This storage was designed to retain the moisture of the mould, which was so deep as to give root to the greatest trees which were planted upon every terrass, together with great variety of other vegetables pleasing to the eye. Upon the uppermost of these terrasses was a reservoir, supplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terrasses were supplied.

THE other works attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Berosus*<sup>x</sup> and *Megasthenes*, or *Abydenus*<sup>y</sup>, were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, said to have been sunk by *Semiramis*<sup>z</sup>. The chief of these canals was the *Nabarmalcha*, or *Basilicos Potamos* of the *Greeks*<sup>a</sup>; the lake was to abate the inundations of the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, just as the lake *Maris* in *Egypt* was designed to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*<sup>b</sup>; their uses were exactly alike, viz. to fecundate the country in times of drought, and to rescue it from the dangers of inundation. *The banks, artificial canals, and lake.*

<sup>1</sup> See before, ubi sup. 879.    <sup>m</sup> Vid. PRIB. ubi sup. p. 101.    <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>p</sup> STRAB. l. 16. p. 731.    <sup>q</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. PHILOSTRAT. ubi sup.    <sup>r</sup> See before, p. 878.    <sup>s</sup> BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi sup.    <sup>t</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>u</sup> See before, p. 902.  
<sup>v</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. p. 70.    <sup>w</sup> Apud JOSEPH. ubi sup.    <sup>x</sup> Apud EUSEB. PRÆP. Evang. ubi sup.    <sup>y</sup> See before, p. 879.    <sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 57.    <sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 195.

attentive to this seeming absurdity, except he concluded his statue to have been hollow, or plated over with a thick sheet of gold; that indeed might alter the case, and he would have done well to have made this distinction; but he plainly concludes it to have been of massy gold (43).

We formerly declared (44), we were not sure that *Herodotus*, by the height he gives of the one, and the weight of the other, does not mean the same statue; our reason for this, among others, is his omitting to name who the last statue represented,

which being so remarkable a piece of furniture in this *Babylonian* temple; we wonder how so exact a writer should have been guilty of the omission, and this inclines us to think they were both *Jupiters*, and consequently the same god, and perhaps the same image. If so, he may have thought it needless to repeat the name, which would have been quite necessary, if they had been distinct deities, but as we formerly made it a doubt (45), so now we are far from pretending to decide the matter.

(43) Ibid. p. 100.

(44) See before, p. 916.

(45) Ibid.



inundation<sup>c</sup>. This lake, however, if we are to credit our historians, was vastly a more in circumference than that in *Egypt*, it being on the one hand <sup>d</sup> said to have been 210 miles in circuit, and on the other <sup>e</sup>, which is much less, 160, either of which give it a square, for that was the form of it, far exceeding that of the *Egyptian* lake, which has been thought a work too stupenduous to have been effected by the labour of men; but indeed what this wanted in length and breadth, it seems to have more than made good in depth, which was in some places no less than 50 fathom<sup>f</sup>, whereas the depth of this *Babylonian* lake is given but at 35 foot<sup>g</sup>, or 75 at the utmost<sup>h</sup>; a difference which is attempted to be reconciled by a supposition, that the one measures only the surface of the sides, while the other includes the banks thrown up upon them<sup>i</sup>.

THIS lake is said to have been dug to receive the river, which was diverted while *Nebuchadnezzar* built the banks to each side of the city of *Babylon*<sup>k</sup>, and to have been to the westward of that place. These banks were built for the security, convenience, and decoration of the city particularly, and were made all of brick and bitumen<sup>l</sup>, and extended on each side throughout the whole length of the city<sup>m</sup>, and even farther, according to some<sup>n</sup>, who reckon they extended 160 furlongs, or 20 miles; whence it is concluded<sup>o</sup> they must have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal distance below it, the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. These banks were built from the bottom, and were rather walls of the same thickness with those that surrounded the city; and opposite to each street on each side he had a brazen gate in the said wall<sup>p</sup>, with stairs leading down from it to the river; these gates were open by day, and shut by night. *Berosus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called *Nitocris*, who may have finished what *Nebuchadnezzar* left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this historian gives her of the whole<sup>q</sup>. If these works fell even much short of what we have here seen them to have been, it must be granted we have not said too much of the *Babylonians*, where we have represented them to have been ingenious, industrious, and laborious<sup>r</sup>, and if *Nebuchadnezzar* did but attempt them, it must be allowed that he deserves the first place among those who have endeavoured to signalize themselves by such stupenduous monuments of art and labour; but if he did really conduct them towards a state of perfection, nothing can be said too much of him considered in this view.

WE have now seen this first *Babylonian* monarch, properly so called, in all his majesty, both at home and abroad; what we have remaining to say of him, will be of a different nature: for we shall see him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly understood, degraded beneath the meanest of the race of mankind, and seemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, swoln with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themselves what they ought not.

Year of the Flood, 2429. Year before CHRIST, 570. *Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the tree.* HE had scarce returned from his late war of 16 or 17 years continuance, and flushed with the conquest of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *Libya*, and the reduction of all *Syria*, but reposing himself in his palace, he had a dream, which may be best delivered in his own words<sup>a</sup>; "I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: The beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and behold, a watcher, and an holy One came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under him, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass," in

<sup>c</sup> See PRID. ubi sup. p. 103. & See before, p. 195. <sup>d</sup> HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 185. <sup>e</sup> MEGAST. apud EUSEB. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 195. <sup>g</sup> HERODOT. ubi sup. <sup>h</sup> MEGAST. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> Vid. PRID. ubi sup. p. 104. <sup>k</sup> Vid. ABYDEN. ubi sup. HERODOT. ubi sup. DIOD. ubi sup. <sup>l</sup> ABYDEN. apud EUSEB. ubi sup. <sup>m</sup> HERODOT. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> BEROS. ubi sup. <sup>o</sup> Vid. PRID. ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> Compare BEROS. ubi sup. with HERODOT. ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> Vid. PRID. ubi sup. p. 105. <sup>r</sup> See before, p. 933. <sup>s</sup> DAN. iv.

- a " in the tender grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and  
 " let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be  
 " changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him, and let seven  
 " times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the de-  
 " mand by the word of the holy Ones: to the intent that the living may know,  
 " that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever  
 " he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

HAVING declared this to have been his dream to his wise men, astrologers, *The interpre-*  
*Chaldeans*, and the like, and all to no purpose, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*, *tation of 18.*  
 or *Belteshazzar*<sup>a</sup>, which, how he should have neglected to do at first, after the proofs  
 b he had had of his superiority, and the omnipotence of his God, may be hard to ac-  
 count for, if we do not suppose him to have laboured under some sort of distrac-  
 tion. To waive this, he is represented as revealing his dream to *Daniel*, in words  
 to the effect above; and *Daniel* no sooner heard it, than he *was astonished for one*  
*hour, and his thoughts troubled him*<sup>c</sup>. At length, after he had recovered himself,  
 and deprecated the evil omen, and excused himself to the king, who was very sol-  
 licitous with him to tell him the truth without fear or disguise, he told him, The  
 tree he saw was meant of himself; that by the order of the watcher and the holy  
 One concerning the tree, it was signified that he should be driven out from the  
 society of men, and become as a beast, and that, in fine, he should so continue  
 c to be till he had been brought to a due sense of the supremacy and omnipotence  
 of God; that the stump of the tree which was to be left, signified that the king-  
 dom should nevertheless revert to him once more<sup>d</sup>. Such was *Daniel's* interpreta-  
 tion, which he closed with an exhortation to him to abstain from sin, and to shew  
 mercy to the poor, that so he might procure to himself a prolongation of peace and  
 tranquillity<sup>e</sup>.

THIS extraordinary sentence thus pronounced on him, and by the lips of a man  
 whom he must entirely have relied on, seems to have made no lasting impression  
 upon him; for not being immediately executed upon him, he might have worn off  
 the terrors of it, before the time was quite come. So that about twelve months *His pride and*  
 d afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as some think<sup>f</sup> the fact may have *metamorphosis.*  
 been, on the uppermost of the terraces of his hanging-garden, and contemplating the  
 glories of the city he had adorned; unable to contain the pride of his heart, he  
 cried out, " Is not this great *Babylon*, that I have built for the house of the  
 " kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty<sup>g</sup>?"  
 He had no sooner vented himself in this insolent manner, than there fell a voice  
 from heaven, saying, " O king *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is spoken, The king-  
 " dom is departed from thee<sup>h</sup>. And straight he was driven from the society of men,  
 and dwelt with the beast of the field, and he ate grass as an ox, and his body was  
 wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his  
 e nails like birds' claws<sup>i</sup>. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is sometimes taken  
 in all the strictness of it; it being supposed that losing his senses, he wandered about  
 in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times, or  
 seven years, had passed over his head<sup>j</sup>; but concerning this metamorphosis, and the  
 duration (U) of it, there is a great variety of opinion.

## DURING

- <sup>a</sup> Dan. iv.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 9.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. 19.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 26.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid. ver. 27.  
<sup>f</sup> PRID. ubi supr. p. 105.    <sup>g</sup> Dan. ubi supr. ver. 30.    <sup>h</sup> Ibid. ver. 31.    <sup>i</sup> Ibid. ver. 33.  
<sup>j</sup> See PRID. ubi supr.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this  
 change, " *Origen* (46) believed the thing to be im-  
 possible, and turned it into allegory. *Bodin* (47)  
 thought he was really changed into a bull, and that  
 he lost even the soul of a man; while others (48)  
 maintain he was changed as to the body only, re-  
 taining his reason, as *Apuleius* did while an ass, and  
 like the *Italians*, mentioned by *St. Austin* (49)  
 who having tailed of cheese, presented to them  
 by certain magicians of the country, were imme-  
 diately turned into beasts of burthen, but at last

recovered their first form and condition of life.  
 Some *Rabbins* have pretended, that the soul of  
*Nebuchadnezzar* deserted his body, and, for a  
 time, gave place to the soul of an ox, which de-  
 graded him into all the inclinations and sen-  
 sations of that animal; while others (50) admit  
 no more to have been the case than a vitiated  
 imagination in the prince, and a kind of fasci-  
 nation in the eyes of his subjects, which made  
 them fancy, as well as himself, that he was, for  
 certain, become an ox, though there was no such  
 thing.

(46) *Apud* HIERON. in *Dan. iv.* (47) *Demonol. l. 2. c. 6.* (48) *MALDON. in Dan. ubi sup.*  
*Et* TERTULL. de *Panis. c. 12, 13.* (49) *De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 18.* (50) *MEDIN. de res. in*  
*Deum fide, c. 7.* *VIER. de præstig. Dæmon. l. 1. c. 24.*

His death.

Year of the  
Flood, 2437.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 562.

DURING this his disorder, it is said his son *Evil-merodach* administered the government for him <sup>e</sup>, and that he did it so ill, as to draw his father's most heavy displeasure on him, when he came to understand what he had done; for when his seven years were expired, he threw him into the prison where *Jeboiachin*, the captive king of *Judah*, had lain 37 years. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his son, and given the honour and praise due to God, and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a publick decree, he continued in the possession of his kingdom about a twelve-month afterwards, and then departed this life, after a reign of 43 years.

His prophecy.

THE circumstances of his death are omitted in scripture, but may be fabulously supplied from those <sup>f</sup> who tell us, that after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace, and that being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect, and in these words; "Behold, O *Babylonians*, I foretel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, nor our forefather *Belus*, nor our queen *Beltis*, may possibly avert. A *Persian* mule shall come, and by the assistance of your own gods, shall load your necks with a most galling yoke; and this destruction shall befall you by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Assyrians* were wont greatly to glory themselves. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people, were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in the depths of the sea; or that hurried away into some lonely desert, he might there remain a wanderer, never to behold again the footsteps of mankind, and never to see ought but birds and beasts of prey. O grant unto me, before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to share a happier end;" thus saying, he was suddenly snatched from the sight of men; the same exit *Semiramis* is said to have made <sup>g</sup>.

Year of the  
Flood, 2437.  
Year before  
CHRIST, 562.

HE was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach* <sup>h</sup>, *Ivoradam* <sup>i</sup>, *Ebidan-merodach* <sup>k</sup>, *Evil-maluruch* <sup>l</sup>, and, as is most likely, *Belsazzar*. That he was this seemingly last king of *Babylon*, according to *Daniel*, we shall endeavour to make out before we close up his reign. In the mean time, we must look back to what he seems to have done while regent for his father, when under distraction of mind, which, among other false steps he may have committed, may particularly have drawn on him his father's most heavy displeasure, and which, if strictly true, must have laid the foundation of that animosity in the *Medes* and *Persians*, which hurried on the dissolution

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. in Esai. xiv. 19.  
<sup>f</sup> See before, p. 883.  
<sup>g</sup> Ibid. in the ecclesiastical account.

<sup>h</sup> MEGASTH. EX ABYD. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.  
<sup>i</sup> Jerem. lii. 31.  
<sup>j</sup> See before in the canon, p. 935.  
<sup>k</sup> MEGASTH. ubi sup.

"thing. The most received opinion is, that by the power of God, *Nebuchadnezzar* fell into a black melancholy, and, under this oppression of mind, fancied himself an ox; as in a lycanthropy a man persuades himself he is a wolf, a dog, a cat; a change which exists no where but in the disordered brain, nor to be discovered but by his motions and behaviour, which tend to the imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and desire to range the country, and fly from men. That after some such manner it must have been that this king became an ox, and agitated by all the affections and desires of one. That his People, astonished at such an alteration (51), bound him as a madman, but that escaping from them, he fled into the fields, and lived after the manner of an ox."

Our author (52), whence we have extracted this, thinks nothing more than this last supposition is required to account for what, in scripture, is said of this extraordinary event; that there was nothing miraculous in it, except the prophet's prediction of its approach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, so there are varieties as to the continuance of it. "Some, with *Theodoret* (53), maintain, that as the *Persians* divided their year into two seasons, winter and summer, the seven years of *Nebuchadnezzar* must be reduced to three and a half. *De-*

*rotheus* (54), and the spurious *Epiphanius* (55) affirm, that God had actually condemned him to a seven years punishment, but was prevailed on, by *Daniel*, to shorten it into seven months: the *pseudo-Epiphanius* adding, that as *Daniel* ceased not to foretel the restoration of the king, and the great men continually disbelieved him, and derided what he said, he obtained of God, that his time might be shortened for the sake of convincing them. Others maintain he was changed but for 21 months, explaining these Words of *Daniel*, *Dumex septem tempora mutantur super eum*, as intended for seven times the space of three months; *tempus*, according to them, being a quarter of a year. *Peter Camester* allows but seven months, which he proportions out in this manner: For the first 40 days he allows him to have been in a phrenzy, or mad; the 40 days following, he bewailed his offences; and the next 40 days, he gradually recovered from his infirmity. But that nevertheless, in compliance with what he had been exhorted by *Daniel*, he remained seven years in the exercise of repentance, abstaining from ought but herbs and pulse, to atone for his pride and folly." But our author (56) concludes, with the bulk of commentators, that we need no interpreter but *Daniel* himself, who plainly means whole years.

(51) Hieron. Theodoret. Maldon. Perreri. Cornet. Sanct. in Dan. Valer. de Sac. Philo-  
soph. c. 80. Bartholin. de Morb. Bibl. &c. (52) Calmet. Dict. of the Bible, Art. Nebuchadnezzar. III.  
(53) Ubi sup. (54) In Synop. (55) De l'is. & Morb. Prophet. (56) Calmet ubi sup.

a dissolution of the *Babylonian* empire. While his father was deprived of his senses, this prince his son, who was upon the point of marrying the *Nitocris* <sup>m</sup> so celebrated by *Herodotus*, took it into his head to divert himself with a hunting-match, upon the borders of *Media*, where he understood there was great plenty of game, by reason of the pacific state the *Assyrians* and *Medes* had been in for some years. He went attended by a small force, light armed, consisting both of horse and foot, and seemingly equipt for the chase only. Being arrived on the frontiers, he halted near some garisoned places, where he staid all night, intending to enter upon his diversion the next morning: But it happening that certain troops appeared for the relief of those in garison in these parts, he took a fancy that these men, added to those  
b he had brought with him, might form such a body as might be able to make some notable impression upon the *Medes*, which he judged would redound more to his honour than the diversion he at first proposed. He obeyed this irregular impulse, and the next morning, by break of day, he moved towards the nearest places that belonged to the *Medes*, leaving his foot behind him to guard his own frontiers, while he proceeded with the horse. Being advanced as far as he thought convenient, he made halt, and incamped with the best of his troops about him, that so he might the better keep the garisons of the *Medes* in awe, and prevent their sallies; the rest he sent out in detached parties to pillage the country. The king of the *Medes* understanding the violences *Evil-merodach*, the son of  
c the *Assyrian*, was committing in his country, marched towards him with such troops as he had usually attending him, and such as his son could raise upon so sudden an emergency; but on his march he was joined by others who came in to his assistance, and among these was *Cyrus*, now about 16 years of age, and who now first signalized himself in battle. The parties *Evil-merodach* had sent out were first attacked by the *Medes*, who at length falling upon his main body, routed and pursued him with a great slaughter, quite home to his own borders <sup>n</sup>. Such was the event of this rash, and seemingly unjust enterprise (W); and this action may not only have exasperated his father in a particular manner against him, but may also have been the first cause of that enmity of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which ended  
d in the ruin of *Babylon*, as we have already observed. And this spirit thus roused in the *Medes* may have been so dreaded, and the consequences of it so naturally foreseen by his father, the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as to have caused him to imprison this his son, and to utter the predictive exclamation we have seen above.

THIS prince, who, if this action be founded upon truth, was justly called, as *Evil-merodach* his name is interpreted, *Foolish Merodach*, having administered very ill during his father's disorder, was thrown into prison upon his recovery: And in this confinement he contracted such a kindness for the captive king of *Judab*, that succeeding to the throne, upon the death of his father, he took *Jeboiachin* out of prison, and  
e entertained him like a king ever afterwards <sup>\*</sup>. Farther concerning him is uncertain, except that indulging himself in sloth and wickedness, he became intolerable to his subjects, and that after a very short reign he was treacherously murdered by his sister's husband *Neriglissar*; who, that he was a *Mede*, and particularly *Darius* the *Mede*, we shall endeavour to make out in his reign; and if so, his murder of *Evil-merodach* his brother-in-law may be accounted for by the aversion he may have contracted in common with his countrymen against this unwise prince, who had so behaved to them as we have seen.

WHAT we have material to add concerning this king, is, that by all circumstance he is more likely to have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, than any other king  
f in *Ptolemy's* canon. This we gather from the concurrence of scripture with profane history. *Berosus* <sup>o</sup> represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* is in scripture <sup>p</sup> represented as the same. *Berosus* <sup>q</sup> relates that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords; the scripture <sup>r</sup> says *Belshazzar* was murdered

<sup>m</sup> Vid. *USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3421. Jerem. lii. 31. JOSEPHUS, &c.*

<sup>o</sup> Ubi sup.

<sup>n</sup> *XENOPH. Kyr. Hist. d.*

<sup>p</sup> *Dan. 5.*

<sup>q</sup> Ubi sup.

<sup>\*</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 27.

<sup>r</sup> Ubi sup.

(W) If it was really *Nitocris* this prince was now about to marry, and if she was really a *Mede*, as it is most generally understood, it is impossible to ac-

count for these his hostilities upon that nation, and especially at the time our author here seems to mean; but this is what may be considered hereafter.

murdered at a great feast he gave to 1000 of his lords, but mentions not by a whom. They both say he was the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by the name of *Evil-merodach*<sup>a</sup>, and scripture says the same of *Belshazzar*, which is not said of any other of the *Babylonish* kings. If to this it should be objected, that both *Evil-merodach* and *Belshazzar* are mentioned in scripture<sup>c</sup>, as sons of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that therefore they cannot be the same person: we answer, that they are not mentioned any where in scripture, either together, or in a course of succession, but in different books, and not at all in reference to each other. That in scripture it is not unusual to call the same prince by different names in different places. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* himself is in some places, and particularly in the *Propheets*, called *Nebuchadrezzar*. Thus the king, who in one place is called *Abasuerus*<sup>b</sup>, is in another called *Artaxerxes*<sup>w</sup>: and in one and the same chapter<sup>x</sup> is *Esar-baddon*, the great *Assyrian*, called *Asnappar*; and this authority is so much the more valid, as it occurs in a part of scripture indisputably genuine. If again it be objected, that in scripture mention is made of the third year of *Belshazzar's* reign<sup>y</sup>, whereas *Evil-merodach* is allowed on all hands to have reigned but two years<sup>z</sup>; we answer again, that parts of years are never reckoned as whole years by chronologers; so that though he was in the beginning of his third year, they reckoned but two to his reign; an instance of which we have in *Ptolemy's* canon, where *Laborsoarchod*, the successor of *Neriglissar*, is left out, because he did not reign a complete year, though he reigned nine months of a year. This shall suffice for this subject for the present; we may resume it hereafter still farther to the reader's satisfaction.

Neriglissar.

Year of the  
Flood, 3439  
Year before  
CHRIST, 510

*Neriglissar*, *Niriglissoroor*, *Niricassolassurus*<sup>a</sup>, or, as we think, *Darius the Mede*, who is represented as the chief of the conspirators against *Evil-merodach*<sup>b</sup>, usurped the throne. Of him, it is seemingly recorded, for he is not mentioned by name, that dreading the *Medes*, who began to threaten *Babylon*, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by foreign alliances. The story, as it is told<sup>c</sup>, represents this king as a great conqueror, and one who had made himself master of all *Syria*, *Hircania*, and *Arabia*, and to have been busied in a war with the *Bactrians*, when *Astyages* the *Mede* departed this life, and thereby to have given a violent alarm to the *Medes*<sup>d</sup> and the *Persians*, who began to fear it would be their turn next. This king then concluding that if he could but reduce the *Medes*, the rest would bow to him of course, dispatched ambassadors to *Croesus* king of *Lydia*, to *Cappadocia*, *Pbrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, the *Indies*, and *Cilicia*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as if they were about to make themselves masters of all, particularly insisting on the strict union between them, by the mutual ties of marriage. The success of these several embassies was, that some yielded to his reasons, and others<sup>e</sup> to his present largesses, and future promises. Now, by what our author here says of this king, and particularly of his conquests, one would be rather apt to imagine he meant *Nabopolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, than any king of *Babylon* that succeeded him, and particularly as he makes him contemporary with *Astyages* the *Mede*. As for the pretence of union between the *Persians* and the *Medes*, the same was as strongly cemented between the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was married to a *Mede*<sup>f</sup>, and it is very likely that *Neriglissar* was a *Mede*, by his being husband to a daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar's*<sup>g</sup>. In short, the *Medes* and the *Babylonians* seem to have been as closely united by marriages as any other nations of the time.

BUT we must allow our author<sup>h</sup> to be a little inaccurate, and especially as it is made a doubt whether it was a history he meant to write, or a romance. f However, that it is built upon some sort of truth, may be gathered from what he is here supposed to write concerning our *Neriglissar*; for as an usurper, it is but natural he should have made such strong and earnest applications to the nations round about, he is said to have done; a method of procedure which can never be reconciled with a conqueror in the full stream of his good fortune, as this prince is by our author<sup>h</sup>, at the same time, represented to have been. We must therefore tax him

<sup>a</sup> Jerem. lii. 31.    <sup>t</sup> Ibid. & Dan. ubi supr.    <sup>u</sup> Ezr. iv. 6.    <sup>w</sup> Ibid. ver. 7.    <sup>x</sup> Ibid. ver. 10.    <sup>y</sup> Dan. viii.    <sup>z</sup> See before in the canon, ubi supr.    <sup>a</sup> See before, ibid.    <sup>b</sup> Beros. ubi supr.    <sup>c</sup> Купе Плат. β.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid.    <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 961.    <sup>f</sup> See before, p. 965.    <sup>g</sup> Xenoph.    <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.



a him with a little inattentiveness to what he was writing. *Neriglissar*, though he may have been of the royal blood of the *Medes*, may have been dubious whether or no they and the *Persians* would suffer him to sit in quiet possession of the *Babylonian* empire, and may have had sufficient reasons to dread they would not; and that in such case he should so bestir himself in his own defence is no wonder.

LET this have been as it will, it is apparently certain, that when this king seized on the sovereignty, the empire was in its decline, and in great danger from both the *Medes* and *Persians*, and it is not unlikely but he may have actually stood in need of foreign aid. Thus when *Nabuchodonosor* was threatened with an invasion by the *Medes*, he issued out his commands to all nations to come in to his assistance<sup>i</sup>, a conduct *Ctesius* <sup>k</sup> has ascribed to his *Sardanapalus*; and which may serve to illustrate what we advance concerning the distress *Neriglissar* must have been in upon his usurpation; but he does not command as they did, he claims no obedience, but petitions rather, and begs and bribes for aid.

To have done with this obscurity, the army which ranged itself under the *Babylonian* standard, is said to have consisted of a mixed multitude as follows. *Craesus*, <sup>The confederate army under him.</sup> king of *Lydia*, came with 10,000 horse, and upwards of 40,000 light-armed foot; *Artamas*, king of the greater *Phrygia*, brought 40,000 foot, mostly pike men, and 8000 horse; *Aribæus*, king of *Cappadocia*, led with him 6000 horse, and 30,000 foot, mostly armed with missile weapons; *Maragdas*, the *Arabian*, conducted c 10,000 horse, 100 chariots, and a great number of slingers\*. These were the confederates of *Neriglissar*, and such the quota's they respectively furnished; but we are not quite to depend upon the exactness of them, they being given as upon hear-say only, and in a conversation between *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*.

As for *Neriglissar* himself, this potent *Babylonian* and fortunate conqueror, as our author has represented him, the numbers he himself brought into the field seem to be very short, considering him in that view; for as much as he may have been a principal in this war, he headed no more than 20,000 horse, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable<sup>l</sup>. Whether or no this confederate army received any farther addition, is not certain; but the *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and some others, d seem to have receded from their first engagements. So that the case is pretty much alike between *Chyniladan*<sup>m</sup>, the *Affyrian*, and this *Babylonian*, in regard of the many nations they called in, and the many that disappointed them, and left them to their fate. The army of the *Medes* and the *Persians* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a considerable reinforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*. In the midst of these great and industrious preparations for war, ambassadors arrived from *India*, to inquire into the grounds and causes of it; with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining with those who should appear to have the most justice on their side<sup>n</sup>.

e How this embassy concluded is uncertain, but the war begins very much to the disadvantage of *Neriglissar*; for *Cyrus* subdued the *Chaldeans* in the mountainous coun- <sup>War between him and the Medes and Persians.</sup> try, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of *Armenia*<sup>o</sup>. These *Chaldeans*, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper *Affyrians*, who, for ought we know, may have been formerly so called; but the proper *Chaldeans*, and their mountains, were far away from any part of *Armenia*<sup>p</sup>. Whether or no our author is here guilty of an error in geography, we cannot positively say: but to us it seems that he is. These *Chaldeans* however, according to our <sup>Chaldeans next to Armenia.</sup> author's description, were the most valiant race of men in all these parts, and carried no other arms than a wicker shield and two javelins, and entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were sub- f dued by *Cyrus*, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the *Armenians*, and, in a manner, to become the same people with them<sup>q</sup>.

THE two armies now appeared in sight of each other, and the *Affyrians*, or *Baby-* <sup>Battle between the Babylonians and the Medes.</sup> *lonians*, under *Neriglissar*, incamped and fortified themselves with strong retrenchments, while the *Medes* and the *Persians* covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Affyrians* leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle array, and being exhorted by *Neriglissar* to behave as became them in the approaching

<sup>i</sup> See before, p. 898.

<sup>n</sup> *Kypri Naisd.* ubi sup.

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid.* p. 887.

<sup>o</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>p</sup> See before, p. 906.

<sup>\*</sup> *Kypri Naisd.*

<sup>l</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 898.

<sup>q</sup> *Kypri Naisd.* ubi sup.



Neriglissar  
slain.

Year of the  
Flood, 2443  
Year before  
CHRIST, 556.  
Neriglissar  
most likely to  
have been Da-  
rius the Mede.

approaching conflict, and particularly as their all was at stake; were attacked by the <sup>a</sup> enemy, who shamefully routed them in the field, and pursued them with a prodigious slaughter close to their retrenchments, where those within did not dare to shoot an arrow against the insulting *Medes* and *Persians*, under the conduct of *Cyrus*; and no sooner understood that he intended to force their camp, than they betook them to the most precipitate flight, and left their wives and children to lament their loss, in the most woeful and sensible manner. This when the confederate kings perceived, they hastened, with the choicest of their men that were left them, to repulse the *Persians*, and they succeeded in their endeavours, and *Cyrus* retreated and incamped at some distance. But *Neriglissar* lived to see no more of the war now kindled. He was slain in battle, his subjects were in the utmost consternation, and <sup>b</sup> *Crasus* and his allies quite at a loss, and amazed at the intrepidity of the enemy, resolved to save themselves as they could, and left their camp a prey to *Cyrus* and his *Persians* <sup>c</sup>.

SUCH was the unfortunate end of *Neriglissar*, who, that he was *Darius the Mede*, appears by these arguments. If as king of *Babylon*, he is in the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Darius the Mede* can have been no other than *Neriglissar*. Secondly, *Darius the Mede* is said to have commenced king of *Babylon* at the age of 62 years; which, if we do not suppose him to have been slain by *Cyrus* as above, may be thought to suit better with *Neriglissar*'s short reign of four years, than *Nabonad*'s longer reign of 17 years, which would make him 79 years old at his death; and, by the way, <sup>c</sup> as *Nabonad* did not end his days with his reign, *Darius the Mede* must, in this case, have been still much older, which is not very likely. Thirdly, *Neriglissar* is represented as a wise, a worthy, and a brave prince, which neither of his successors were, and just such an one does *Darius the Mede* seem to have been. Fourthly, Though *Neriglissar* is not said to have been a *Mede*, yet he very probably may have been so, and nothing is said to the contrary. He is allowed not to have been of the line of *Babylon*, though he married the daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and sister of *Evil-merodach*; and these marriages, as we have suggested above, may have been frequent between the two kings of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, till *Evil-merodach* behaved so impolitickly as he is represented to have done, in breach of <sup>d</sup> the faith and good intelligence between the two kingdoms. Fifthly, *Neriglissar* is on all hands allowed to have succeeded *Evil-merodach*, whom he slew, and so *Darius the Mede* is said to have slain *Belshazzar*, and to have assumed his kingdom. And though the scripture expression, in this case, does not always imply an immediate succession, it may be fairly enough admitted in such a sense, in the circumstance before us, till something to destroy it be exhibited against it. Sixthly, That *Neriglissar* was a *Mede*, may be gathered from the inveteracy he seems to have born against *Evil-merodach*, whom we take to have been *Belshazzar*; and it may be very naturally accounted for, if what we have related from *Xenophon* has any truth in it. Seventhly, The scripture does not say that *Darius* was king of the *Medes*, but only <sup>e</sup> that he governed by their laws, which he may have introduced with the good liking of the *Babylonians*, who may thereby have had a limited monarch for an unlimited one. And lastly, He may have been a *Mede*, and yet *Cyrus* may have made war upon him, and slain him in battle; for *Cyrus*, it is said, made no scruple to dethrone even his own grandfather; whence *Darius* may not only have been a *Mede*, but may also have been very nearly related to *Cyrus*, and yet have perished in battle against him; for nothing is to stand in the way of those who are fired by the wasteful ambition of conquest, and universal monarchy. This is what we have thought necessary to say in this place.

Laborosoarchod.

THIS last king was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchod* <sup>f</sup>, *Labassoarasc* <sup>g</sup>, or *Chabassoarach* <sup>h</sup>; some suppose him to have been the same with *Nabonadius*, or *Belshazzar*, and to have been the last king of *Babylon*. But they contradict an historical fact very explicitly related; whereby we understand, that he came very young to the throne, and that betraying a most vicious and abominable turn of mind, he was murdered, as not even worthy to live, much less to reign, which he did no longer than nine months; so that not having completed a year, it is thence he is omitted in the canon.

SOME of this king's evil doings are supposed <sup>†</sup> to have been recorded by *Xenophon* <sup>‡</sup>, according to whom it may have been, that he committed such cruelties on

<sup>f</sup> Kuxi Hase<sup>g</sup> ubi sup.  
ubi sup.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> BEROSUS ubi sup.

<sup>†</sup> PAID. ubi sup. 113.

<sup>g</sup> ARYEN. ubi sup.

<sup>‡</sup> Ubi sup. d. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Idem apud EUSEB.

- a on *Gadatas* and *Gobryas*, two great *Babylonians*, as provoked them to the share they are said to have had in the subversion of this empire. The son of the former of these he is said to have slain for no better reason than hitting a beast, at a hunting he had invited him to, which he himself had missed; and the latter he is said to have castrated, only because one of his concubines had commended him for an handsome personage\*. By these most violent acts of tyranny it is supposed †, that he drove them, and the provinces they commanded, over to the enemy. Such is this king supposed to have been, though there are other seeming reasons why he should have been particularly odious in the eyes of some of the *Babylonians*, and particularly of his successor and his associates.
- b *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder of *Laborsoarchod*, is said to have been a *Babylonian*‡, so that what is said above of the unworthiness of his short-lived predecessor, may have very little of truth or justice in it. His greatest fault may have been, that he was the son of a stranger and an usurper; and being perhaps a child, or little able to defend himself, he may easily have been destroyed, and reasons may as easily have been given for the deed. Nor can we wonder greatly at this barbarity, in a man who was confessedly the son of *Evil-merodach*, and grandson to the great *Nebuchadnezzar*; one who must have thought himself injured by an exclusion from the throne, and that it was even a duty on him not to slip so favourable an opportunity of retrieving the lustre of his family. Nor must we
- c forget that he must also have been the son of the famed *Nitocris*, who is said even to have outshone *Semiramis* herself; and who, if the thing were so, could not have rested in a private state, while the son of an usurper possessed the throne in prejudice of her son; and thus was it the scepter came again into the hands of a prince of the old *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* race, of the male branch, which in him was to cease from empire.

THIS king is also called *Nabondius*\*, *Labyntus*, *Labynitus*‡, *Nabannidochus*‡, *Naboandel*‡, *Belfazzar*, and *Darius* the *Mede*‡, and by other names, and rather struggled for the empire than possessed it; for *Cyrus* was now in the career of his victories, and a professed enemy to the kingdom of *Babylon*, and had some battles

d with this king, as should seem, and his allies, in the beginning of his reign; but the particulars being no where to be met with, we must content ourselves with the little we know of the matter, and which we shall relate hereafter. *Nabonadius* appears, however, to have been the most powerful prince of his time, and the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been such, that *Cyrus* thought it prudent to strengthen himself, the most he could, by the conquest of all the neighbouring kingdoms, before he undertook to destroy this.

- WHAT sort of a man *Nabonadius* was, is hard to say; but his mother, according to some, has all the glory of his reign; all the honour of preparing for the defence of the falling kingdom is ascribed to her. Her name was *Nitocris*‡, and is
- e supposed to have been a *Mede* by birth\*, and to have been wife to *Evil-merodach*; and being a woman of great sagacity and resolution, she not only foresaw the storm that was gathering, but prepared for shelter against it, and particularly by fortifying the city itself of *Babylon*, so that it should be proof against any enemy that might assault it. Accordingly it was in this reign, and consequently by her, that *Babylon* is said to have been first surrounded with walls† next to the river; and it is pretty plain, as we have observed before, that she completed what *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun. Thus *Herodotus* represents her to have not only fortified the sides of the river with walls, to prevent the enemy from landing on either side of the city, but to have sunk the lake, and done other works ascribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and
- f particularly to have built the bridge, which till then had been wanting at *Babylon*‡. This heroine, having done all that could be done to secure the city from all danger of the enemy, while her son *Nabonadius* wallowed, as should seem, in sloth and luxury, neglectful and careless of what threatened him, was commemorated by an extraordinary

\* Ibid. † PRID. ubi sup. ‡ ABYD. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. ubi sup. & BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. & Id. ubi sup. \* See before in the canon, ubi sup. † HERODOT. ‡ MEGASTH. ubi sup. § JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. b See before in the ecclesiastic account, ubi sup. c HERODOT. and his followers. d HERODOT. l. 1. c. 185. e Vid. USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. ubi sup. f BEROSUS apud EUSEB. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. HERODOT. ubi sup. § HERODOT. ibid. c. 186.

extraordinary inscription on a monument which had been prepared by herself, to a the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME, SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT HIM. This monument and inscription, said to have been over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, is also said to have remained untouched till the reign of *Darius*, who considering the gate was useless, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immense treasure, broke it open; but instead of what he sought, is said to have found nothing but a dead body, and another inscription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY AVARITIOUS, AND b GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus much for *Nitocris*\*; we must now return to her son, and see how the *Babylonian* empire ended under him.

As the circumstances of the fall of *Nineveh* are involved in great obscurity, those of the fall of *Babylon* are in many respects no less so; for all we seem positively to know concerning it, is, that it was destroyed by *Cyrus*; and all we can do is, first, to relate what profane authors write concerning this last king; and, secondly, to inquire whether or no he was the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*.

Herodotus's account of the fall of Babylon. IF we adhere to *Herodotus* b, who calls him *Labyntus*, we must conclude him to have been still a great king, who, as yet, had not been attempted by the *Medes* and the *Persians*; but to have been, on the contrary, in such high esteem with the former, as to have been chosen their mediator with the *Lydians*; which apparently destroys what *Xenophon* represents of the war which subsisted without any intervention of settled peace, from the reign of *Neriglissar* to the last day of the *Babylonian* monarchy; and this circumstance being considered, it has been thought, that however *Herodotus* may seem to give this king, who thus reconciled the *Medes* and *Lydians*, for the last of the race, he could certainly mean no other than the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who alone, of all the kings at *Babylon*, seems to have had weight and authority enough to be invested with this mediatory office.

*Herodotus* has a *Labyntus* whom, in two places, he calls the king of the *Babylonians*, and a *Labyntus* whom he calls emperor of *Ahyria*, and reports to have derived his name from his father. Under this *Labyntus*, according to him, it was that *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*; so that, after all, it may have been some former *Labyntus*, king of *Babylon*, that reconciled the *Medes* and the *Lydians*; but having thus suggested all we know concerning this matter, we leave it to the reader's decision.

THIS *Labyntus* understanding that *Cyrus* was on his march to besiege the city of *Babylon*, went out with a great army to meet him; but being vanquished, the *Babylonians* betook them to their city, which being furnished with great stores of provision to hold out a very long siege, they made a jest of it, and lived within e the walls as if no enemy had been near them; but being one day in the midst of a riotous festival, the *Persians*, who had drained the river by diverting it into the great lake we have described, scaled the works which defended the banks of the city, and the *Babylonians* were surprised in the midst of all their mirth and jollity, and an end was put to their empire f.

The fall of Babylon, according to Berossus and Megasthenes.

By other authors g we understand that this last king did not retire in person to *Babylon*, but chose rather to go to *Borsippa*, where being besieged by *Cyrus*, he surrendered himself to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and sent him as his lieutenant, as should seem, into *Carmania*, where he spent the remainder of his days. And thus was *Babylon* taken, and such was the fate of her last king, p after

\* Idem ibid. c. 187. b Ibid. c. 188. f Idem ibid. c. 191. g BEROS. MEGASTH. ALEX. ubi sup.

(X) *Plutarch* (57) mentions this monument and inscription as belonging to *Semiramis*. Thus the sepulchre of *Bel* himself is said to have been opened by *Xerxes*, who found nothing there but a glass vessel almost full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inscription on a small pillar hard by, That the man who should open it, should dearly repent him of what he had done, if he did not

fill up the vessel with oil; which *Xerxes* in vain attempting, he went away heavy and sad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat in his *Grecian* expedition. So *Darius*, by others, being said to have opened the tomb of *Semiramis*, a pestilence is reported to have issued thence, and to have destroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) In *Λυσιπποῦ*, p. 173.

(58) Vid. *PURCH. Pilgr. part i. c. 12. p. 65.*

a after a reign of 17 years, according to profane historians; nor is the same inconsistent with scripture so very much as to oblige us quite to reject it.

But as much weight as these authors may have, *Xenophon* varies from them, and tells us<sup>1</sup>, that this king lost all the considerable places in his country by a continued warfare waged on him by *Cyrus*, notwithstanding all the leagues he could make, and all the foreign aid he could procure of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*, over whom he constituted *Craesus* his general, and sent him even to invade *Media*. But *Craesus* being utterly routed, and the country afterwards as good as all reduced, *Babylon* was left as it were to herself. The city and the little territory about it was all of the east that now held out against *Cyrus*, who at length drew near to besiege the *Babylonian* citizens. This last king then marched out to give him battle, but being overthrown in the field, he was driven back to his city, and blocked up by a close siege. The place was thought impregnable, on account of its walls, and the great number of people to defend them; not to mention a store of all necessaries to last them for 20 years. The siege continued two years; at the end of which, the river was diverted into the lake as above, and a strong party was posted where the river ran into the city, and another where it ran out. These parties were commanded by the *Babylonians*, *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, who, about midnight, observing the river to be drained, marched into the bed of the river, and finding all the water gates open, which upon ordinary nights, for it was now a festival, were used to be shut, they proceeded to the palace, and surprized and slew the guard. The palace being opened to know the cause of this confusion, they rushed in and slew the king as he was valiantly fighting with his sword in his hand<sup>2</sup>.

If he was really *Belsazzar*, he certainly came to this unfortunate end; for having made a feast for a 1000 of his lords, and having profaned the vessels his fore-father had brought from the temple of *Jerusalem*, the fingers of a hand came out, and wrote upon the wall in a character unknown to any person then present; the king saw this, and was quite terrified; he trembled, and his knees smote one against the other<sup>3</sup>. He cried out for the astrologers, *Chaldeans*, and the rest, and promised that the man among them who should decypher the writing, and inform him of what it meant, should be clothed in scarlet, and have a chain of gold, and be third ruler of his kingdom<sup>4</sup>. He addressed them in vain (Y), till the queen, who is supposed to have been *Nitocris*, understanding the trouble the king was in, came in and informed him of *Daniel*, who had been so esteemed by his father; but that he should have been unknown to *Belsazzar*, is what it may be to no purpose to enquire into. *Daniel* came, and having reminded him of what his father had been, and what had befallen him, and rebuked him for his insolent pride, and for profaning the holy vessels which had stood in the house of the Lord, he read the words, which were, MENE MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN<sup>5</sup>. "This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbred thy kingdom, and finished it; TE-  
 e "KEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting; PERES, thy king-  
 dom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*<sup>6</sup>." Notwithstanding the severity of this doom, *Belsazzar* performed to *Daniel* all the promise he had made to the man who should thus satisfy him; and in that night was *Belsazzar* the king of the *Chaldeans* slain: And *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about 62 years old<sup>7</sup>.

In the first year of the reign of *Belsazzar* it was that *Daniel*<sup>8</sup> had the vision of the four beasts, which we may resume hereafter, and in the third of the same *Belsazzar* it was that he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat<sup>9</sup>. In the reign of *Darius* the *Mede* it was that the same *Daniel* was thrown into the lion's den<sup>10</sup>; but the particulars of these several occurrences we reserve for another time, seeing we are at a loss for the proper place of these two reigns.

We are now to consider whether or no this *Nabonadius* was either *Belsazzar* or *Darius* the *Mede*; in which we shall rather propose our own doubts, than pretend to decide upon so palpable an obscurity as is the whole history of *Babylon*, from the *Darius* the *Mede*.

<sup>1</sup> *Kuru Hase* p. 5. \* *Ibid.* <sup>m</sup> *Dan.* v. 1. — 6. <sup>n</sup> *Dan.* v. 7. <sup>o</sup> *Prin.* ubi sup. p. 122.  
<sup>p</sup> *Dan.* v. 25. <sup>q</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 28. <sup>r</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 31. <sup>s</sup> *Dan.* vii. <sup>t</sup> *Ibid.* viii. <sup>u</sup> *Ibid.* vi.

(Y) It is supposed the writing was in what we call now the *Samaritan* character, which being unknown to the *Chaldeans*, they could not read it (59).

(59) See *Prin.* ubi sup. p. 122.

the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* had died, to the day that *Cyrus* made himself master of a this city. Sir *Isaac Newton*, and Doctor *Prideaux*, are quite clear that he was *Belshazzar*, and support themselves by many considerable arguments, but not so very powerful as to admit of no contradiction. To enter into the several opinions and varieties concerning this succession of princes, would lead us into an inextricable labyrinth, and confound rather than inform us; we shall therefore chiefly refer to what we have before offered in proof that *Evil-merodach* must have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, and *Neriglissar* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same, if they be any kings exhibited in *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon; and to suppose they are not, would be a seeming reflection on the accuracy of that valuable piece.

It is to be observed, that if any credit is to be given to profane historians, *Nabonadius* cannot have been *Belshazzar*; for the former must have died in a strange land, while the latter was slain in his own palace. Again, *Belshazzar's* ignorance of *Daniel* can never be reconciled with so long a reign as that of *Nabonadius*. The utmost we can gather that *Belshazzar* reigned at *Babylon* was not above three years; *Nabonadius* reigned seventeen.

THIS *Nabonadius* was certainly the last king of *Babylon*, and by *Ptolemy's* canon, and by the concurrence of the bulk of profane authors, there was no king there between him and *Cyrus*; nor does the scripture itself, which makes *Darius* the *Mede* to have preceded *Cyrus*, say that he reigned after the last king of the *Babylonian* race, or that there was no king of *Babylon* between *Darius* the *Mede* and *Cyrus*.

Now that this last *Babylonian* cannot have been *Darius* the *Mede*, as is sometimes said <sup>w</sup>, may be proved by profane authors <sup>x</sup>, who agree that he was a *Babylonian*, nay, and of the royal race <sup>y</sup>; and this shall suffice for the present, together with what has been said before, to evince that he was not *Darius* the *Mede*.

*Nabonadius* was certainly of the royal race <sup>†</sup>; there is all the reason in the world to believe he was a descendant, and even a grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and especially if the celebrated *Nitocris* was married to *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the common opinion is. It is said that all nations should serve him and his son's son; *Nabonadius* may then have been this son's son. It is said, that God would cut off from *Babylon* the son and the grandson <sup>‡</sup>, and therefore it is concluded, that this last king must have been killed as well as *Evil-merodach*; but there is no occasion to suppose this, if profane evidence may be received; and that so it ought to be, when it agrees with the text of scripture, can be no manner of doubt. Now we understand that this prophecy was amply fulfilled; for we are told, that *Evil-merodach*, the undoubted son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was murdered <sup>a</sup>, and that his grandson, by his daughter who was married to *Neriglissar*, and whose name was *Labrosoarchod*, was murdered likewise <sup>b</sup>. Supposing then *Nabonadius* to have been the grandson likewise of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Evil-merodach*, there is no necessity to suppose he was murdered or slain. The predictions then that all nations should serve *Nebuchadnezzar's* son, and his son's son, and that God would cut off his son and his grandson, were apparently different, and apparently fulfilled. In a word, *Belshazzar*, who, to all appearance, was no other than *Evil-merodach*, seems rather to have been butchered by the hands of assassins than to have fallen by the sword of the enemy; nor can it be consistent with the character we have of *Nitocris*, to imagine she could have been so negligent as to suffer the enemy to surprise the city in the manner they did; she then must have been dead, and not alive, as *Prideaux* would have it. Though it is prophesied, that the enemy should possess the city at the time of a feast, while her great, and wise, and mighty men were in liquor, it does not follow immediately thence, that the king himself was slain at the same time. That it was taken at the time of a great festival, we have confirmed to us by an historian of the first credit, and nearest to the times <sup>c</sup>, and that is sufficient for the honour of the prophecy.

Arguments deduced from *Nebuchadnezzar's* prophecy.

As we are not wholly to reject profane authorities, but, on the contrary, very much to rely on them, we would observe, that from the prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar* <sup>d</sup>, which he is supposed to have owed to no less a man than *Daniel* himself,

<sup>w</sup> DU PIN *Biblioth. Univers. des Histor.* 296. <sup>x</sup> *MEGASTH. BEROI. ABYD.* ubi sup. <sup>y</sup> *JOSEPH. Antiq.* l. 10. c. 12. <sup>†</sup> *Idem* ibid. <sup>‡</sup> See before, p. 952. <sup>a</sup> *Isai.* xiv. 22. <sup>b</sup> See before, p. 965. <sup>c</sup> *Idem* 968. <sup>d</sup> *HERODOT.* ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 964. <sup>f</sup> *Vid. PRID.* ubi sup. p. 106.



- a self, it may be gathered, that what we have here and elsewhere above suggested, concerning *Belshazzar* and *Darius the Mede*, is not very much out of the way. For he speaks of the destruction to befall to *Babylon*, as just at hand; and, though he must have been then very old, what he might possibly be a witness to; and thus *Belshazzar*, who is in scripture expressly called his son, was murdered two or three years after his death. This destruction was to be brought on by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, were wont greatly to pride themselves; and what *Mede* can this have been so likely as *Neriglissar*? who seems by his name to have been even naturalized an *Assyrian*, and who had married *Nebuchadnezzar's* own daughter <sup>l</sup>. The *Persian* mule is plainly *Cyrus*, who, by warring upon *Neriglissar* to dethrone him, first struck at the root of the *Babylonian* empire, and, by continuing the war, brought it at length to the ground.

UPON the whole, it may appear rather more evidently than not, that if *Darius the Mede*, and *Belshazzar*, are any of the kings of *Babylon* in the canon, and that they are not cannot well be so much as supposed, they can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and *Neriglissar*. The son and grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, against whom it was denounced that they should be cut off, cannot well be allowed to have been any but *Evil-merodach* and *Laborosoarchod*; and his son and his son's son, whom all nations, as it is hyperbolically expressed, should serve, can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and this *Nabonadius*, in whose days the empire of *Babylon* came to an end, as had been foretold by the prophets . . . . The burden of *Babylon*, which

c *Isaiah the son of Amoz* did see . . . . Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty . . . . Behold I will stir up the Medes against them . . . . And *Babylon*, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces g : : How art thou

d fallen from heaven, O *Lucifer*, thou son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! . . . . I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from *Babylon*, the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew, [or, as it should be, the grandson <sup>h</sup>]. . . . I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction i . . . . *Babylon* is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods be bath broken unto the ground k . . . : *Bel* boweth down, *Nebo* stoopeth . . . . They stoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity l . . . . The word that the Lord spake against *Babylon*, and against the land of the Chaldeans, by *Jeremiah the prophet* . . . . Say *Babylon* is taken, *Bel* is confounded,

e *Merodach* is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces m . . . . Hear ye the counsel of the Lord, that he hath taken against *Babylon*, and his purposes that he hath purposed against the land of the Chaldeans n . . . . Behold I will raise up against *Babylon*, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind. And I will send unto *Babylon* fanners, that shall fan her, and empty her land . . . . Flee out of the midst of *Babylon*, and deliver every man his soul: be not cut off in her iniquity . . . . *Babylon* is suddenly fallen and destroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed. We would have healed *Babylon*, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies . . . .

f Make bright the arrows: gather the shields: the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the king of the Medes: for his device is against *Babylon* to destroy it . . . . Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of *Ararat*, *Minni* and *Ashchinez*, appoint a captain against her, cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillers. Prepare against her the nations with the kings of the Medes . . . . The land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against *Babylon*, to make the land of

*Babylon*

<sup>l</sup> See before, p. 969.  
<sup>i</sup> Ibid. xlv. 1, 2.

<sup>g</sup> *Isai.* xiii.  
<sup>m</sup> *Jerem.* l. 2:

<sup>h</sup> See *Ps.* lxx.

<sup>i</sup> *Isa.* xiv. 12.—23.  
<sup>n</sup> Ibid. ver. 45.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. xxi. 9.



Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant . . . . One post shall run to meet another, a and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end (Y) . . . . Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor, it is time to thresh her: yet a little while and the time of her harvest shall come . . . . And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant . . . . The sea is come up against Babylon: she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby . . . . The heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon . . . . And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the King, whose name is The Lord of hosts . . . . The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire, and the people shall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they shall be weary<sup>o</sup>.

SUCH was Babylon, and such her end. Upon the whole it appears, that the Assyrian monarchy, whether the first at Niniveh, or the second at Babylon, was never thoroughly settled in a dominion over the nations for any length of time, and that it rather contended for empire than enjoyed it in any settled form, and that, if we except Nebuchadnezzar, no one of these monarchs, from Pul to Nabonadius, could ever boast any thing like the conquests attributed to Semiramis. Esar-baddon may claim the next place after him for conquests and dominion, but his life ended by<sup>c</sup> the time he had exalted himself over the west. The rest of these princes were all unfortunate, one way or another: Some of them, with infinite labour and hazard, attempted to subjugate the nations; but the flame still broke out some where or other against them; others of them, by a supine neglect, saw themselves in danger, from those their warlike predecessors had awed, and were some of them, in the end, subdued, and captivated, and destroyed by them. In fine, we see both the Assyrian and the Babylonian submitted to that fate, which must sooner or later dissolve all universal monarchies, which must have almost as many enemies as subjects.

<sup>a</sup> Idem li. 2, — 58.

(Y) Whether from hence it may be gathered, reader: and consequently, whether or no the that this last king was within the city or with- Belsazzar of Daniel was this last king or out it, at the time it was taken, we leave to the not.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

## *The Explanation at large of SOLOMON'S Temple, and of the City of Jerusalem, according to the Sacred Historians.*

FOR the right understanding the *description* in the foregoing *plate*, we shall lay down the following *preliminary observations*:

I. *First*, The temple of Solomon being our chief and proper object, we give the plan or ground-plot of it (which we declare to be our *only task*) whole and complete, just as we conceive it to have been: but *Jerusalem* we represent only with an eye to those parts which bore some relation to the temple; such as the *palace* on the south, and the *suburbs* to the west, the *valley* between both, the *horse-gate* towards the east, and the like.

II. *Secondly*, We pretend to no other knowledge of the temple, but what we have from scripture *in terminis*, or the clear sense of it; and where that fails, we only beg to be allowed the use of *criticism*, and reasonable or plausible *conjecture*; for beyond these we have no other evidence\*. How great soever the learning of some *moderns* may be, much greater we own, than any we pretend to, yet what they assert has no weight, unless they can bring such manner of proof as that which we ourselves intend to use. Whether they or we best stand the test, must be left to the judgment of the reader, that will be at the pains of perusing these sheets with some attention, and of comparing our plan with any other now extant. As for *ancient authors*, we have none to produce besides *Josephus*, and other *Jews*, rather of a later date than he. Now all we might learn from them, that has no foundation in holy writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew or pretended to know from *tradition*, but that we presume is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had besides those we have ourselves: And the *Hebrew tongue*, properly so called, being a sort of dead language at the time these authors writ, it may well be doubted, without sinning against modesty, whether they, who had no other books to learn it by, than those that are now in use, could understand it better than those that study it at present. Nay more, it might be shewn, we dare say, that *Josephus* understood not some of those *Hebrew* words he pretends to explain in his *History of the Jews* (A).

III. *Thirdly*,

\* See before page 795, & seq.

(A) This is the more to be wondered at, because *Josephus* boldly asserts, at the end of his *Jewish antiquities* (1), That there were none of his countrymen so perfect in that sort of learning as he was. But we are not alone in our opinion of him\*; tho' the late editor of his works, taking his bare word for it, sets him off in the margin (2) as a very learned hebraean: *Bochart* (3) and *Huetius* (4), not to name any more, have openly declared themselves quite opposite to that eulogium of *Josephus* by *Dr. Hudson*. Some indeed have tried to bring him off upon a supposition, his writings were interpolated; which is not unlikely in some instances (5), and truly he himself should not be charged with the blunders of either his transcribers or translators. We should think what is read in his manuscripts (6), that the *Hebrews* called the ark *Heoron*, and many such, other strange names (7), is no fault of the historian, but of those that copied his writings, and the same we judge of the translations. The *French* one, though much valued, says, *The ark was made of an incorruptible wood, the Hebrews call*

*Heoron*; and truly so the *Latin* has it, which the *French* exactly followed, though pretending, in the title, the translation was made from the *Greek* original; and *Roger L'estrang* here treads in *Dan-dill's* steps heartily. However, to us it is probable, that *Josephus* being about to give in *Greek* the word in *Hebrew* for the ark, he wrote ἡ ἀρκα, or as *Dr. Bernard of Oxford* would have it (8), ἡ ἀρκα. Now pronounce it either way, *Aron* with the *Hebrews*, or *Eron* with the *Chaldeans*, the word itself signifies a *Trunk*, as was the ark, and *Josephus* is right enough, though others have wronged him in relating his words. But what seems therabouts (9) to be *Josephus's* own fault, is the interpretation of what his manuscripts and editions both call *Cethonene*; which, he says, signifies a *linen coat*, because it is *Cethon* we call linen; now begging his pardon, *Cethoneth*, the *Hebrew* word, or *Cethoneth*, as the *Chaldeans* pronounce it, may be also a coat of wooll. Not to observe the *Cethoneth* of many colours *Josephus* wore (10), or that that hang'd like a robe about *Thamar* (11), possibly were not of linen, those

(1) *Lib. xx. c. 10. p. 903.* \* *Vid. sup. p. 535. in fin.* (Z) (2) *JOSEPHUS in hebraeis literis versatissimus.* (3) *Hieros. lib. ii. c. 9. p. 154.* (4) *Dem. Evang. Prop. iv. p. 175. 199.* (5) *Vid. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 7. p. 112. De Veit. Sacred. & V. 8. 213. etym. Samson.* (6) *Lib. iii. c. 6. p. 110.* (7) *ἡ ἀρκα, ἡ ἐφεσθονη, ἡ ἐφεσθονη, ἡ ἐφεσθονη, ἡ ἐφεσθονη.* (8) *In loc. ed. SHELDO. p. 166. 4.* (9) *Ubi sup. Numb. 2. (10) Gen. xxxvii. 3. (11) 2 Sam. xiii. 18.*

III. *Thirdly*, We do admit of *Ezekiel* as a divinely inspired prophet; and therefore what he has said or written ought to be received by us as most true. But then we take it he has not given us a description of the temple of *Solomon*, but of quite another; a prophetic or emblematical temple, that never existed but in the revelation that was made to him, and the representation he has set down in his prophecy. He himself says <sup>a</sup>, *In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel—and said unto me, Behold with thine eyes, for to the intent that I might shew unto thee art thou brought hither. Declare all that thou seest to the house of Israel*—and much more to the same purpose. Now it does not seem probable at all that there wanted so much care and solemnity to shew the prophet a temple he had himself seen a hundred times over and over; he, as it is well known, being a priest <sup>b</sup> who had there officiated, and had no need of divine inspiration to tell his countrymen the *Jews* what most of them could not well be ignorant of, or rather were well instructed in. And if it should be urged that this might well be forgotten in a captivity of 70 years (B), I will readily allow it, and all that can be drawn from this concession, provided it be proved that any use was made of this so solemn a description, in their building of the temple, after the return from the captivity; but so far was it from it, that at the sight of the second temple many tears were shed, this second temple built by *Zorobabel* being much inferior to that they had seen of *Solomon's* building <sup>c</sup>; and what then, if compared with that of *Ezekiel*? For this temple (and that is the thing we dare rely upon) had no proportion as to its measures with that other of *Solomon*. Whether any body has ever apprehended *Solomon's* temple to have been of each side above 500 cubits (C), we do not know: but that would be nothing to *Ezekiel's*, which was 500 reeds <sup>d</sup>, that is to say, 3000 cubits, for it is well known that a reed was six cubits (D), so that here is a difference as of six to one in their capacity or enclosure, which is impossible to be thought or said of one and the same temple. But you will say, it might be the same except the enclosure: I answer, No, because the mountain had no proportion to such a one, no not by any jettées, or other ways you can imagine; for the square being 2000 reeds, will not give you less than 12000 and odd cubits, or about 4500 paces. Now *Jerusalem* itself was never so large (E); how then can we suppose the temple to

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. xl. 2—4.    <sup>b</sup> Ezra i. 3.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. iii. 15.    <sup>d</sup> Ezek. xlii. 15, 20.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xl. 5.

those most surely our first parents were clothed with are said (12) to be of skin. Accordingly, we are told, those of the priests were of linen (13), on purpose that they should not be thought of some other stuff. But finding *Chetbon*, or *Keiban*, for linen, in the vulgar language of *Jerusalem*, *Josephus* thought *Chetboneth* in holy writ to signify a coat of linen; which indeed does not look so strange as the etymology he seems to give (14) of *Jerusalem* being a compound of the *Greek Hieron*, a sacred thing, and the word *Sohma*, unless this also be an interpolation. And the same one might say concerning *Bezatha*, which *Josephus* (15) makes to signify the *New City*, when no such thing can be made out of that word. But if it be worth while to guess at it, *בזא* *Bazath*, as it is a root, or radical word, seems to be preserved in that well known derivative among the *Turks*, viz. *Bostangi*, a gardiner; and among the *Rabbins* in *Bustan*, a garden. So that it is not unlikely that part of *Jerusalem* that lay northward of the temple, viz. *Bezetha*, before it was built into streets, was the gardening place for the city, and kept its ancient name, as is still customary among ourselves in such like occasions.

(B) 'Tho' this revelation was made to *Ezekiel* in the 20th year of the said captivity, and but the 14th after the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Babylonians* (16).

(C) The temple may well be taken for the whole

ground on which it stood, with all its courts, and truly that name must be taken in this latitude, in our translation of the gospel; in *Greek* it is *ἱερον*, which might be properly turned into *English* by a consecrated place, or ground (17); and the *Jews*, who commonly call it *Har babbaitb*, mountain of the house, say it was a square of 500 cubits (18).

(D) What these cubits were, has been observed chap. 7. of this history (19), to be almost equal to 22 inches, which is far from improbable. Some indeed would increase the cubit to a greater length, and others reduce it to ours of 18 inches, which yet could not affect our argument, because which soever of the divers hypotheses be the nearer the truth, it makes no difference here in the main, the cubit not being considered in itself, but comparatively to the measuring reed, said to be (20) six cubits by a cubit and a hand breadth, or, according to the *Septuagint*, six cubits and one hand breadth besides.

(E) Tho' we know what *Josephus* does relate out of *Hecateus*, who, in the reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, makes the circuit of *Jerusalem* almost 50 stadia *πνήχυστα μάλιστα* (21) *stadia τὴν περίμετρον*, which indeed he does not seem to correct, yet he himself does not reckon this renowned city's largest extent to have been above 33 stadia, *τὴν πόλεως δὲ ὅπῃς κύκλος σταδίων ἢν τριακοντα τριῶν* (22). Now a stadium, as is well known, being 125 paces, 33 stadia

(12) *Gen.* iii. 21. (13) *Exod.* xxviii. xxxix. *pass.* (14) *Antiq. lib. vii. c. 3. p. 287.* (15) *Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1223.* (16) *Ezek.* xl. 1. (17) *Matth.* xxi. 12. *Coll.* 17. *& al. pass.* (18) *Tract. Midd. c. 2. cui tit. בֵּית דָּוִד.* (19) See before, p. 652. *Vid. CUMBERLAND'S Essay on weights and measures, p. 39, &c.* (20) *Ezek.* xl. 5. (21) *Ap. JOSEPH. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib. i. p. 1348.* (22) *JOSEPH. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1223.*

to have been so, that was but part of that city? Besides *Josephus*<sup>f</sup>, in the dimensions he gives us of *Herod's temple*, that he had himself seen, and was by far the largest of the three; does not exceed 4 *stadia*, or 500 *paces*. In a word, never any real temple, built upon *Moria*, was any thing near so big as that temple *Ezekiel* saw and delineated by inspiration.

IV. A fourth observation very necessary to be attended to, is the true *situation of Jerusalem*, as to its two principal parts, well known by the names of two mountains, *viz. Sion* and *Acra*, on which stood the upper and lower city; for *Sion* stood a good deal higher or loftier than *Acra*. They rose like two huge heaps one against another, with a valley between them, by which they were ever, and are still parted, though not, as it is easy to imagine, without some very great alteration in their particular form or figure. The temple was built upon mount *Moriah*, which was either part of mount *Sion*, or a hill of less compass near it. That *Moria* stood to the east is not disputed; but whether *Sion* was on the *south* or the *north*, has been a question among the learned. This an *eye-witness* could easily have determined, if any one had favoured us with a *map* exactly drawn, or answered the question in express terms: For all this, we could try to clear it by the help of the sacred monuments, which, thanks to the learned *Reland*<sup>i</sup>, would prove an easy task, but too prolix for this performance; and therefore we chuse to refer to that author for a full satisfaction about it. However, it is pretended, that *Isaiab*<sup>k</sup> leaves room to think that *Sion* lay northwards of the lower city: For, says the king of *Babylon*, as he is introduced speaking by the prophet, *I will sit upon the mount of congregation in the sides of the north*. But it is not said here mount *Sion* lay on the north of *Acra*; what is said seems to be, that the conqueror would establish his dominion where was the *king's palace*, bordering upon the south of the temple, and situate on the northern side of mount *Sion*. There the *Babylonian* thinks himself secure, and in full possession of the city. But says the prophet to him, alluding to the valley bordering upon mount *Sion*, toward *Acra*, *Thou shalt be brought down to the sides of the pit*. This situation of *Sion*, which might be further proved from *Josephus*<sup>l</sup>, besides our judicious traveller the Rev. Mr. *Maundrel*<sup>m</sup>, and the Paris citizen *Antoine Regnault*<sup>n</sup>, we did insist upon, because very great men<sup>o</sup> have appeared on the opposite side, who by their uncommon learning may draw others into the same error.

V. THE fifth observation will give us the true *situation of the temple*. 'Tis known that when the *Hebrews* did worship, they turned themselves towards the most holy place or temple<sup>p</sup>. Now we learn from what *Ezekiel* saw, that it lay westwards of its door or entry. His words are very plain, *Behold*, says he<sup>q</sup>, *at the door of the temple were about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun towards the east; therefore the front of the temple was turned towards the east* (F); and this is confirmed by *Josephus*,

<sup>f</sup> Antiq. xv. ult. p. 702. <sup>g</sup> Vid. *Jerof. Descript.* ap. *JOSEPH. Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1221. coll. & 1235.* <sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 1. comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. & 1 Chron. xxi. 18—28. xxii. 1. <sup>i</sup> Vid. *Palest. illust.* p. 839. <sup>k</sup> Cap. xiv. ver. 13. <sup>l</sup> Ubi sup. p. 1222. & 1230. <sup>m</sup> A Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 67, 76, 78, 86, 99, 100. <sup>n</sup> Discours du voyage d'outremer au S. Sepulcre, 1573. p. 47, 92, 140, &c. Add LE BRUYN. Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. c. 53, 55. <sup>o</sup> DRUS. ad voc. N. T. voce Sion. LIGHT-FOOT, CELLARIUS, CALMET. <sup>p</sup> 1 Kings viii. 48. Psal. cxxx. 12. Dan. vi. 10. & pass. <sup>q</sup> Ezek. viii. 16.

*stadia* will produce 4125 *paces*, which would reduce the whole extent of the city to three *stadia*, 375 *paces* less than that of the temple. There is indeed a book written in *Dutch* (23) by the learned *Camp. Vitringa*, wherein he undertakes to make void this our argument, by observing, That the 2000 *reed* are to be understood only of so many cubits, as the *Septuagint* have expressed it in their translation; and to make it answer in the *Hebrew* text, he supposes the word there (24) to signify by an ellipsis, cubits of a *reed*, that is to say, such cubits as six of them make up one *reed*. But whether this will satisfy, we must leave to the judgment of our readers.

(F) *Theodoret*, it seems, gives a very good reason for it, *viz.* That as the *Israhites* were commanded to worship God alone, they might have the sun behind their backs, turning themselves towards the tabernacle, and not adore the sun, but his maker; and truly when the custom prevailed among the *Christians* of turning their faces towards the east in their worship, the *Pagans* did upbraid them with adoring the sun (25). But the author of the apostolical constitutions, knew well how to put it in another view, for the holy apostles are introduced by him, saying, *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀνταρῶμεν τῷ ἡλίῳ*, *κ. τ. λ.* (26).

(23) *בִּקְנֵה* *Bikneh*, with a *reed*; or with the measuring *reed*. Ezek. xlii. 16, &c. (24) *Den Tempel* *Ezekiel's*, cap. xli. (25) *Solem credunt Deum nostrum*, says *TERTULL.* *Apol. cap. xvi.* (26) *Lib. vii. c. 44.*

*Josephus*, who so far must be right, the temple having at first been in the same situation he saw it in afterwards.

VI. *Lastly*, Though our proper enquiry be into what appears to us to be strictly true, as to this matter of *Solomon's temple*, yet we do not pretend that all that is true of it has been said by us, because it is possible many things about it may have been omitted by the sacred historians, and therefore, as has been intimated, cannot in any wise be said by others. Neither do we aver that all we intend to say is exactly true or certain. Once more we must be so plain with our readers, as to let them know that we do not pretend to give demonstrations, but probable conjectures. And if our weak endeavours are not satisfactory, we should be very glad if they do put others upon gratifying the world with a scheme more accurate, wherein all things appearing better connected, might also better answer, or be more agreeable to the several passages or texts of holy writ here under consideration. All then we do engage on our part is carefully to distinguish between those things we have a full proof of, and those things wherein we only try to make some near approaches towards the truth; and upon this foot will now be explained the several particulars in the *plan* before us, according to the indication of them by the *letters* in the margin, for the greater conveniency of finding out whatever may seem to want a review, or deserve to be more narrowly looked or inquired into.

- a. WE begin with the *Oracle* (G), where God did speak from between the cherubim<sup>s</sup>; accordingly it is called the *Oracle of his Holiness*, or, as it is otherwise translated, *His Holy Oracle*<sup>s</sup>, towards which the *Israelites* turned themselves when they did worship<sup>a</sup>; and this was a square room of 20 cubits, as appears from 1 Kings vi. 2, 20. 2 Chron. iii. 8.
- b. THE holy place, or *Sanctuary*, 40 cubits long, and 20 broad, as is plain from 1 Kings vi. 2, & 3. where it is also called the *Temple of the House*. For the *House* (H) might properly be the name of the two apartments<sup>w</sup>, but that of the *Temple* (I), the proper name<sup>x</sup> for the second apartment: However, the length of both these together, being the *House* and (K) *Temple of God*<sup>y</sup>, was sixty cubits, 1 Kings vi. 2.
- c. BEFORE the *Sanctuary* stood a *Porch*. Twenty cubits was the length thereof, and ten cubits was the breadth thereof, as is said ver. 3. and so far we have a certainty from the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. To which we might, if needful, add the authority of *Josephus*<sup>z</sup>, and numbers of others.
- d. As for the *Wall* between the porch and the temple, any one sees it ought to be there admitted, though never mentioned in so many words by the sacred historians. We say it appears to have been of great use, not only better to sustain the building, but also to separate the temple from the porch belonging to it; that so this temple might stand wholly by itself, and also be shut up when there was occasion for it.

BUT

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 342. <sup>b</sup> Exod. xxv. 22. ult. Psal. xcix. 1. <sup>c</sup> Psal. xxviii. 2. <sup>d</sup> See before, p. 660. & comp. Psal. xxviii. 2. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings vi. 5, & pass. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. ver. 17. <sup>g</sup> Psal. v. comp. xxviii. 2. <sup>h</sup> Pag. 342.

(G) In *Hebrew*, דְּבִיר *Debir*, as if one should say *Locutum*, or speaking-place. For there it was that God used to speak, or give his orders, or instructions to his lieutenant, if one may so call the judge or prince, and to the high-priest, his first minister. Besides, it was called the *oracle of the house*, and most holy place, Heb. *holy*; or, as the Septuagint (27), *holies of holies*, and as it is translated (28) concerning the tabernacle, *the holiest of all* (29).

The Septuagint have kept the *Hebrew* word, reading it *δᾶβιρ*, or *δᾶβιρ*, except in one place, where it is translated *ναός*, or temple.

(H) הַבַּיִת *Habbaitb*, or בַּיִת *Baitb*, an house (30), by way of excellency. It was the house of God, and in some sense that of the *Israelites* also, wherefore they say (31). Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee. However the *house*

of the Lord is indifferently taken for the whole, or part of the building.

(I) הֶעָכָל *Hecal*, is properly a palace, witness the [*becal*] palace of *Abab* (32), and by this name seems to be called the different parts belonging to the tabernacle (33). The Septuagint translate it *ναός* most frequently, and sometimes *δᾶβιρ*.

(K) Well might it be called so, when it was the place of his residence among the *Israelites*. So says *Solomon* (34), *I have surely built thee an house to dwell in; a settled place for thee to abide in.* And therefore the *Jews* have given the name of *Shekinah* to this habitation not improperly, for there was God's symbolical presence upon the ark (35), or, as it were, his throne; and there also was a real presence conspicuous by its operations, I mean by the oracles which God delivered there.

(27) Exod. xxxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89. (28) 1 Kings viii. 6. Psal. xxvii. 28. (29) Hebr. ix. 3. (30) 1 Kings viii. 16. (31) Isaiah lxiv. 11. (32) 1 Kings xxi. 1. (33) 1 Sam. i. 9. iii. 3. (34) 1 Kings viii. 13. (35) 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. Psalm lxxx. 1.

- e. BUT further, our conjecture is strengthened by this plain inference, that the temple had doors. Thus it is said <sup>a</sup>, *For the entering of the oracle he made doors* <sup>b</sup>, —so also *made he for the entering (L) of the temple posts of olive-tree,—and the two doors were of fir-tree.* Now a door seems to suppose a wall, where-ever a wall appears to be necessary, as was here. And should it be objected that the oracle had a door as well as the sanctuary, though we do not conceive any wall between them, it might be answered, That there is nothing upon record concerning such a wall (M); that we see no necessity for one; and lastly, that there might be something else in lieu of it.
- f. FOR a very rich and strong *Veil* was made to separate the most holy from the holy place <sup>c</sup>, the same we suppose as St. Matthew calls the *veil of the temple* that *was rent in twain* when *Jesus yielded up the ghost* <sup>d</sup>. *Josephus* <sup>e</sup> positively tells us, that *Solomon made a partition wall*, different from the veil; but this is not so clearly expressed in the sacred books. The translation indeed says <sup>f</sup>, *He made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle*: and accordingly we may understand that there was both a *partition* and a *veil*, the partition being fixed, and the veil hanging before it, so as to be moved like our curtains. But we do not warrant that this is the true sense of the *Hebrew* (N), which is rather, *He placed chains (bars or bolts) across the oracle*: However there was a *door* to it, as we have seen already. And although we may easily conceive a *door* without a wall, properly so called, we must suppose some such thing as a partition. Besides, what bolted this door, or went across before the oracle, was of gold, and therefore not the veil itself. At least the *Hebrew* text allows us to say the oracle was shut up with golden bolts. Yet whether there was a partition besides the door of each side <sup>g</sup>, or whether the door itself served instead of a partition, we shall not determine (O), but conclude this article by saying, that the doors of the porch are mentioned as such in one passage <sup>h</sup>, and called the doors of the house of the Lord in another <sup>i</sup>.
- g. WHAT we have now to consider are the *Chambers*, built against the wall of the house round about, both of the temple and the oracle, the *nethermost* said to be *five cubits broad, and also five cubits high* <sup>k</sup>; but of their length we find nothing in the books we refer to. It seems they were square rooms: *Josephus* tells us <sup>l</sup>, they were thirty in number all about the temple, which, it may be, he took from that of *Ezekiel* <sup>m</sup>, who says, *The side chambers were three, one over another, and thirty in order*: So that thirty being multiplied by three, according to the number of stories in the first book of *Kings*, those chambers will amount in all to ninety, that are called the *nethermost*, the middle, and the third. And such a number may easily be placed about the house, supposing them to have been each of five cubits length,

as

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings vi. 31. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. 33, 34. <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 22. <sup>d</sup> Matth. xxvii. 50, 51.  
<sup>e</sup> Ant. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 343. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings vi. 21. <sup>g</sup> 1 Kings vi. 31. <sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. xxix. 7.  
<sup>i</sup> Ibid. xxviii. 24. <sup>k</sup> 1 Kings vi. 5, 6. <sup>l</sup> Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 342. <sup>m</sup> Ezek. xli. 6.

(L) The word in *Hebrew* is כַּתֵּף *Petach*, the same as for the oracle above, and therefore *entring* ought to be kept in *English*, not *door*, as in our translation; although *Petach*, an *entring*, is in other places translated a *door*, by a true analogy.

(M) This must be understood of *holyness*, wherein no mention is made of any such wall, though indeed our translation says, as to the door of the oracle, “the lintel and side posts were a fifth part of the wall.” But those last words are not in the *Hebrew*, and truly another interpretation is given in the margin, *viz.* that they were *five square*; however, the reading in the text may well be admitted relatively to the height of the oracle, so that this is meant, that the lintel, &c. were five cubits high.

(N) וַיַּעֲבֹד בְּרֵאשִׁית וַיַּעֲבֹד בְּרֵאשִׁית *Vajebabber Beratikoth*, or, according to the *keri*, *Beratukoth*, which is *verbatim*, he made pass with chains, supposing *ratikoth* to be *chains*, for that word occurs in no other place but this, and may be as well translated *bars*, or *bolts*, or any thing equivalent. Hence then it seems *Josephus* (36) took “the in and out-side of the temple

“was all lined with cedar, and that the cramping  
 “of the cedar together with strong chains, (ἀλυσσάν  
 “not *irons*, as *L'esfrange* has it) was a great strength  
 “and security to the building.” However, *pro materia subjuncta*, to make pass with chains; or as it might be translated without the particle (37), *to make chains pass*, seems to be nothing else but to chain, or tie with chains, to bolt or bar; unless the word *veil* be supplied to fill up the gap of this expression, well understood at that time, though afterwards, being obscure and obsolete, it was omitted by the Septuagint. The vulgate says, *he fastened the shelves with nails*.

(O) It will hardly be expected we should here take particular notice of those sacred vessels and utensils that adorned this holy house, *viz.* the ark, and cherubims, the table of shew-bread, the golden candlesticks (38), and the altar of incense; since we could hardly add any thing that is needful concerning them, to what hath been already observed in the course of this history.

(36) Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 343. (37) Coll. Lament. i. 17. Psal. lv. 18. (38) See 1 Kings vii. 49.



as well as height, for in the breadth they differed from five to six, and from six to seven; the reason of which is there given. Upon this score they will undoubtedly appear somewhat small, and so indeed *Josephus* <sup>a</sup> calls them. However if their use was well known, that might give some light into this matter. But concerning their use, we find only <sup>b</sup> that *Joas was bidden in the bed-chamber* (P) belonging to the temple. Taking it then for granted that they were chiefly or frequently intended to lay in, we may venture to say that they were sufficient for that purpose, especially those of the middle and third story. Besides that, the *bed-chambers* among the Jews were generally upper rooms, as has already been observed in this *Universal History* <sup>c</sup>.

b. ONE thing more remains to be attended to about the temple, properly so called. It is said <sup>d</sup>, *The door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house, and they went up with winding stairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.* Where we may well imagine an opening was left in the thickness of the wall for a pair of stairs, to go up to the second story of the chambers about the temple, and also a passage from the temple to the porch, for there might be several occasions that required the ministers of the temple to go up to those chambers, as well as in and out of the temple, of which we suppose a detail is not here expected.

i. WE are now come to the *Porch*, where we meet with those celebrated columns, or pillars, *Solomon* adorned it with. It is said <sup>e</sup>, *He set them up in the porch of the temple, and he made before the house two pillars, and he reared up the pillars before the temple*; which expressions taken together sufficiently seem to imply the pillars were before the temple in its porch. But it is not quite so easy to assign the height of them. In one place it is said of *Solomon* <sup>f</sup>, *He cast two pillars of brass of eighteen cubits high apiece.* In another <sup>g</sup> we read, *He made two pillars of thirty and five cubits high.* This seeming inconsistency between the two sacred historians we shall presently reconcile; only we will first beg leave to take notice, that this is an instance of their not combining together, of their not being corrected or amended by one another. Now let us only suppose the pedestal or basis of the columns to have been 17 cubits high, this added to the eighteen cubits (1 Kings vii. 15. Jer. lii. 21.) for the shaft will, added together, make exactly 35, the number mentioned 2 Chron. iii. 15. Lastly, taking from 1 Kings vii. 16. five cubits, being the height of the chapter, we shall have the true height of the pillars, viz. 40 cubits. It is true that in another place <sup>h</sup> the height of the chapter is said to have been *three cubits*; but here we apprehend we have the dimension of the chapter only, strictly so called, *Cotbereth* in the Hebrew, or *Crowning*, which is expressed to have been three cubits; and there is left to be understood *the wreathen work on it round about*, which was two cubits more; both which sums added, make that of *five*, the number set down before by the same author. We can say but little concerning the thickness of the shaft of those pillars, only that *a line of twelve cubits did compass either of* (Q) *them round about* <sup>i</sup>, and therefore the diameter was four cubits, which is the proportion of 12 for the circumference. But it may be further observed, that one of the pillars

<sup>a</sup> *שְׁפָחוּת עֲמֻמָּה*. ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xi. 2.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 700.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings vi. 8.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Kings vii. 15.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 15.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. ver. 17.

<sup>h</sup> Kings, ubi sup.

<sup>i</sup> Chron.

ubi sup. <sup>j</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 17.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Kings vii. 15.

(P) In Hebrew, *הֶדֶר* *Heder*, or *Cheder*, and seems to be understood of one of the three stories about the temple (39), where might be the beds for the priests in waiting, and among those rooms, or chambers, one, or more, especially reserved, or set apart for the high-priest; which also ought therefore to have been a retired place, and not easily accessible but to himself and consort, with those they trusted. These rooms we find also called *inner-parlours* (40), where for *parlours* the Hebrew hath *Chadarim*, and there distinguished from the lower-apartments, *Ganpakim*, (the treasuries in our version) and from the upper-rooms. So as we have here the several parts of the *Jatziagh* there spoken of (41) by their proper names,

(Q) Some will say the Hebrew differs from our translation, for what is here *either of them*, is there (*הַשְּׁנַיִם* *Hasbani*) *the second*, and we acknowledge this is a seeming, though no real difference. It is said, *Eighteen cubits was the height of the first column, and a line of twelve cubits did compass the second*, which is an elliptical expression where, in a period, one branch of it not expressed, is understood by what the other expresses (42). So here the height of the *first* column gives you the measure of the *second*, and the thickness of the *second* the measure of the *first*. But this not being agreeable to our stile, another turn ought to be took, which is usual and intelligible in our way of speaking.

(39) See 1 Kings vii. 25. (40) 2 Chron. xxviii. 11. (41) 1 Kings vi. 5. (42) Vid. Prov. x. 1. *Ijai*. xxxii. 3. *Deut*. xv. 12. *Psal*. cxlii. 4. *Conf. Jerem*. lii. 21, 22.

pillars was to be seen on the right of the porch, and called *Jachin*, and the other on the left called *Boaz*<sup>a</sup>. Now *Jachin* signifies *he shall establish*, and *Boaz*, *strength is in him*. By which it seems *Solomon* would give to understand, that he depended only on an Almighty Power for the continuance and duration of this temple. But by way of conjecture one might suppose there was an *inscription* in some such sense upon the basis of each of the pillars, that on one beginning with the word *Jachin*, and that on the other with the word *Boaz*; from whence the pillars might have their denomination; as we see the books of *Moses* called by the first word they begin with<sup>\*</sup>. Lastly, as to their situation; we take it they stood before the temple<sup>b</sup>, in the porch of the temple<sup>c</sup>: So says our translation; which we chuse here to follow (R).

- k. GOING now out of the porch, we must take notice first of the *Altar* standing before the porch<sup>d</sup>, or before the house<sup>e</sup>, as in the *Hebrew*, not improperly translated the fore-front of the house: and there it seems to have stood in the middle of the court (S), of which court afterwards. This altar for burnt-offerings did answer to one of the same use in the tabernacle, whereof we have spoken at large<sup>f</sup>. What remains for us to observe, is only the new altar, which was in length two cubits, and as many broad, besides ten cubits high<sup>g</sup>; and since no steps were allowed in the tabernacle to go up to the altar<sup>h</sup>, it ought to be supposed there were none for that use in the temple, but only an easy ascent up to the altar.
- l. OF the court itself we must own it is our opinion that it went at first all about the temple. Thus was the court about the tabernacle an oblong square, the length thereof being an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where<sup>i</sup>. Now as we find no dimension of the court in the temple, all we can well do to go somewhat by a scriptural rule, is to make this last court twice as big as that in the tabernacle, because it sufficiently appears king *Solomon* kept pretty near to that proportion in the building of the temple itself. Again, as in that oblong square the tabernacle stood westwards, and that by that means the court had on the east two third parts or more of the whole space, we conceive the court in the temple, as *Solomon* at first built it, to have been much the same.
- m. BUT a wall is placed here on the west side of the court before the porch, for which no warrant will easily be found in that part of scripture that was to be our guide in our present enquiry, and therefore does not seem to be built upon any sure foundation; but yet what we have to say for it may be seen in the next note (T).

A

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings vii. 21.    <sup>\*</sup> See before, p. 595. not. A.    <sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 17.    <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings vii. 21: d 1 Kings vii. 64. coll. 2 Chron. vii. 7. xv. 8.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xv. 8.    <sup>f</sup> Ubi sup. No. IX. p. 661.   
 <sup>g</sup> 2 Chron. iv. 1.    <sup>h</sup> Exod. xx. 26.    <sup>i</sup> Ibid. xxvii. 9, 12.

(R) One reason is the difference to be observed between the two particles in the texts of *Chronicles* and *Kings*. In that it is *לפני* *Alpene*, which cannot otherwise be translated than by *Before*. But in this it is *ל* *Le*, which may be translated several ways, and especially by *In*: so you read *Lerouach* (43), in the cool of the evening; *Lchisse* (44), in the throne, and such like expressions (45). Besides, the Vulgate has *in porticu*, and the Septuagint do not much differ as to the sense: They translate, *he set up the pillars* *τὴ ἀλυσμῶν of the porch*; which seems to imply, that the pillars were an appurtenance of the porch, and therefore very properly placed in it. *Josephus*, as to this, says only (46), *Solomon* placed one of them on the right post of the porch, and the other on the left. The *French* and *English* translations add, at the entrance of the porch. We have declared our opinion to be they were within; but after all, if one likes them better without, we would not much oppose it, since *ל* may signify *At*, as where it is said of *Zabulon* (47) "He shall stand *ל* at the haven of the sea," or *For*, as in the very same expression, viz. *ל* our own interpreters have taken it elsewhere (48) and render'd it *for the porch*.

(S) In the tabernacle, the altar of burnt-offerings was to be placed (49) before the door, and at a con-

venient distance<sup>\*</sup>, so that our translation seems to be very right in saying *by* (50) and *at* (51) it, which could not be well otherwise, the court being of a small compass. But as that in the temple was much larger, the altar might here stand in the middle of the court, and this further appears from its relation to the *King's Seat*, which was in the midst of the other court, and before this altar, as will be seen hereafter (52).

(T) By saying this, we would not be understood wholly to deny there might be such a wall in *Solomon's* time, for we read (53) concerning the house he built for his queen, *The great court round about was with three rows of hewed stones, and a row of cedar-beams*; As for the inner court of the house of the Lord, and for the porch of the house. Instead of *As* our translation renders *Both*, the *Hebrew* *ו* *We*, whose ordinary signification is *and*. But in the way of a comparison, (as it plainly appears to be here used) if we consult our translation in other places (54), it would, we think, be more properly rendered by *as*. However, the wall for the porch of the house may, it seems, be understood of this wall that stood before the porch of the temple, though others, with some probability, understand it of a porch before the queen's house.

(43) Gen. iii. 8.    (44) Psalm ix. 4.    (45) Psalm xvi. 10. Dan. ii. 1. Os. v. 12. Zeph. ii. 15.   
 (46) Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 344.    (47) Gen. xlix. 13.    (48) 1 Kings vii. 12.    (49) Exod. xl. 6.    <sup>\*</sup> See before, p. 660. e.    (50) Levit. i. 5.    (51) Ibid. v. 7, 8.    (52) Nots Y & Z.   
 (54) 1 Sam. xii. 15. Prov. x. 25.

- " A NEW court is plainly mentioned in sacred history. Thus we read<sup>1</sup>, *That Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem in the house of the Lord, before the new court* (V). That here by the house of the Lord is understood the whole compass of the temple, with its several courts, wants no proof, after what has been said above<sup>m</sup>. But what that new court is, we are now to consider. Some will have it to have been the court of priests *repaired*, as indeed the altar was, by king *Ash*<sup>n</sup>, and therefore called the *New Court*.

BUT though by the analogy of the temple with the tabernacle, the court of priests seems to have been round about the holy and most holy place, and not divided by a wall; yet afterwards such a wall being found convenient to be made between the altar and the porch, that part of the court about the temple becoming now a sort of a court by itself, might be called the new court, the old name, *viz.* the court of the priests, remaining with that part where stood the altar. Now whether this will be judged a rational conjecture must be submitted to the reader.

- o. WE have a few words to add concerning the other, but undoubted wall of the court of priests. It is said<sup>o</sup>, *Solomon built the inner-court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar-beams*. It is elsewhere<sup>p</sup> called the court of priests, and bore the name of the inner, because of another round about it. But what these rows were, is not so easy to explain. Some indeed do not spare buildings that cost them nothing, and of these rows make so many stories; but whether the single Hebrew word, *Tur*, i. e. *row*, will uphold such a heavy building, we very much doubt: To us there appears no more than a kind of parapet wall, of some four or five foot high, (consisting of three rows of stone, one upon another, and a fourth of cedar-beams over them) sufficient to keep off the people from being an hindrance in the court of priests, but low enough for the *Israelites* without to see all the priests were doing within.

- p. ONE thing remains to be considered, which is the several entries into the court; for though we should not find any mentioned as they are sufficiently<sup>q</sup>, they must, in the nature of things, have been there, and we therefore place them where we find it most proper, *viz.* over-against the gates that are said to have been in that court where the people did meet for their solemn devotions.

- q. NOW this court (X) was called the *Great Court*<sup>r</sup>, because of its bigness, comparatively to that of the priests, which was a good deal less; both of them being said to be the *two courts of the house of the Lord*<sup>s</sup>. And that *Solomon* himself did build the one as well as the other, we read in these words, *Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and over-laid the doors of them with brass*. *Josephus* not thinking this metal valuable enough, has made a transmutation of it into silver<sup>t</sup>, and has, at no other expence than his fancy, built a large court upon a mount raised on purpose 400 cubits high. It is easy to presume he has spared neither columns, nor porticos, nor all the embellishments a fruitful imagination could prompt him to adorn it with (Y).

HASTE

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xx. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Note C. & al.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Chron. xv. 8.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12.

<sup>p</sup> 2 Chron. iv. 9.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> 2 Kings xxi. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 346.

(V) The name given by the Septuagint to this court deserves some attention: They call it *αὐλὴ τῆς σκηνῆς*, *the court of the tabernacle*; which, well understood, seems to be a very proper name; for the house in *Solomon's* building did answer the tabernacle of *Moses*, and here and there equally was the *Shekinah*, or inhabitation of the divine majesty, to which St. *John* also seems to have an eye, when he says, *the λόγος word ἐσθῆναι μετ' ἡμῶν dwell among us*.

Now this situation of the *New Court* being allowed, we may, by it, further explain and fix the place where *Zachariah*, the high-priest's son, was killed. It is said this happened in the court of the house of the Lord (55), between the temple and the altar (56), which must be as he came out of the temple, into this *New-court*, towards the wall before the porch.

(X) The Septuagint call it *αὐλὴ ἱερῆς*, where *ἱερῆς* ought not to be taken for *hecal* commonly rendered, as has already been observed (57) by another Greek word, but never, as we know, by *ἱερῆς*. This last word, as made use of both by them and *Josephus* (58), does signify either the whole of the building, or some out-part of it, and is properly a sacred place, or consecrated ground; the court of *Israel* being its proper court, as it encompassed round about immediately that of the priests, and mediately the temple itself and oracle.

(Y) His words are, "Beyond this partition was another square court, (*gr. ἱερῆς*) or building, with large porticos or galleries about it, and four stately gates that opened east, west, north and south, the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. This place was common to all the people.—The erecting of this outward building was so studen-

dous

(55) 2 Chron. xx. 5.

(56) *John* i. 14.

(57) 1 Chron. xxix. 4. coll. *Ezek.* xlv. 19.

(58) *Antiq.* viii. c. 3. p. 346.

1. **HASTE** we now to fix the gates. There were three on three sides of the temple, east, north and south; besides two on the west side. These gates were kept by wardens, trusted with power and authority, who had under them numbers of *Levites*; for we read <sup>u</sup>, Among these were the divisions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one against another, to serve in the house of the Lord; and they cast lots, as well the small as the great, for every gate. We have nothing remarkable to say concerning the north and east gates; but just by that to the south, we find *the house of Asuppim* <sup>x</sup>, and what this house was, is not easy to determine; however, as this belongs properly to our subject, we shall make our best endeavours towards a discovery that way.

2. **THE** radical verb *Asap* signifies to add, assemble, or gather together, and the several nouns derived from it keep all this primitive sense; so that it is to be presumed it is also preserved in the word *Asuppim*; but as this idea is indefinite, we must try to fix it by the use of this word, to be found only in the place already quoted, and a little lower <sup>y</sup>, and in *Nebemiah* <sup>z</sup>. In the first quotation, the translation is word for word *the house of Asuppim*, but the sense seems rather (Z) to imply each of the two houses, for so many there were under the direction of *Obed-edom* and his sons. In the second text, the translation says, *toward Asuppim two and two*, (adding the word *and*, which is not in the *Hebrew*) and as far as can be judged, the true sense is this, There were four *Levites* trusted with the care of the *Asuppim*, two to the one, and two to the other. This seems to be confirmed by the third passage, that in *Nebemiah*, for one reads, according to the *Hebrew*, *Porters keeping the ward at the Asuppim of the gates*. In the version it is *at the thresholds*, and in the margin *treasuries or assemblies*. It would have been better to have preserved in the translation the *Hebrew* word *Asuppim*, which, though a proper name, is there a case governed. And if the three above-mentioned passages are carefully compared together, it will plainly appear that there were near the gate we have been speaking of, two houses, or distinct apartments, one on each side of this gate, where either the priests or the levites, or it may be both orders, assembled at times, either about business relating to the temple, or deposited all things of use in that consecrated place, since *gathering* and *assembling* are equally an apt translation of the word *Asuppim*. Besides we find in holy writ that there were such apartments or houses within the inclosure or precinct of the temple, or its courts. So, for example, *Jeremiah* <sup>a</sup> brought the *Rechabites* into the house of the Lord, into one of the chambers, where he did put before them pots full of wine, and so on. This room, which for that very reason, we may suppose to have had some extent, did belong to the offspring of *Igdaliah*, a man of God, that is to say, a prophet; and its situation is said to have been next to the chamber of the princes, or chief men, which in the temple can be understood only of the priests, or chiefs of the levites. Besides, it is said that this chamber was above the chamber of *Maasejah*, the keeper of the door. It was an upper room. And it is well known that about business of moment they met in such rooms among the *Jews*, which was still a custom in the time of the apostles <sup>b</sup>. Let that be as it will, there are seen here in the same house large rooms, different or distinct both in relation to the uses they were put to, and the persons that occupied them, whether they met or lodged in them, in order to be of service to the temple, or its ministers; or whether in particular the lower part, or ground floor of these houses, served as store-houses, or treasuries, which it seems may be gathered from what is related

<sup>u</sup> 1 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13.  
<sup>a</sup> Chap. xxxv. 2. &c.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. ver. 15.  
<sup>b</sup> Acts i. 13, & pass.

<sup>y</sup> Ver. 17.

<sup>z</sup> Chap. xii. ver. 25.

<sup>u</sup> does an undertaking, that no tongue can express  
<sup>a</sup> the difficulties of raising it, and a man would  
<sup>a</sup> have much ado to believe his own very eyes that  
<sup>a</sup> saw it. Such hollows, such depths to be filled  
<sup>a</sup> up, as a body could hardly have looked upon, or  
<sup>a</sup> but so much as fancied, without turning his brain;  
<sup>a</sup> 400 cubits to be brought up to a level with the  
<sup>a</sup> top of the mountain, only to make the work  
<sup>a</sup> regular and the ground even. This port was en-  
<sup>a</sup> compassed again with a kind of double cloyster,

<sup>a</sup> and two rows of pillars to support it, every  
<sup>a</sup> pillar being cut whole out of the rock; the doors  
<sup>a</sup> were all silver work, &c.

(Z) According to an usual way of speaking in scripture; as where we read, *The fool hath said* (59). *How sweet thy word* (60). *Let us lurk for the innocent* (61). *The wicked flee* (62). *She, that is, the Woman, shall be saved* (63). For, by what follows, the sense appears to be each or either of the things and persons mentioned. See above, letter O.

(59) *Pf. xiv. 1.* (60) *cxix. 103.* (61) *Prov. i. 11.* (62) *xxvii. 1.* (63) *1 Tim. ii. 15.*

related elsewhere <sup>c</sup>, *That Amaziah took all the gold and the silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of God with Obed-edom* (A).

4. It will be pertinent enough, before we go to the other gate, to put here together what we have more to say concerning the other apartments we have delineated in this court of the people. Upon which two things are very distinctly to be considered, the first relates to the form and particular situation of these apartments, and this we must frankly own we are ignorant of. But as it was absolutely necessary to place them some where, we have disposed of them in the plainest manner we could to the four corners of the temple, leaving to every one to fix and represent them as may be thought most proper. The second thing we have to say about these chambers, is concerning their real existence, of which there is no room to doubt. For setting aside what has just now been instanced of the *Asuppim*, and apartments mentioned by *Jeremiab*; and supposing them to be different from those we are now speaking of, it is plain from holy writ <sup>d</sup>, that *David gave to Solomon the pattern of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasures of the house of God, and of the treasures of the dedicated things*; and this order was executed, for *Abijah was over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the dedicated things* (B). To this it may be added, that in the temple of *Zorobabel*, in *Nebemiab's* time, when to be sure there had been no thoughts of exceeding *Solomon's* temple, *Eliashib* <sup>e</sup> the priest having the oversight of the chamber, or rather of each chamber (C), of the house of God, had prepared for *Tobiah*, one allied unto him, a great chamber, where afore-time they laid the meat-offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, and the offerings in the courts of the house of God.

We would have these last words to be attended to, because these chambers should be carefully distinguished from those already mentioned <sup>f</sup>, which immediately joined the temple. For besides that these last, as has been seen <sup>g</sup>, were very small, and did not seem to have been capacious enough for those uses, the others were put to; the difference of their names makes it probable that these chambers were different. Those about the temple are called *Jatziagh* (D), and these in the courts *Leshacoth*, and they were the chief porters that were over these chambers, or, as in the margin, store-houses and treasures of the house of God <sup>h</sup>; and very large they ought to have been indeed, since in one of them, the chamber of *Gemariab*, in the higher court (E), which was that we are about, *Baruc* did read the words of *Jeremiab* in the ears of all the people <sup>i</sup>, which cannot well be understood but of a considerable number there met together (F).

LET

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. xxv. 24.  
Supra Litt § in marg.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Chron. xxviii. 12.  
<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. xxvi. 20.

<sup>f</sup> Nehem. xiii. 4, 5.  
<sup>k</sup> Jerem. xxxvi. 10.

(A) Not surely the same *Obed-edom*, who, from the foundation of the temple, had been chief warden of the *Asuppim*, with his sons under him, but one of his family or posterity, who now was in the same employment, or office: either bearing the same name, or going by it in that his publick capacity, or as successor to him. Somewhat like we see in the names of *Israel*, *Judab*, *David*, &c.

(B) It may be not unworthy taking notice, that the same word *אוצרות* *Ozroth*, is equally in both texts, though it be differently translated, viz. *Treasures* and *Treasures*.

(C) According as has been observed above, though, it may be the four *Hebrew* characters there *לשכת* are not rightly punctuated for *Lykeath*, in the singular, a chamber, but ought to have been so for *Leshacoth*, in the plural, chambers. Yet, one way or other, the sense is much the same.

(D) *יציא* We take to have been somewhat like the *Italians* *corridore*, which some derive from *currere*, where one may run in, round about an house, as you have some furnished with bed-rooms in our hospitals and colleges. And truly the *Hebrew* word comes up to that notion, for *יציא* *jatzia* is to lay, and *יציא* *jatzia* a bed, *Psal.* 132, 139. However, in the *jatzia*, belonging to the temple, the rooms were of a smaller sort, but *לשכת* *Leshacoth*, the larger sort of them, like our dining-rooms,

parlours, or halls. And indeed in that emblematical temple of *Ezekiel*, where all is represented in the height of grandeur and bigness, far above that of *Solomon's* temple, there is no mention of any such thing as *jatzia*, but, in its stead, so many *Leshacoth*. Yet it may be objected, that *David* gave to *Solomon* the pattern of the court of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers, *Leshacoth*, round about (64). True they were such rooms, but not joining to the house, as the *jatzia*; which *Solomon* built against it (65).

(E) This is an expression that occurs but once, and is therefore the harder to be understood; though of itself a plain one, which seems to be in relation to a court that stood lower. But it may be, no more is intended than thereby to signify the great court. However, if *higher*, must be taken in the proper sense; to us it appears, 'tis the new court that is here called the *higher*, because thereon was the temple, in the east of the hill, where it is commonly supposed was its top.

(F) It may be said indeed, he might read it out of a window or balcony, which we are not willing to oppose; but then we do further remark, that this chamber, out of which he read, was at the entry of the new gate, supposed to be the eastern, and near it, in either courts, might be large apartments.

(64) 1 Chron. xxviii. 12.

(65) 1 Kings vi. 5. 10.

u. LET us now consider the gates to the west, which deserve a particular attention. Thus says the sacred historian <sup>1</sup>, *To Shuppim and Hofah the lot came forth westward with the gate Shallecheth, by the causey of the going up, ward against ward, and <sup>m</sup> at Parbar westward, four at the causey, two at Parbar.* As to the first at south-west, the name may be applied, according to its etymology, to what comes out like a projecture, as we call it from the *Latin*, or a jutting or leaning out in a building. The word is found only in two places of scripture, this of *Chronicles*, and another <sup>a</sup> where it is said of oaks, whose substance is in them when they cast their leaves, says our version, but the *Hebrew* *be-shallecheth*, where the particle *be* stands for *in*, and *Shallecheth*, we should think to be, *what is risen, or above ground*, for here such trees very well stand or subsist (G).

HOWEVER, when the name of *Shallecheth* is given to the gate we are speaking of, we see it at the same time joined to a *causey*. This was a jettee, bank, terrass, or bridge, that led up to the temple. And here it seems should be placed the *misbad*, made for the temple by the king <sup>o</sup>. The translation calls it *pillars* in the text, but in the margin *rails*, (*Heb. a prop*) and in another place it bears the name of *Me-filloth*, rendered by *terrises* in the text, but in the margin *stays*, (*Heb. high-ways*) the sense of all which comes to one; for the ground without the temple seems to have been very uneven, and in order to make the coming to it not only commodious, but delightful, *Solomon* contrived an avenue over the valley, one end of which answered the gate *Shallecheth*, and the other the palace, over-against the south-side of the temple, to the north of mount *Sion*. It is in this disposal or order we are to consider what is called <sup>q</sup> *his ascent, by which he went up into the house of the Lord*; which ascent was built by *Solomon* in so costly a manner, that it was looked upon with admiration by the queen of *Sheba*. Thus have we assigned a cause why this gate should be called *Shallecheth*; and as there was the greatest concourse of those about court, and in general from the high city, here were two distinct guard-houses, parallel to one another, one under *Shuppim*, and the other under his co-partner *Hofah*.

x. BUT the second to the west, towards the north of the temple, was for the inhabitants of that part of the city that has since been called the *lower*; and this gate was called *Parbar* (H), the way from it leading to the suburbs named in sacred history *Parvarim*, from which this gate seems to derive its name, but slightly altered, the *b* and *v* consonant being capable of permutation, as is easy to be seen in most languages, both antient and modern. Now as the temple might be more exposed on that side than any where else, and there was a very great concourse of people, the out-let of the road near the gate was guarded by *four levites*, and the gate itself by *two* more. But now let us return to the temple by the terras-gate.

y. HERE we find the covert for the sabbath, and (z) the king's entry adjoining to it; for we read in sacred history <sup>1</sup>, that king *Ahaz* cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them; and took down the sea from the brazen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of stones; and the covert for the sabbath that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the Lord, for the king of Assyria. We presume somewhat of a commentary on this passage, as to the two things here mentioned, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

WE must first form to ourselves an idea of this covert, called in *Hebrew* *Misac*, or, as the *Maforites* read it, *Musac*; which pronunciation is not of great concern, for this word is to be found only in this place, the signification of which it is no easy matter to ascertain. *Sacab* is to cover, and *Masac* a covering or veil. As for the thing itself, we must look for what may relate to it among those things built by *Solomon* in the temple. At the time of its dedication one finds <sup>2</sup> *he had made*

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. xxvi. 16.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. ver. 18.

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah vi. 13.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Kings x. 12.

<sup>p</sup> 2 Chron. ix. 11.

<sup>q</sup> 1 Kings ubi sup. ver. 5. Ch. v. 4.

<sup>r</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

<sup>s</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 18.

<sup>t</sup> 2 Chron. vi. 13.

(G) This, to us, appears to be the true notion the *Hebrew* text gives of what we have seen rendered by the word *Substance*, which is מצבת *Mazebeth*, the subsistence, properly, or subsisting of a thing, wherefore it signifies a pillar and monument. Gen. xxxv. 14. 20.

(H) Which word the *Targum* does expound by that of ברא *bara*, i. e. without; and this sense of it seems very probable, since *Parbar* had its issue, or out-let, into the then out-parts of *Jerusalem*.



made a brazen scaffold, (in Hebrew it is *Kior*) of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it up in the midst of the court, and upon it he stood, and so on. Here it is easy to imagine a raised up place, where stood the king. It might be in the shape of a hemisphere, or hollow vessel, almost like the concha, or triumphal car of the Romans; but whatever might be this *Kior*, it must of necessity have rested upon, or been supported by a pedestal or column. This the *Vulgate*, following the *Septuagint*, expresses by the word *base*, instead of the Hebrew *Kior*. Much the same figure therefore would have been made use of, both in the text and translations, where the whole takes its denomination from a part of the throne. We shall try to distinguish every one of them that made up this royal seat.

First, We take notice of the *base* or column; for it is said of *Joas*, when he was proclaimed king <sup>a</sup>, *He stood upon the pillar*: this is the true meaning of the Hebrew <sup>a</sup>, the same turn of expression already made use of in relation to *Solomon*, although in the translation it is by a *pillar*; and, what is very remarkable, the text adds *Cammissaphath*, according to the manner, that is, as the kings were used to do in the temple, in their usual place or throne. According to this, *Josiah*, in order to renew the covenant <sup>b</sup>, *stood upon the pillar*, according to the text; and this same pillar the king stood upon, is even in our translation <sup>c</sup> called *his place wherein he stood*. It is plain to be seen this place was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the *Israelites*, in their court, in the midst of which the sacred historian has fixed the throne <sup>d</sup> before the altar <sup>e</sup>. But it will not be amiss to observe that the king did not stand or sit there, when he came to the temple in the form of an humble suppliant to the God of *Israel*, or to ask his council; for in this case it seems the kings were mixed and confounded among the croud of their subjects. At least it is said of *Ezekiab* <sup>f</sup>, after he had received the threatening letter of the *Assyrian* king, *He went up into the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord, and prayed, &c.* where no mention is made of his standing upon the pillar. And we are the more apt to judge he did not, for that *Jehosaphat* before him <sup>g</sup>, when in fear of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, he had proclaimed a fast, *He stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the Lord, before the new court, and there prayed*. There the king would not appear upon his throne, but went as near to the temple as well he could, which in our opinion is intimated by his standing before the *new court*; for we have seen this court was immediately next to the temple, whereas the court of the priests, properly so called, before which stood the throne, was further off. However, the throne was the ordinary seat upon all solemn occasions, when the king appeared before the altar. And there also it was, young *Joash* was seated in all the pomp of a king at his inauguration. So the historian says <sup>h</sup>, *The king stood upon his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets, &c.* Our translation here again is *stood at his pillar*, but we do not chuse to vary where the text is uniform.

Secondly, Upon this pillar was a sort of alcove, or small gallery, made, as we have hinted above, much in the same shape as our pulpits. This rested on the central point of its convex side, upon the pillar: There the king might either sit or stand, and turn himself about to the temple, altar, or consecration, as he had occasion, as is observed of *Solomon* at the consecration of the temple <sup>i</sup>.

Thirdly, The *Kior* seems to have been covered, as is at present the throne of our kings, and for this reason it was called *Musac*, which may be explained by canopy or cloth of state, this third part denominating the two first.

BUT it is not easy to conceive for what reason, to the idea of covering, is joined that of *Sabbath*. The word *Sabbath* properly is rest, and figuratively the solemn day on which one did rest. If you take it in the first sense, it must only be understood that the *Musac* covered the place where the king rested, or sat down (1), every one else standing <sup>g</sup>: if you take it in the second sense, it may imply that the *Kior*, or throne, was covered with the *Musac*, or cloth of state, only on the last day

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xi. 14.

xxxiv. 31.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. xx. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Ubi sup. ver. 3:

<sup>x</sup> עַמֻּד אֶל עַמֻּד Homed al-hamoud.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. vi. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. xxiii. 13.

<sup>y</sup> 1 Kings xxiii. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Ubi sup. ver. 12.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Kings viii. 14.

<sup>z</sup> 2 Chron.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings xix. 14.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. vi. 3, 12, 13.

(1) The seventy interpreters seem to have taken it in this sense. For they translate the covert of the

sabbath by τὸ θεμελίον τῆς καθέδρας, the foundation of the chair, or seat.

day of the week, the day of rest or sabbath; and then it was laid up till the next sabbath-day, unless some high festival intervened that required the king's presence in the temple.

It may give some air of probability to this second conjecture to take notice, that the *Musac* was surely a very rich and valuable piece of work, since *Abaz* made use of it with a design to glut the avarice of the king of *Affyria*, whom he had very imprudently called to his aid against the king of *Damascus* <sup>h</sup>.

It will now be proper to shew the agreement between what we have been speaking of, and the *King's entry without*. In order to do this, it will be needful to consider what is written in the New Testament concerning *Solomon's Porch*: Christ used to walk then in the temple <sup>i</sup>, the apostles were all with one accord there also <sup>k</sup>, and all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called *Solomon's* <sup>l</sup>. Now that this king had built such a porch *Josephus* acknowledges <sup>m</sup>, but placeth it eastward, which seems to be an error, unless he meant that it went up eastward, which is true in our opinion. However, the authority of *St. Luke* and *St. John* is sufficient to make us conclude, that among the several pottico's the temple was adorned with in their time, one in particular was looked upon as *Solomon's*. A sure sign that it was supposed he had built one, which sufficeth for our purpose.

We shall not here undertake to describe exactly the structure, nor even the situation of that built by *Solomon*. It only appears in general, that it might reach or extend itself from the gate, where ended the terrais by which the king went up from his palace to the temple, and that it was carried forwards in a strait line as far as over-against the *Musac*; but then to go to the *Musac* joining to the wall of the court of priests, one must turn to the left, and that turning will precisely be the *Mebo*, or *King's entry*. It is to be supposed the porch from the gate *Shallecheth*, as far as this entry, might be a common passage for the use of the publick as well as of the king; but from the turning to the throne, as has already been observed, it was the king's entry properly so called; which consequently was adorned and enriched much more magnificently than the rest. For which reason *Abaz* made use of it, as well as of the covert of the sabbath, to buy the assistance of the king of *Affyria*. Not that we are to think that *Abaz* destroyed the whole building, which was not necessary; but as we read of *Hezekiah* <sup>n</sup>, that he cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which he had over-laid, and gave it to the king of *Affyria*, now the same did *Abaz*, taking away a portion out of the house of the Lord <sup>o</sup>, viz. The king's entry and covert for the Sabbath, just as *Hezekiah* did the rest abovesaid.

BUT what may be of more weight in this enquiry is, that this hypothesis of the situation of the *Musac*, or royal throne, will clear up a circumstance in *Joab's* inauguration, otherwise very difficult to be understood <sup>p</sup>. It is well known that that prince, by *Jeboiada's* means, having been proclaimed in the temple, the noise was heard by *Atbaliab* in her palace; upon which she in haste ran to the temple by the terrais walk, which for her, was the readiest and shortest way (K). She went

<sup>h</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 7. <sup>i</sup> John x. 23. <sup>k</sup> Acts v. 12. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. iii. 11. <sup>m</sup> Antiq. lib. xx. c. 8. p. 899. & B. I. lib. v. c. 5. p. 1225. <sup>n</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 16. <sup>o</sup> 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. <sup>p</sup> 2 Kings xi. — 2 Chron. xxviii.

(K) We confess no place of scripture gives the situation of this palace, so as to fix it exactly. However, it is probable, the ground it stood upon was called the *middle city*, as we have it in the margin of our translation, though in the text, *middle court* (66). The truth of which is, what is written in the Hebrew, called, *ketib*, is *בָּהִיר* *bahir*, the city; but what is read according to the *Masorites*, called *keri*, is *בָּזֵר* *bazer*, or *chazer*, a court. Now supposing, as is likely, the true reading to be *bahir*, this shews where the palace stood; for nothing could well be called the *middle city*, but what had westward the top of mount *Sion*, whereon was

built the higher city, or city of *David*. And then at the foot of this mount, on a plain, or level surface to the east, you meet with the palace of *Solomon*, though not in a low place; for to the north; a large valley lay betwixt it and the temple, standing itself upon that other hillock called *Moriab*. Further it does appear (67), the place stood in the eastern part of *Jerusalem*, where was the court of the prison, the water-gate, and the horse-gate that led to the palace; whose front looked up to the temple; both places having an easy communication by the celebrated terrais, or ascent, of which before.

(66) 2 Kings xx. 4. (67) *Nebem*, iii. 25 — 28. Conf. 2 Kings xi. 16. & 2 Chron. xxiii. 15.

went in at the gate *Shallebeth*, and crossed what we have called the portico, or porch of *Solomon*, at least that part of the court, where stood in arms the *Levites*, according to the directions of the high-priest<sup>q</sup>. They seeing the queen, but having no particular orders concerning her, did let her advance, so that she drew nearer; and coming as far as the *King's entry*, or directly over against it, it is said, *See looked, and behold the king stood upon his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king.*—Then *Ataliab* rent her clothes, and said, *Treason! Treason!* Hereupon the high-priest, *Jeboiada*, ordered the commanding officers to *haze her forth of the ranges*<sup>r</sup>; which, according as their armed *Levites* were posted, could not more conveniently and with greater surety be done, than in opening the ranks towards the gate of *Asuppim*, which was over-against the king's entry to the south (L). By this gate then *Ataliab* was thrust out of the temple immediately, and the better to hinder her from returning to her palace, they conducted her towards the fields, through the eastern gate of *Jerusalem*, called *Miphkad*, or prison gate<sup>s</sup>, then turning to the right by the corner<sup>x</sup>, down to the horse-gate<sup>v</sup>, eastward of the palace, thereabouts she was killed. Soon after, the high-priest brought the king from the temple to the palace, by the way of the gate of the guard (M), and thence through the great or high gate of that palace<sup>z</sup>. This we reckon is the true sense; though some would understand by this high gate, a gate of the temple; but there was no such gate in the temple till the reign of *Jotham*, of whom it is said in express terms\*, *He built the high gate of the house of the Lord*; which is generally taken to be that towards the east (N). But let this suffice, possibly have we launched out too far, and ventured upon too many conjectures; but we hope the reader will do us the justice to acknowledge we have kept our word, in carefully distinguishing between probable opinions and things of greater certainty.

I beg leave to conclude the whole with one remark. It is allowed that the main scope of the sacred writings was not so much to satisfy our vain curiosity, as to inspire us with the love of all christian virtues; and therefore, though we may justly expect, that every thing which relates to this latter, which is the essential of religion, should be delivered with all possible clearness, it would be absurd to expect the same satisfaction about the former. Those less important points, many of which are well worth enquiring after, make a branch of christian philology, in which every man being forced to supply the want of evidence with probable conjectures, is intitled to differ from others, whenever he thinks his own better grounded. But though in points like this I have been upon, it be almost lawful to err, yet those are more excusable who keep a constant regard to the sacred original above all things, than those who manifestly depart from it to follow their own fancies, or the fabulous accounts of the *Jews*. Now as I have drawn the greatest part of my light from the former, I am sensible that those who have been conversant with all the pompous descriptions we have extant, will be surpris'd to find this of mine  
come

<sup>q</sup> Kings ubi sup. ver. 5, 11. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. 14. <sup>s</sup> Chron. ubi sup. ver. 13. <sup>t</sup> Kings ubi sup. 15. & Chron. ubi sup. 15. <sup>u</sup> Nehem. iii. 31. xii. 3, 9. <sup>x</sup> Jerem xxxi. 40. <sup>y</sup> 2 Kings xi. 16. <sup>z</sup> Chron. xxiii. 15. Nehem. iii. 28. <sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. xxiii. 20. <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings xv. 35. & 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

(L) Being divided in three parts, the *Levites* had three different posts joining to one another (68); one third part was to guard the *King's house*, or apartment, next to the temple, southward; another to be at the gate of *Sur*, or *turning*, which seems to be that of *Asuppim*, whereat the king turned to his throne. It is indeed called by another name, but very like it in the *Hebrew*, viz. the gate of *Sippim*, where our version has doors or thresholds. The last was at the gate *beyond the guard*, or *runners* (69), which seems to be that of *Shallebeth*. For the king coming to the temple through this gate, any one may see that there was their proper station in the avenue. It is also called the gate of *foundation*, because of the *projecture* there made with the terrais, as has been observed.

(M) So says the first of the sacred historians (70), meaning, as we take it, the gate that before has been called *the gate beyond the guard*, viz. *Shallebeth*, or south-western gate. But if one had rather, that the gate of the guard, here, which is somewhat different from the other, should signify the same with the high gate in *Chronicles*, where the guard of the king's house stood; this will make no variation in the main: for as it is rightly supposed to have been in the front of the palace, it was the first gate they met with coming from the *Lord's* to the *King's house* over the terrais, or ascent.

(N) This we do remark, because *Ezekiel* (71) speaks of the *higher gate that lieth toward the north*, the same it seems, with that which *Jeremy* (72) calls the *high gate of Benjamin*, which was *בֵּית הַבְּתֵל* *bebeth, in or by the house of the LORD*.

(68) See 2 Kings xi. 5, &c. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, &c. (69) See of them, 2 Sam. xv. 8. 1 Kings i. 5. xiv. 27. (70) 2 Kings xi. 19. (71) Cap. in. 2. (72) Cap. xx. 2.

come so vastly short of the boasted magnificence of that sacred building. But here I desire it may be remembered, that as this was designed to contain no more than could be met with, or fairly deduced from the sacred writings, so the reader will at least reap this benefit from it, that he will now be better able to judge what is, or is not, authentick in other plans of this structure, than he could have been without it.

### A Description of JERUSALEM.

**A**FTER the account we have given of the holy city's greatest ornament, the Temple of SOLOMON, we have thought it would not be unacceptable, for a more comprehensive view of the whole, to subjoin a description of the city itself, according to the sacred historians.

It is a general supposition, though, as we presume, without any solid argument to support it, that *Melchisedek's Salem* stood in the same place, where afterwards was built the city, the subject of our present enquiry (A). We will not, at this time, undertake to decide the question, but shall only take notice of the habitations of the *Canaanites*, who dwelt here and in the adjacent parts, being called *Je-* Its Origin and Names.  
*bus* and *Jebusi*<sup>a</sup>. David having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of which was their strong hold, made it his place of residence<sup>b</sup>, and this is commonly called *Zion*, or the city of David<sup>c</sup>. Under *Solomon* the name of *Jerusalem* either first began, or first got the better of the other; but there being no sure reason assigned for this, nor any determined signification affixed to the name (B), we will dwell no longer upon these uncertainties, but enter into the matter in hand, by considering *Jerusalem*.

In regard to its holiness. We must not imagine this attribute has been given to it Holiness.  
by the rabbies only, or by the legend of the shekels, which is *Jerusalem the holy*<sup>d</sup>. *Isaiah*<sup>e</sup> tells us, that the *Israelites* call themselves of the holy city. *Nebemiah* twice qualifies it by that title<sup>f</sup>, all which doth sufficiently shew it was generally called so. In the new testament<sup>g</sup> the same title is several times given to it. Besides, it is well known that in the *Psalms* it bears the name of *City of God*<sup>h</sup>; in the *Propets*; we read, that it shall be called the *Throne of the Lord*; our Saviour himself calls it the *City of the great king*<sup>k</sup>, as being hallowed and consecrated in a particular manner by God's residence in the temple. The rabbies<sup>l</sup> add, that there was a penalty forbidding the leaving a dead corps in it the space of a night, and that the importation of dead mens bones was unlawful; notwithstanding this, in it were contained the *Tombs* of the royal family<sup>m</sup>. It is further added, by the rabbies, that within its walls were not to be seen gardens, trees, dung, or limekilns, or even cocks. In it no houses were to be let; and this, I think, means only that

<sup>a</sup> Josh. xv. 8. xviii. 28. Jud. xv. 10. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. v. 7. 9. <sup>c</sup> Ps. xlviii. & pass. 1 Chron. xi. 5. <sup>d</sup> ירושלם הקדושה, See above, p. 721. <sup>e</sup> Is. xlviii. 2. <sup>f</sup> Nehem. xi. 1, 18. <sup>g</sup> Matth. iv. 5. & pass. <sup>h</sup> Ps. xlvii. 5. <sup>i</sup> Jerem. iii. 17. coll. Ezek. xxxviii. 35. Joel iii. 17. Zach. viii. 3. <sup>k</sup> Matth. v. 35. coll. Ps. xlviii. 3. <sup>l</sup> In Gemara Bava Kama & libro Siphra ap. REZARD. <sup>m</sup> Vid. JOSEPH. Ant. vii. p. 331. fin. conf. Nehem. iii. 16.

(A) What is generally alledged, that the tabernacle was in *Salem* (1), proves only that it was the shortened or abridged name of that city, like that of *Solyma*. Some even have said *Solymus* for *Hierosolymitanus* (2).

*Solyms nigrantem pulvere fratrem.*

(B) ירושלים according to the pronunciation of *Majorites*, *Jeroushalaim*; but to that of the *Chaldæes*, in holy writ, *Jeroushelem*; which is much the same as the *Greek* ἱερουσαλὴμ, and our *Jerusalem*. This word, in all likelihood, is compounded and derived from *Shalem*, or *Shalum*, peace; and, as several are of opinion, from *jarah*, to fear; or *raab*, to see; or *jarah*, to inherit or possess; or from *Jeru*, altered from *Jebus*, by a mutation of letters. We read in *Josephus* (3), that by some it was thought *Homer*

had called this city *Solyms*; and that truly the Temple was called, in *Hebrew*, *Solyms*, i. e. safety, or security. St. *Jerom* lays this to the *Jewish* historian's charge in very hard words (4); and, as it seems, with some just ground. For, in another place, the same historian (5) tells us, that *Melchisedek* was the first that built the temple *re iser*; and that after he had built it, he called it *isposolyma*, which was before named *solyma*: Where that strange etymology is again seen; not to mention other gross errors, which give us room to think this passage is very much falsified (6). This may have happened to several other, which, it is to be hoped, will be restored by Mr. *Whiston*, in the translation he intends to publish.

(1) Ps. lxxvi. 3. (2) VALER. FLAV. lib. 1. Argonaut. (3) Ant. vii. p. 287. (4) Quod absurdum esse peregrinæ linguæ mixtura demonstrat. De Loc. Hebr. (5) Bell. Jud. vi. p. 1292. (6) Conf. above temple, p. 1. A.

that the inhabitants were obliged to exercise hospitality by entertaining their brethren, on whom it was incumbent to resort from all parts to *Jerusalem* on the days of the great *Festivals* (C).

Extent.

It is no easy matter precisely to determine the *extent* of this city in its different changes. Its most antient state of perfection was under the flourishing reign of its founder's successor, I mean *Solomon*; in whose time this city, before embellished by his father *David*, appeared in its greatest lustre and beauty, and there is no great likelihood that it was enlarged by those that came after him. The general and indeterminate descriptions, to be found in the authors of those times, will not permit us, as we have just now hinted, to settle with any exactness the bounds of it. We will however venture to suppose its circumference, at first, to have been about seven or eight *Stadia*, or a *Roman Mile*. It was certainly twice, or probably three times as large under *Solomon*. After the *Captivity*, this city being rebuilt, took up much the same space as before; as may be gathered from *Nehemiah's* description of the ruins of the city, and its condition after it was repaired. This description of *Nehemiah* we shall take particular notice of, and at the same time shall not let that of *Josephus* pass unheeded. According to this historian, the whole circumference of *Jerusalem* was 33 *Stadia*\*, which is about four *Miles* and 125 *Paces*. But *Hecateus*, who has described it such as it was in his time, under *Ptolemy Lagus*†, gives it no less than 50 *Stadia*‡, probably including the *out-parts*, which properly did not belong to it; for there is no reason to believe, that there was any considerable decrease, from the time of *Hecateus* to that of *Josephus*, so that we must stand to the measure of the last of these: we will only add, that *Hecateus's* assertion, that there was in *Jerusalem* one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, is very probable (D).

Situation.

THE situation of this capital city of *Judea* has always been extremely advantageous. The agreeable variety of rising grounds with which it was encompassed\*, the fruitful meadows that lay between, interspersed with clear rivulets, and wholesome streams†; the hills on which it stood, which rose gradually one behind another, and looked like a natural *Amphitheater*, made up as pleasing and delightful a prospect as can well be conceived.

OF these hills the two largest, *Zion* and *Acra*, were directly opposite to each other; on *Morija*, whose compass might be about three quarters of a mile, *Solomon* built the temple. Of the two first we will take a more distinct view, beginning by mount *Zion*.

THIS hill, as has already been shewn‡, bounded to the south the whole circumference, and reached from west to east. The western side was highest, and bounded by the valley of *Hinnom* (E) as the eastern by that of *Jebozababai*§, which, it

\* Cap. ii. iii. & xii. † Bell. Jud. vi. 4. cui tit. *Ἰεροσολύμων περιεγραφή*, p. 1221. ‡ Ibid. p. 1223, No. iii. § Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. \* Apud Joseph. c. Anton. p. 1348. ה'סבוב לה' ה'י' שלם Pf. cxxxv. 2. † 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4. ‡ See above Temple, descript. p. 977. § Joel iii. 2.

(C) Of this some have thought an imitation seems to be given in the gospel (7), where Christ will have a room made ready for him to eat the passover.

(D) His words are, *ἡ οὐκὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων σφραγισμένη μυριάς*, twelve myriads; now a myriad is 10,000; and 120,000 inhabitants may seem rather too few for such an extent as had *Jerusalem* of four miles. We see that in the siege perished, according to *Josephus* (8), 1100,000 men, *μυριάδες ἑκατὸν καὶ δεκά*; besides 97,000 taken prisoners during the war; and that this may gain more credit *Josephus* adds, as an undoubted proof, that in *Cleopas's* enrollment on *Easter-day* were reckoned 255,600 lambs. Now there was not less than ten men to each lamb; so that the number of those that were purified according to the law, besides the rest, must have been two millions, five hundred and fifty six thousand.

(E) *ה'נ'נ' ג'ס' binnom*, so it is called (9) in *Yagha*, where *Hinnom* is a man's name. In another

place (10) it is the valley of the sons, or children of *Hinnom*; and it is said, that in this valley was *Tophet*, where the children were made to pass thro' the fire in honour to *Molech*. Upon this account it is thought, this place took its name from the tears the children shed whilst burning, and from the noise of the drums which were kept beating, in order to drown their shrieks. But the text in *Yagha* shews, that the valley did bear this name long before it was put to such an use, if ever it was put to it at all. At least if we believe *Maimon*, and other rabbies, the children were made to pass through the flame only, as being, by that ceremony, consecrated to the idol (11). However, in later times, the carrion was thrown into this valley (12); and, when it did not wait away fast enough, frequently burnt. This has given room to fix upon the word *Greena*, (which represents in *Greek* and *Latin* the Hebrew word) the notion of hell fire (13).

(7) Matth. xxvi. 17. (8) De Bell. Jud. lib. ult. p. 1291. (9) *Yagha* xv. 8. (10) 2 Kings xxiii. 10. (11) Seld. de Diis Syris, Syn. i. cap. 6. (12) 2 Kings xvi. sup. (13) Matth. x. 21, 29. & 30, pass.

it is thought, joined the other towards the south<sup>w</sup>. Here were several springs, particularly that of *Gibon*<sup>\*</sup>, or *Shiloh*<sup>†</sup>, which ran very plentifully with exceeding good water (F). To the north, *Zion* had another valley that lined it from one end to the other, named by *Josephus*<sup>‡</sup> the valley of the *Cheesemongers*; probably the same as that distinguished in *Zephaniab*<sup>§</sup> by the epithet of the *Maltbesh* (G), translated by the Septuagint τῆς κατακεκομμένης, *that was cut into*, or made hollow (H).

*Acra* (I), with the said valley to the south, stood to the north of *Zion*; its declivity was equal on every side, as *Josephus* says; and we cannot give a better idea of these two hills, nor of the valley between them, than he who had so often seen them. According to this historian<sup>¶</sup>, *Jerusalem* was built upon the two hills, *Zion* and *Acra*, directly opposite one to another, and separated by the valley of the *Cheesemongers*. The first was higher, and its length formed a much straiter line than the second. Upon it, that is *Zion*, stood the *high city*, in the author's time called the *high market-place*. The *lower city* stood upon *Acra*, but before that, bore other names, as hath been already observed in the description of the temple<sup>||</sup>.

LET US now examine these mountains, in relation to their different wards or quarters, streets and publick places, as well as palaces, and most remarkable buildings.

THE principal quarter was called the *city of David*<sup>\*</sup>, on the top of mount *Zion*, *Ward*, towards the west. This was a fortification which enclosed that king's palace; and it is likely that near this, afterwards, stood that of *Herod*, which served as a citadel<sup>†</sup>. To the west of the fort was מִצְפָּה *Mizpah*, or *Maspha*, according as the Hebrew word is differently pronounced; but this is not the knotty part of the question: the difficulty would be to prove that *Mizpah* was a part of *Jerusalem*, it being sure that near it was a small town that bore that name<sup>‡</sup>. These are the words of *Nebemiah*<sup>§</sup>, *Shallum of Colbozeb*, ruler of the פֶּלֶס *Pelec* of *Mizpah*, repaired the gate of the fountain. Now *Pelec* in Hebrew is a staff<sup>||</sup>, and so may signify a district, ward, or quarter, subject to a particular jurisdiction or inspection, in the same manner as שֵׁבֶט *Shebet*, a rod, signifies a tribe. The *Chaldee* dialect makes use of *Pelac*, and נִכְדָּה *Pileca*, in the same sense as is here given to *Pelec*. The *Arabians* give this name, which they pronounce *Felec*, to a sphere; so that it would be a pretty good translation of παροιμία *Parish*, as it denotes the neighbourhood round about. The *Septuagint* translate it here *part*, or *portion*; but every where else in this chapter it is a περιχωρος *circumference of land*, a district of more or less extent. The *Latin* word *Vicus* bears the same sense, and is made use of in the *Vulgate*; though in this place, speaking of *Mizpah*, that translation has *Pagus*, and in another place *Pars*; so uncertain it is to trust to translations, how useful soever they may be when compared together. However, I shall venture to say that *Mizpah* was

<sup>w</sup> Kimhi in Loc. \* 1 Kings i. 33. ‡ Chron. xxxii. 30. † Isai. viii. 6. Joan. ix. 7. ‡ Ubi sup. in Ecphrafi. † Chap. i. ver. 11. ‡ Ubi sup. in Ecphrafi. † Ibid. † Vid. ubi sup. p. iii. ‡ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Nehem. xii. 37. † Bell. Jud. p. 1230. ‡ Jerem. xl. 10. † Nehem. iii. 15. † 2 Sam. iii. 29.

(F) Πηγὴν γλυκείαν τε καὶ πολλὰν are the words of *Josephus* (18). Others have thought that *Shiloh* was a rivulet of *Gibon*, and it is true that that word signifies *font*, according to the etymology given of it in the gospel (19); where it is also called pool.

(G) Which word signifies a mortar, or any hollow thing. Thus the מִכְשֵׁל בְּלִי, which so seasonably refreshed *Samson's* thirst, is universally rendered the hollow of the rock *lechi*, so called from its resemblance to a jaw-bone, or from the slaughter he had made with it there (20).

(H) In the same manner, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27. *babbor*, (in our translation a pit, in which *Benajah*, in time of snow, *slew a lion*) literally the pit, was probably a known place, so named from its cavity and hollow-ness, and may very well be the deep valley here mentioned. What seems to favour this conjecture is, that *Benajah* was one of *David's* mighty men, or

captains. Now, it is very possible, that he being upon duty at the gate of the city of *David* on mount *Zion*, and hearing in the valley, at the foot of the palace, the roaring of a lion, whom want of food, in time of snow, had brought thither, desirous of signaling himself by so singular an action, immediately went down, encountered and destroyed the hungry rapacious beast.

(I) This name seems to be borrowed from the Greek ἀκρᾶ, an eminence; and sometimes a citadel, or fortrels (21). It is well known that there was one built upon this hill by *Antiochus*, and afterwards laid even to the ground by *Simon* (22). And to this reason it must be ascribed, that *Acra* has been since distinguished by that name. Notwithstanding the *Targum* (23) makes sometimes use of this expression, the *Acra*; that is, the *Citadel* of *Zion*.

(18) Bell. Jud. v. p. 1222. (19) John ix. 7. (20) Judg. xv. 17, & seq. (21) Maccab. i. 35. (22) See JOSEPH. Antiq. xii. c. xiii. (23) On 2 Sam. v. 7.



was one of the quarters of *Jerusalem*, and that it was divided into two parts; that we are speaking of, to the west, and the other, where stood the *Arsenal*, and where *Ezra* was ruler <sup>k</sup>, to the east of the fortress.

ANOTHER quarter, divided into two parts, bears the name of *Jerusalem*<sup>l</sup>, which had two rulers, each of half a quarter. This is the part which *Josephus* <sup>m</sup> calls the *City*, with respect to the citadel, and both together made the upper city. There were three other quarters, which, it seems, might be looked for in *Acra*, viz. *Beibakerem*, *Betbzur*, and *Keilah*.

As for the *Streets*, in Hebrew הרצות *Hbouzith* <sup>n</sup>, all we know concerning those of *Jerusalem*, at that time, is, that as there was one bearing the name of *Haophim*, i. e. *Baker's street* <sup>o</sup>; so there might be others which bore the names of some other trades; thus the valley, in *Josephus's* time, was called *Tyropæon* <sup>p</sup>.

רחוב *Rebob* properly is an open place (K); in the *Reboboth*, according to *Ezekiel* <sup>q</sup>, were built the high places. In the book of *Esther* <sup>r</sup>, an officer of the king of *Persia* goes out to *Mordecai* in the *Rebob* of the town, over-against the gate of the palace, which seems to have been made use of by the courtiers to walk in. In the *Rebob* of *Jerusalem* <sup>s</sup>, *Ezekiab* assembled his generals, and made a speech to them. The people were gathered together by *Ezra* <sup>t</sup> in a *Rebob* of the temple, and the priests and levites by *Ezekiab* <sup>u</sup> in the eastern *Rebob*; we must suppose these two to have been parts of the vacant space that surrounded the courts of the temple. Lastly, there was a *Rebob* near the water-gate <sup>w</sup>, which must have been vastly large, since it contained all the people of both sexes, that flocked thither from all parts, in order to hear *Ezra* read the law, upon a scaffold, or stage, erected upon this occasion at one end of the place, in such a manner that *Ezra* had the whole assembly facing him.

If we have not yet taken notice of מלוא *Millo*, it is because we do not find it in scripture distinguished by any of the abovementioned names, or indeed by any other name than *Millo*. When *David* took from the *Jebusites* the top of mount *Zion*, he then built round about from *Millo* and inwards, says the text of *Samuel* <sup>x</sup>, where it is easy to understand, a castle was built on this mount, surrounded with strong walls, and probably of a circular form. Now this building had on the east what is called *Millo*, and on the other sides was bounded by the hill itself; insomuch that the city of *David* was within mount *Zion* on the north, west and south, but was bordered eastwards by *Millo* (L). Although it is said in the text <sup>y</sup> *Solomon* built it, yet the context shews that he only made an end of it, or repaired it; and as much did *Hezekiab* in his time <sup>z</sup>. Who the first was that built it, we do not know; but it seems to have been a work of the *Jebusites*, whose government was almost a *Democracy*, like that at *Athens*.

FOR this reason, and from what is said in scripture, there would be no absurdity in supposing it to have been a spacious open place, such as the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*, where the people met for their recreation, on festival and other rejoicing

<sup>k</sup> Nehem. iii. 19. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. 9, & 12. <sup>m</sup> Antiq. xiv. p. 613. <sup>n</sup> Prov. vii. 12. <sup>o</sup> Jerem. xxxvii. 21. <sup>p</sup> See before, p. xvii. <sup>q</sup> Ezek. xvi. 24. <sup>r</sup> Esther iv. 6. <sup>s</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. <sup>t</sup> Ezra x. 9. <sup>u</sup> 2 Chron. xxix. 4. <sup>w</sup> Nehem. viii. 1. 4. Add the *Rebob* of the gate *Ephraim*, ibid. 16. <sup>x</sup> 2 Sam. v. 9. coll. 1 Chron. xi. 8. <sup>y</sup> Vid. 1 Kings x. 15, 24. & xi. 27. <sup>z</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

(K) The root רחב doth signify to enlarge itself; so that *Rebob* is literally a large place, and is made use of to signify the place, or square, of a town. *Judges* xix. 15.

(L) Without doubt *Millo* doth signify something either full, or to be filled; at least this may be deduced from the two Hebrew words that come nearest to it, *Nelo* fullness, and *Miluab* beazel, or collet, in which are inclosed precious stones. So *Moses*, receiving orders about the breast-plate, is bid to fill the beazel, *Miluab*, with a stone (24), that the stones shall be set in gold in their inclosings (25), and that they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their inclosings *bemiluabam* (26). So then *Millo* was something filled up; and this we are very ready to allow, for, to make it fit for the use we have

been speaking of, it was required, that in some places this spot of ground should be made level, and in others filled up, in order to its being uniform and of a piece. This derivation surely favours our opinion more than any other; and we might add to this, that it is very likely this was the place where afterwards stood the *Xystus* (27), a large place where the *Athlets* did exercise. And as such a place was also called *παιδίσκος*, from the runnings there round about, it hath been apprehended an *Hippodrome* was there for horse-races; which is not improbable. However, it very much resembling what we have said of *Millo*, it may also be, that the first inhabitants may have given it this name from its being a place of general concourse, and so filled up with numbers of people of all sorts.

(24) *Exod.* xxviii. 17. (25) *Ibid.* 21. (26) *Ibid.* xxxix. 13. (27) *Jos. in Ephraim* 1222.

rejoicing days, or about private or publick affairs. It may be placed at the foot of the city of *David*, going to the valley between *Zion* and *Acra*, in the centre of the whole circumference of *Jerusalem*. Others imagine it to be a *Street*, beginning at the steps of the city of *David*, and reaching as far as *Acra*, or *Morijab*; or else a *Wall* along the valley between the two hills; and lastly, the *Valley* itself. But this seems less probable than what we at first hinted.

LET us next visit the publick buildings in *Zion*: The first that offers itself is the *Building*, *Palace* of king *David*, on the top of the mount in the midst of a fortress<sup>a</sup>. There was a flight of steps to go up to it<sup>b</sup>; to the north of these steps, or stairs, stood the *Tomb of David*, of which *Josephus* tells many wonderful stories at the end of the seventh book of his antiquities. At the bottom of the steps was the house of *the Mighty*<sup>c</sup>. This, in my opinion, served as a guard-house to the palace, or at least was the station of some chief commanders, without whose leave no one was permitted to go up to the house; such as we suppose the thirty-one worthies<sup>d</sup>, among which was *Uriah the Hittite*.

NEXT was the *Arsenal*, or *Armoury*<sup>e</sup>, at the turning of the wall<sup>f</sup>, in *Hebrew* called *Mikzoab* (M); but the *Arsenal* itself, by a compendious expression, or way of speaking, was called חַנְשֶׁק *Hanneshek*, for *Neshek* is a weapon, or arms. The word *baith*, a house, must therefore be understood.

NOT far from the *Arsenal*, and more towards the middle of the city was, if not the palace of a high-priest, at least a *pontifical palace*, then in the possession of *Eliashib*<sup>g</sup>. *Nebemiab* mentions it only occasionally, when he speaks of the repairs of the walls of the city; but even from the little that is said of it, we may gather that it was a spacious building. Lower, at a very little distance, we find the house of *Azariah*, a man of distinction of the tribe of *Benjamin*<sup>h</sup>. But it is time to come to the *Palace* or *Palaces*.

AND here the books of *Kings* do indeed mention three houses built by *Solomon*; the first they call the house where he dwelt<sup>i</sup>; the second, the house of the forest of *Lebanon*; and the third was that which he made for *Pharaoh's* daughter<sup>k</sup>; but this last I take to have been only a spacious apartment (N) added to the first house, whose situation it is not very difficult to fix. For on one side, this palace was almost parallel to the *water-gate*<sup>l</sup>, and on the other, there was a communication between it and the temple, by means of the *terras* built by *Solomon* over the *valley*<sup>m</sup>. I am apt to think that the second was a summer-retirement, since we have it upon record that *Solomon* built it in the forest<sup>n</sup>. But yet I would not contradict those who are of opinion, that it was only another wing, or apartment of the palace, which very probably took its name from the cedars of *Lebanon*, that may be supposed to have been the chief material employed in it<sup>o</sup>.

THE following consideration adds a great deal of weight to this side of the question, viz. That in this house<sup>p</sup> were placed the targets and shields of beaten gold; for the distance from *Lebanon* to *Jerusalem* would have made it very troublesome to bring them up whenever they were wanted, besides the risk of being taken, to which such costly armour would have been exposed by the way; and indeed they were carried away by *Sibbak* when he came up against the city<sup>q</sup>.

NOT far from this palace, I think, was the *Mattara*, translated *Prison*<sup>r</sup>; but if it was one, it was only like the *Tower of London*, or like our courts of law, or even the main *corps-de-garde* at the avenues of the palace. For in the court of this *Mattara*, *Jeremiab* was confined; but at the same time was allowed a good deal of liberty,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. v. 11. <sup>b</sup> Nehem. iii. 15. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. 16. <sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. xxviii. 3. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. 39.  
<sup>f</sup> Nehem. iii. 19. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. 20. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. 23. <sup>i</sup> 1 Kings vii. 1, 8. <sup>j</sup> Ibid. 2. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. 8.  
<sup>l</sup> Nehem. iii. <sup>m</sup> 1 Kings vi. <sup>n</sup> Ibid. ix. 19. <sup>o</sup> 2 Chron. viii. 6. <sup>p</sup> See before, p. 799. Not.  
<sup>q</sup> O. <sup>r</sup> 1 Kings x. 17. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. xiv. 25, 26. <sup>t</sup> Nehem. iii. 25. coll. Jerem. xxxii. 2.

(M) חֲזָקָה is properly the opening of an angle, which consequently forms a space; but פִּנָּה *Pinnab* is the point of an angle, or, as it is called by artists, a *salient angle*; so the wall had a turning out here, and this justifies the translation; and any one may see that it formed a corner, or open place, in the interior angle. For this reason, such an opening in *Ezekiel's* temple is called *Mikzoab*; *Bebold*, says he,

(28) in every חֲזָקָה corner of the court there was a court.

(N) *Beth* is often taken in that sense, as when *Rebekah* runs to her mother's *beth* (29), apartment, or lodging; and so is the house of the women (30) to be understood in the book of *Ester*; the said house probably not being separate from the king's, but part of it.

(28) *Ezek. xlvi. 21.*

(29) *Gen. xxiv. 28.*

(30) *Ester. ii. 9.*

liberty, since it was here he made the purchase of an estate in presence of several witnesses who signed the deed of agreement, and of all the Jews that lived there <sup>c</sup>. We read moreover <sup>d</sup>, that afterwards the prophet was taken as he went out of Jerusalem by the gate of Benjamin, and put in prison (O) in the house of *Jonathab* the scribe, from whence, by *Zedekiah's* order, he was transferred to the *Mattara*, where <sup>e</sup> he prophesied in the hearing of all the people. For this, at the request of some of the great men, he was thrown into a dungeon full of soil, where sinking into the mire, and in want of all things, he would soon have perished, had not the king, at the entreaty of a pious *Ethiopian* proselyte, given orders for his being taken out again. The prophet remained in the above-mentioned court till the taking of Jerusalem <sup>f</sup>.

ALL this sufficiently shews the *Mattara* to have been different from a prison commonly so called. This appears clearly enough; but it is not so easy to determine the situation of this building, although it seems *Nebemiah* has undertaken to describe it exactly; and if to us he does not appear to have so well succeeded in it, the fault lies neither at his door, nor at that of the language he wrote in, but to its being a dead language, many expressions of which are not so familiar to us as to be perfectly intelligible. However, *Nebemiah*, as I understand him, says <sup>g</sup>, "That *Palat* repaired the wall of Jerusalem, over-against the turning of the wall, and the tower belonging to the king's house, the high tower (P) that was by the court of *Mattara*."

HERE are two distinct indications of the reparations made by *Palat* in the wall; one near the turning of the wall going up to the water-gate, the other near the adjoining tower; and the situation of this tower is specified as well by its distinguishing height, as by its relation to the palace, and the neighbourhood of the court in question. So that to fix this to a point, we must look upon these buildings as being within the verge of the court, and under the immediate cognizance of king *Solomon* and his successors. Men were there entirely under their protection, neither could they be meddled with without the king's express orders; although it was by their orders only, they were restrained within the bounds of these buildings.

WE are now come to buildings much less remarkable for their dignity, magnificence, or embellishments; but whose situation cannot well be omitted in the particular description we are about; I mean the station or post of the *Nethinims* <sup>h</sup>: It is said indeed they dwelt in *Opbel*, eastward, near the valley; but their מושב *Moshab*, or dwelling, should not, we presume, be confounded with their house, בית *Beth*, or, as in our version, their place. Then followed the hall, or place of the merchants or retailers, *Harosbelim* <sup>i</sup>, who, I believe, are the same as the *Collybistæ*, or money-changers <sup>j</sup>, a sort of dealers very useful at the gate of the temple, where abundance of strangers resorted from all parts. But northward stood the house of the governor, supposed by some to be *Nebemiah*, and named in Hebrew, *Kisse-pakbatb*. This house was in *Acra*, near the gate of *Ephraim*. Our translation has the throne of the governor, and it might be called his court; it was like the *Roman Prætorium*, and had in it a tribunal, or a seat, which properly is what is meant by the Hebrew כִּסֵּה *Kisse* <sup>k</sup>. This too is the primitive signification of *Throne* in Greek, from whence that word in our language is derived.

LITTLE

<sup>c</sup> Jerem. xxxiii. 12.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. xxxvii. 12.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xxxviii. 1.    <sup>f</sup> Ibid. 28.    <sup>g</sup> Ubi sup. ii. 25.    <sup>h</sup> Nehem. iii. 26, 31.    <sup>i</sup> Ibid.    <sup>j</sup> Matth. xxi. 12. and parall. in Mark and John.    <sup>k</sup> Nehem. iii. 17. Vid. MURSTAD in loc.

(O) It is called בית האסור *Beth haesour*, house of binding; otherwise it is called *Beth כלא kele* (31), the house of detaining; and in such a house we see *Micaiah* the prophet (32), a king of Israel named *Hosheah* (33), and the king of Judah, *Jehoiachin* (34); and this place did bear so frightful an aspect, as to make the prophet think it would soon cause his death (35).

(P) In our translation this is called the tower which lieth out from the king's high house. In Hebrew that epithet, the high, is more properly construed, we should think, with the word tower. The Septuagint has accordingly ἀνωτάτος, which necessarily

refers to πύργος, not ἄλυσ, in their text. Besides, to lay out or project from a thing, according to the letter, is in the sense, as we express it, belonging to the same (36). But though it be well susceptible of this sense, when joined to that sequel of the king's house, this phrase may well admit of another signification, when without it; and this signification we then take to be that of a great extent (37); so as the *Mattara*, its court included, being called by the name of this high tower, that set it off exceedingly, was, it seems, a long series of buildings and walls, distant about fifty paces on the west side of the water-gate.

(31) Jerem. xxxvii. 15.    (32) 1 Kings xxii. 27. & pass.    (33) Ibid.    (34) 2 Kings xvii. 4.    (35) Jerem. xxxviii. 26.    (36) Vid. Habbae. 7.    (37) Jerem. xxviii. 15.

LITTLE is said concerning the walls of the city; but that little which is said we will here put together: 'Tis well known, after David had taken the strong hold of <sup>b</sup> Zion, he called it the city of David, and dwelt in that fort (Q), having built round about from Millo and inward<sup>c</sup>. Afterwards Solomon built the wall of Jerusalem<sup>d</sup>, which took in all the eastern part at least: However the king of Israel brake down the wall of Jerusalem, from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate<sup>e</sup>. This is the wall on the north of Ara, from east to west, according to the position of the gates, as we shall see hereafter; and truly although a broad wall was built there<sup>f</sup>, it was always the weak side of Jerusalem (R).

Of Jotham we read, *On the wall of Ophel he built much*; this lay to the south-east. Of Hezekiah, *He strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, (viz. by Jeash, as above) and another wall without<sup>g</sup>*. So also of Manasseh, *He built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley even to the entering in at the fish-gate, and compassed about Ophel<sup>h</sup>*. Here you have almost the whole circuit of Jerusalem, from south to north by west, and to the south-east. Now to one of these latter buildings the prophet seems to allude, when speaking of the breaches of the city of David, he adds, *the houses of Jerusalem were broken down to fortify the walls<sup>i</sup>*; though it may be also taken for a prophecy of the calamitous times that were to follow. Lastly, it is reported, that when the city was broken up by the Chaldees<sup>k</sup>, the soldiers fled by the two walls by the way of the king's garden, which was on the south, one of these walls being built by David or Solomon, adjoining immediately to the city; and the other, the new one without, by Hezekiah or Manasseh. We read also the army of the Chaldees brake down the wall of Jerusalem round about<sup>m</sup>, which was left till Nebemiah's<sup>n</sup> time with open breaches on every side.

In ancient Jerusalem the gates, שַׁבָּרִים *Shubarim*, were ten in number<sup>o</sup>, viz. five Gates, from west to east by south, and five others by north: Here are their names, as they are to be found in the text and translation;

By south,	1. Dung-gate,	<i>Haaf-poth.</i>
	2. Fountain-gate,	<i>Haain or en.</i>
	3. Water-gate,	<i>Hammajim.</i>
	4. Horse-gate,	<i>Hafoussim.</i>
	5. Prison-gate,	<i>Hanipbkad.</i>
By north,	1. Valley-gate,	<i>Haggai or ge.</i>
	2. Gate of Ephraim,	<i>Ephraim.</i>
	3. Old-gate,	<i>Haishan.</i>
	4. Fish-gate,	<i>Hadaggim.</i>
	5. Sheep-gate.	<i>Hazon.</i>

Now as to that which is called of the valley, the entrance was on the west: By this gate Nebemiah went out of the city, in order to visit the ruins of Jerusalem; he likewise placed himself upon this gate, or upon the wall close to it, when he made the dedication of the re-building of Jerusalem, by a double procession of the people, one half going to the right, or south, the other to the left, or north, in order to come by the east to the temple. As they did not go through this gate, from which they set out, no mention is made of it in the account given of the places through

<sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. v. 7—9. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings ix. 15. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. xiv. 13. <sup>e</sup> Nehem. iii. 8. <sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.  
<sup>g</sup> Ibid. xxxii. 5. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. xxxiii. 14. <sup>i</sup> Isaiah xxii. 9, 10. <sup>k</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 4. Jerem. xxxix. 4.  
<sup>l</sup> Nehem. iii. 15. <sup>m</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 10. <sup>n</sup> Chap. ii. 12, 15. <sup>o</sup> Ibid. conf. iii. & xii.

(Q) When David besieged Zion, the Jebusites said, "Except he took away the blind and the lame, he should not come in thither, thinking David could not come into the fort." The sense of which is not, to be sure, the most obvious at first reading, yet, when well considered, it seems to be, This fort is so strong of itself, that for its defence lame and blind men are sufficient. And to

this strength of the place it is owing that the king promised to make chief or captain the man that would drive these people into the ditch (38).

(R) This Josephus in several places gives to understand (39); and hence it happened that both king Nebuchadnezzar and Titus attacked the city on this side (40).

(38) Vide BOCHART. *Phaleg*. l. iv. c. 36. (39) In *Euphrati*, N<sup>o</sup> 2. ubi de muris. Item ant. p. 448. xiv. 613. & Bell. Jud. 1289. (40) Ubi sup. ant. & Bell. Jud.

through which the processions passed <sup>p</sup>, but only where the particulars are given of the repairing the walls and gates of *Jerusalem* <sup>q</sup>. Neither in this account of the processions is the *horse-gate* mentioned, probably because the rubbish stopped up the passage, which was the reason that they turned to the left to go to the temple. This gate is placed to the east by *Jeremiah* <sup>r</sup>, and it was through it that *Atiabab* went from the temple to the palace: But we must confess it is not so easy to assign the cause for which the *dung-gate* is omitted in this account: However, it is spoken of in the re-building of the wall; and when *Nehemiah* did view the ruins, it is again mentioned by the name of the *dung-port* <sup>s</sup>.

As to the *water-gate* turning to the east <sup>t</sup>, it is likely that it answered the southern part of the palace, by the place or square in which *Ezra* read the law to all the people <sup>u</sup>.

THE *prison-gate* is in *Hebrew* *Mipkad* <sup>w</sup>. This word, which is kept in the translation, signifies *visitation*, and by deduction, *judgment*, *correction*, *ward*, *prison*. It is also called the gate of *Mattara* (S), in our translation *prison gate* <sup>x</sup>. It stood eastward of the palace and city both.

It is plain the gate of *Ephraim* took its name from its joining the highway leading to that tribe. This may serve to ascertain the truth of the situation we have given of the city.

THE *sheep-gate* furnishes us with means of explaining the word *προβατικὴ*, in the gospel according to St. *John* <sup>y</sup>, where our translation has, *there was a pool near the sheep-market*, in the text, and *gate* in the margin, viz. *αγορά*, or *πύλη*. And the translation in the text seems the most probable; for a *sheep-market* was there near the gate of the same name, and seems to have been between the gate and the pool, that of *Bethesda*, on the north-east of the temple (T).

LASTLY, the *fish-gate* <sup>z</sup> did answer to one afterwards built in the new city, and called the *gate of Joppe*, a sea-port on the *Mediterranean*.

THESE we think are all the gates of *Jerusalem*, either as it stood before the captivity, or as after the return from it, it was repaired by *Nehemiah*. It cannot be denied but a few others seem to be mentioned in that space of time; but we take them to be only different names given to those already mentioned. And first, the *corner-gate* <sup>a</sup>, which, in our opinion, must be the same with the old-gate, as may be gathered from *Jeremiah*'s occasionally giving the circuit of *Jerusalem* from the north-east, over-against the temple, [i. e. from the tower of Hananeel] unto the gate of the corner (U), going along to the north-west, where stood the hails

Gareb

<sup>p</sup> Nehem. xii. 38. <sup>q</sup> Ibid. iii. 13. <sup>r</sup> Jer. xxxi. 39. <sup>s</sup> 2 Kings xi. &c. See above. <sup>t</sup> Nehem. xi. 37. <sup>u</sup> Nehem. iii. 4. <sup>w</sup> Ibid. ii. 13. <sup>x</sup> Ibid. iii. 25. viii. 1. <sup>y</sup> Ibid. xii. 31. <sup>z</sup> Nehem. i. 39. <sup>a</sup> Chap. v. 2. <sup>b</sup> Nehem. iii. 12. xii. 39. & al. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 13. <sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

(S) Of the *Mattarah* itself we spoke above, as pretty near the palace that lay northward of it: And what seems to have given the name of either *Mattarah* or *Mipkad* to this gate, is, that those words well agree in their general notions; which reason appears to us more likely, than that the great *Sabbatim* had there his ordinary fittings, it being at least dubious whether at that time this court had any jurisdiction, or even existed. Yet we do not deny but that courts of justice were kept at the gates (41), and therefore prisons might be there also, and houses of correction besides.

(T) Though *Josephus* does not mention it by name, yet he (42) places a pool there, and thereabouts. Mr. *Muundrel* found a large empty basin, of which he gives the following description (43). "It is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and at least eight deep, but void of water. At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up. These some will have to be the five porches in which sat that multitude of lame, &c. The pool is contiguous on one side to St. *Stephen*'s gate, on the other to the area of the temple."

(U) Although the translation here somewhat differs from that above, the word in both places in the original is *Happinnab*. It is true in *Zechariah* it is read *Happinnim*, as if one should say the corners, but the sense is the same if (44) translated the corner. Lastly, this our translation, in the parallel to *King*, answers (45) the *Hebrew* word *Hapboneb*, where the margin has the gate of it that looketh; which is not easy to be understood, unless, by supposing it to be an elliptical expression, the sense is made up by what we find added elsewhere (46), viz. *Zaphnab* to the north, which is a true indication of the said gate. However, it may be thought this various reading is owing to the carelessness of the transcriber, as it seems may be collected from the Septuagint's having here *πύλη γωνίας*, corner-gate; yet notice should be taken that this gate did lie towards the *σάβρος*. By this name was called (47), not only the eminence, (from whence coming from the north one first discovered *Jerusalem*) but also the plain next to the city on that side. Now that in *Hebrew* would be *Phonch*, or *Hapboneb*, which we leave to our reader's consideration.

(41) Vide Deut. xvi. 8. Amos v. 15. Zech. viii. 16. &c. al. (42) Bell. Jud. p. 1248. (43) See his Journey, &c. 107. (44) See above. (45) 2 Chron. xxv. 23. (46) Ezek. viii. 3. (47) Vide JOSEPH. de Bell. Jud. v. 2. 1216.

Gareb and Gath (X), afterwards called *Golgotha*, or *Cavalry*. Then, according to the directions in the prophet, one turns towards the south, through the valley of Hinnom, and the south-east fields called the *fuller's fields*, unto the corner of the *borje-gate* to the east<sup>b</sup>: So also in *Zechariah* c, *All the land shall be as a plain to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem, and inhabited from Benjamin's gate (Y), unto the first gate unto the corner gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's wine presses*. Here first you have *Jerusalem*, on the south, a hilly country there, to be turned into a plain; which is easily apprehended to be figuratively spoken. But further, the northern side is traced here from a gate going to the neighbour tribe of Benjamin<sup>d</sup> to the old gate, here called the *first*; the following words unto the corner gate being an explanation of the former unto the first gate: So you go up to the east by the tower there, returning to the south, where was the royal garden. Another gate is mentioned in *Jeremiah* e, where he is bid to go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate, but should be rather the brick gate (Z), or of the brick-bats, it being the same with the dung gate, where was the valley of ashes<sup>f</sup>. But we do not take the city gate<sup>g</sup> to be one of the ten of *Jerusalem*; but rather a gate of the city of *David*, or *Zion*, to the north-west, leading to the valley gate, and since called *Sion gate* h.

THE situation of (שַׁבָּר הַתָּוֶק *Sabbar Hattavek*) the middle gate; may be deduced from what is said in *Jeremiah* i; *Nebuchadnezzar's* army, after having entered into *Jerusalem* by the north, advanced as far as this middle gate, of which *Zedekiah* being informed, he made his escape, as has already been observed k, through his garden to the south. This plainly shews that this gate must have stood in the midst of the valley between *Acra* and *Zion*.

A word or two more concerning the towers, as related by *Nehemiah*. They were Towers. four. Indeed, it is said of *Huzziah* l, "He built towers in *Jerusalem*, at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall; but how many he built is not said." However, the names of the said four towers were *Meab*, east-ward; *Hananeel*, north-east-ward; *Hattanourim*, of the furnaces, west-ward; and *Opbel*, south-east-ward. The first named of these was also the first built m; near this they passed going to the sheep gate, in the dedication of the walls n; the second, called *Hananeel*, lay more to the north; and the third quite to the west. From beyond this tower it is said o they, in the dedication, went to the broad wall. Lastly, from the fourth, *Opbel*, a ward so called p, and the wall itself joining to it q, took their name; but properly it is a tower r, and supposed to be very high (A), and we should think was made use of as a watch tower; from

<sup>b</sup> *Jerem.* xxxi. 38—40. <sup>c</sup> *Zechat.* xiv. 10. <sup>d</sup> *Jerem.* xxvii. 13, &c. <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>f</sup> *Jerem.* xxxi. 38. <sup>g</sup> *2 Chron.* xxxii. 6. <sup>h</sup> See *MAUND.* ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> xxxix. 2, &c. <sup>k</sup> See above. <sup>l</sup> *2 Chron.* xxvi. 9. <sup>m</sup> *Nehem.* iii. 2. <sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 39. <sup>o</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 38. <sup>p</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 26. <sup>q</sup> *Ibid.* 27. <sup>r</sup> *2 Kings* v. 29. <sup>s</sup> See *Isai.* xxxii. 14. in the margin.

(X) As the word גִּתְיָ, which according to the *Maforeth's* pointing is read *Gotha*, may as well, if not better, be pronounced either *Gatha* or *Gotba*; and as the word גִּתְיָ, admitting of two sounds in the composition of known names, *Galbed* and *Gilbad*, does as naturally sound *Gol*; we should think the etymology of *Golgotha* is found to our hand, and its signification most plain, viz. the heap of *Gotha*: However, the great likeness the sound of this same word *Golgotha* had to *Gagultba*, in *Syriac* (which dialect is called *Hebrew* in the gospel (48), because a mixture of both was what was generally spoken at *Jerusalem*) it seems to have been commonly understood, as having a near relation to *Gulgaltha* (49), a scull, and therefore well expounded by *απατίον τῶνος* (50), which from the *Latin Calvaria*, a scull, is called in our language *Calvary*. Mr. *Maunderel* says, the church of the holy sepulchre is founded upon mount *Calvary*, which is a small eminency, or hill. It was antiently shut out of the walls of the city, but since it hath attracted the city round about it, and stands now in the midst of *Jerusalem*. *Journey*, p. 68, & 69.

(Y) There is a gate called the *high gate* of Benjamin (51), which is said to have been by the house of the Lord. It might also be translated in the house. If this sense be followed, the gate is none of the ten we are inquiring about; if the former, this is the gate that led into the land of Benjamin, and is further called the *higher gate*, which lieth towards the north (52).

(Z) It may be thus translated, supposing only here (53) an easy and common permutation of letters, as appears in the pronunciation of *Sibboleth* for (54) *Sibboleth*. This is the more probable, because there is already in the text a various reading of *Harfouth* for *Harfith*: However, *Heres*, in the Hebrew שֶׁרֶץ, is a brick, and *Heres*, in Chaldee חֶרֶץ, the sun. So we chuse to take it here, as if it was written שֶׁרֶץ, looking upon it as the dung gate, that opened into the valley of Hinnom, and that of ashes.

(A) This seems to appear by the very etymology of the word; for which we are beholden to the prophet's saying *Opbla* (55), for what is in the translation lifted up.

(48) *John* xix. 17. (49) *Targ.* on *2 Kings* ix. 35. (50) *Matth.* xxvii. 33. (51) *Jerem.* xx. 2. In Hebrew it is גִּתְיָ, which is read in this sense, *Numb.* xxxvi. 37, 38. *Jerem.* xiii. 5. xxxii. 5. & al. (52) *Ezek.* ix. 2. (53) *Jerem.* xix. 2. (54) *Judg.* xii. 6. (55) *Hab.* ii. 4.



from whence one might see and observe afar off. It is said king *Manasseh* raised it up to a great height<sup>1</sup>; and of this tower *Josephus* speaks, when he says, that the wall passing through *Ophlas*, was carried on so as to join the east portico of the temple<sup>2</sup>.

*Waters.*

Of the waters and springs in or about *Jerusalem* we have had occasion to say something before<sup>3</sup>; but for a further knowledge of the same, it will be proper here to add what Mr. *Maunderel* tells us concerning the pool of *Gibon*; "It lies," says he, about two furlongs without *Bethlehem* gate, westward; it is a stately pool, 106 paces long, and 67 broad, and lined with wall and plaister, and was, "when we were there, well stored with water." This helps to understand the better what is related of *Hezekiah*<sup>4</sup>; "He stopped the upper water-course of *Gibon*," and brought it strait down to the west of the city of *David*." These naturally ran to the south and east out of the city; but the king turned off the course of this stream, in order to make it run towards the west in *Sion*. According to the *Targum*, *Gibon* is the same as *Shiloh*; nevertheless it is plain there were there two pools, since *Gibon* is named the upper pool. Now as there was a lower pool, this last might be *Shiloh*, of which the upper was the spring; notwithstanding one might be apt to think that *Gibon* was only a basin or reservoir, into which the water came from *En-rogel*, that is to say, the fuller's fountain, where *Adonijah* offered his sacrifice<sup>5</sup> at the time of his aspiring to the throne. But it is possible this may have no other foundation than the situation given to *Gibon* in the fuller's field. And although the word *Rogel* may signify a fuller, yet the word<sup>6</sup> רֹגֶל, as is made use of more properly implies it. However, since in the time of *Hezekiah* the water of *Shiloh*, or *Gibon*, was brought into the city, and that in all appearance when the city rose again from its ruins, it was restored to the same advantage; it is no wonder that <sup>7</sup> *Tacitus* places here *fontem perennis aque*.

THE king's pool is mentioned in *Nehemiah*<sup>8</sup>, as being near the fountain gate, that is, to the south-west of *Zion*: It is called by *Josephus*<sup>9</sup> the pool of *Solomon*, and placed, (which comes to one) winding towards the east. *Isaiah*<sup>10</sup> speaks of the old pool, whose water had been made to run between the two walls, and might be the same as that made by *Hezekiah*, barely called the pool made<sup>11</sup>, which might be named the artificial pool; not but that it was a natural spring, but because art had been made use of in order to make it water the eastern parts of *Zion*: However, one of the most renowned waters in *Jerusalem* was the brook of *Cedron*, whose head spring did not run very plentifully, for in summer it was generally dried up, but in rainy weather the quantity of waters falling from the mountains increased it so prodigiously, that it looked rather like a river than a brook. In the *Hebrew* its name is pronounced *Kidron*, as our translation has expressed it, as where it is said, "King *David* passed over the brook *Kidron*, toward the way of the wilderness<sup>12</sup>." What the word does signify seems not of great consequence, yet it may be remarked, that according to St. *Jerome*<sup>13</sup>, it is said a *tenebris*, and truly קֶדָר *Kadar*, is to be dark or black. Accordingly *Josephus*<sup>14</sup>, who often calls *Cedron* a valley, says it was very deep, and at the foot of the mount of olives, on the east<sup>15</sup>; but in one place<sup>16</sup> he names it *χερμαππος*, and so in the new testament we find it called<sup>17</sup>.

To conclude; we dare flatter ourselves we have faithfully represented *Jerusalem* as it antiently stood, from about the times of *David* to the *Babylonish* captivity: For though it may be objected that *Nehemiah*, from whom most of our proofs are borrowed, lived several years after the return of the Jews to the holy city, yet it must be allowed that it was not raised upon any new plan, but only rebuilt upon its antient foundations. The walls indeed had been pulled down, the gates burnt to ashes; but yet the remains, or at least some marks or out-lines of them all were still to be seen, and parts of several of them were still subsisting. So, as we read in *Nehemiah*<sup>18</sup>, the breaches were stopped up, the buildings re-edified, and the whole city restored, as much as possible, to its former condition.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.    <sup>2</sup> Bell. Jud. vi. 6.    <sup>3</sup> See before, note E.    <sup>4</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.  
<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings i. 19.    <sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 17.    <sup>7</sup> Hist. l. 5. c. 12.    <sup>8</sup> Cap. ii. 14.    <sup>9</sup> In Eccl. i.  
<sup>10</sup> 1222.    <sup>11</sup> Cap. xxii. 11.    <sup>12</sup> Nehem. iii. 16.    <sup>13</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 23.    <sup>14</sup> In Jerem. xxxi. 40.  
<sup>15</sup> Bell. Jud. 1231, 1231.    <sup>16</sup> Ibid. 1216.    <sup>17</sup> Antiq. viii. 335.    <sup>18</sup> John xviii. 1.    <sup>19</sup> Chap. iv.  
7. coll. vi. 1.

A N

# I N D E X

T O T H E

## F I R S T V O L U M E

*The Numbers direct to the Page, the small Letters to the Line of the Page,  
and the great Letters to the Notes.*

## A.

**A** ARON, *Moses's* brother, married to *Elizabeth* the sister of *Naasson*, and daughter of *Aminadab*, son of *Ezran*, p. 490, a. Commanded by God to go and meet his brother, *ibid.* The state of his family at that time, *ibid.* Joins *Moses* at mount *Horeb*, 492, b. Presents himself with *Moses* before the Egyptian king to demand the dismissal of the *Israelites*, 492, d. He and his sons solemnly consecrated priests, 523, c. His priesthood confirmed by the budding of his rod, *ibid.* By his throwing a handful of ashes of the furnace into the air, boils break out upon men and beasts, 497, e. In *Moses's* absence casts a golden calf, which he sets up, with an altar, in the sight of all the camp, 520, a. His weakness in complying with the idolatrous request of the *Jews*, *ibid.* Some endeavour to extenuate his fault, *ibid.* b. Upbraided by *Moses*, 521, c. His excuse, *ibid.* d. His two sons, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, killed by fire from heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with strange fire, contrary to *Moses's* command, 523, d. Why excluded from setting his foot in the promised land, 532, b. *Moses* commanded to strip him of his priestly robes, and to array his son *Eleazar* with them, *ibid.* c. Which was no sooner done than *Aaron* died in the 123d year of his age, the 40th year after the *Exod.*, *ibid.* The children of *Israel* mourn 40 days for him, *ibid.*

*Abana* and *Pharpar*, streams of the *Chrysorrheus*, or *Barrady*, that waters *Damascus*, 362, a, & (C).

*Abarim*, a ridge of mountains, reaching from the tribe of *Reuben* to the land of *Moab*, 288, a, & 537, c, & (B).

*Abâriman*, prince of the fallen angels among the *Persians*, 51, a.

*Abb*, 11th month of the *Jewish* year, answering *July*, 611, (K).

*Abdastartus*, king of *Tyre*, murdered by his nurse's sons, 415, b.

*Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, employed by *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, to explain the riddles of *Solomon*, 414, c.

*Abdolominus*, see *Ballonymus*.

*Abdon* judges *Israel* eight years, 753, d.

*Abel Mizraim*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*, a place in *Canaan* so called, because *Jacob's* family, in carrying his body to be interred in the cave of *Machpelah*, made a halt here to perform a funeral ceremony, 467, b.

*Abel*, when probably born, 73. The import of the word, *ibid.* (N). His offerings, *ibid.* a. Murdered, *ibid.* Various opinions as to the place and manner of his murder, 74, (N). Whether married, *ibid.* How God declared the acceptance of his offering, *ibid.* *Abel* or *Hebel*, etymology of, 253, (I).

*Abelard Peter* accused of holding the opinion that all things were God, and God all things, 8.

*Abiathar*, one of *Abimelech's* sons, escapes the universal slaughter of *Saul*, 767, d. Flies to *David*, *ibid.* a. High-priest, 792, e. Deposed by *Solomon*, and confined to his own territories, *ibid.*

*Abibal*, the first king of *Tyre*, mentioned in history, 413, c. Contemporary with *David*, *ibid.*

*Abif*, a month so called by *Moses*, but afterwards *Misan*, answering to our *March* or *April*, 604, (E). Etymology of the word *Abif*, *ibid.*

*Abihu*, the son of *Aaron* by *Elizabeth*, 490, a. Solemnly consecrated priest with his brother *Nadab*, 523, c. Killed by fire from heaven for burning incense in the tabernacle with strange fire, *ibid.* d.

*Abijah* foretells to *Jeroboam* the ruin of his family, 806, c.

*Abijam*, or *Abijah*, king of *Judah*, 806, f. Defeats *Jeroboam's* army, 807, b.

*Abimacl*, one of the sons of *Jektan*, where placed, 170, b.

*Abimelech*, king of the *Philistines*, a holy and just person, 344, b. His obliging behaviour towards *Abraham*, 345, a. *Abraham* binds his posterity by oath, to live in amity with that of *Abimelech*, *ibid.* e.

*Abimelech II.* a just and pious prince, his obliging behaviour towards *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, 346, a, b, & c. Represented by *Josephus* as a bad and corrupted prince, *ibid.* (P). Renews with *Isaac* the covenant made by his father with *Abraham*, 347, c, d.

*Abimelech,*

- Abimelech*, a natural son of *Gideon*'s, 747, a. His character, *ibid.* Murders all the sons of *Gideon* except the youngest, *ibid.* b. Proclaimed king by the *Sechemites* and those of *Millo*, *ibid.* c. Razes the town of *Sechem*, 749, c. His cruelty to the inhabitants, *ibid.* Being wounded with a stone by a woman, commands his servant *Zebul* to dispatch him, *ibid.* d.
- Abinadab*, the ark placed in his house, where it continues about 70 years, 757, a.
- Abiram*, one of the house of *Reuben*, 529, a. Joins *Koran* in a conspiracy against *Moses*, *ibid.* His insolent language to *Moses*, *ibid.* d. His dreadful punishment, 530, b.
- Abner* proclaims *Ish-bobeth* king of *Israel*, 773, a. Defeated by *Joab*, *ibid.* c, d. Runs *Axael* through with his spear, *ibid.* Revolts to *David*, 774, b. Killed by *Joab*, *ibid.*
- Abraham*, the son of *Terah*, the 10th in a lineal descent from *Shem* the son of *Noah*, 421, c. Born in *Ur*, of the *Chaldees*, from whence he comes with his father into *Haram*, 422, a. Commanded by God to depart from *Haram* into a land which he should shew him, *ibid.* Assured that in his seed, all the nations of the earth should be blessed, *ibid.* Goes into the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.* God appears to him, and promises that land to his posterity, *ibid.* b. Forced by a famine to remove into *Egypt*, *ibid.* King of *Egypt* taken with *Sarah*'s beauty, shews extraordinary favours to *Abraham*, 423, a. Returns to *Beit-el*, *ibid.* b. Separates from *Lot*, 423, c. Rescues him from *Chedorla-mer*, 424, b, c. Removes to *Hebron*, *ibid.* *Abram*'s name changed to *Abraham*, 426, b. Etymology of both, *ibid.* (O), & 153, (K). Commanded to circumcise all the males of his family, 426, b, c. Assured that his wife should bear him a son, 427, a. Circumcised with his family, *ibid.* b. Entertains three angels, 428, a. A son promised to his wife *Sarah*, 429, a. Pleads for *Sodom*, *ibid.* b. *Isaac* born, *ibid.* d. Sends away *Hagar* and *Ishmael*, 430, b. Makes a covenant with *Abimelech*, 430, b. Commanded to sacrifice his son *Isaac*, *ibid.* c. But countermanded by an angel, 431, b. *Sarah* dies, *ibid.* c. He buys the cave of *Macpheelab*, 432, b. Sends his servant to get a wife for *Isaac*, 433, a. Being 141 years old marries *Keturah*, and has six sons by her, 434, c, d. Dies and is buried in the cave of *Macpheelab*, *ibid.* c, d. Traditions or fictions of the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, relating to the history of *Abraham*, 435, (E).
- Abjalom*, pillar of, in the valley of *Jebosaphat* described, 592, d, & (N).
- Abjalom* murders *Ammon*, 781, c. Shelters himself with the king of *Geshur*, *ibid.* f. Reconciled to his father, 782, d. Rebels against him, 783, a, b, & c. His army defeated by *David*'s, 786, a. Hung by the hair of his head, is killed by *Joab*, *ibid.*
- Abu Moslem*, held that all things returned into one common principle, or God, 8, b.
- Abydos*, an ancient city of *Thebais*, 175, c.
- Accad* city of, where situate, 124, (P).
- Aceldama*, or field of blood, 586, a.
- Achæmenes*, brother to *Xerxes*, governor of *Egypt*, 273, a. Is killed in a battle, *ibid.* b.
- Achan*, the son of *Carmi*, of the tribe of *Judah*, conceals some of the accursed plunder of *Jericho*, 557, c. Is discovered and punished with death, *ibid.*
- Achish*, king of the *Philistines*, 355, b. Receives *David* and his wives, and treats them with great hospitality, 355, a. Marches against the *Israelites*, and drives them before him with great slaughter, 356, c. Kills *Saul* and his three sons, and hangs up their bodies upon the walls of *Beth-shan*, *ibid.* d.
- Achor*, or trouble, the valley of, where *Acham* was punished with death for his sacrifice, 557, c.
- Achshaph* king of, joins *Jabin*, king of *Hamar*, against the *Israelites*, and is defeated by *Joshua*, 332, c, f.
- Achthoe*, king of, a most inhuman prince, slain by a crocodile, 230, (I).
- Acoris*, king of *Egypt*, joins *Evagoras*, king of *Cyprus*, &c. against the *Persians*, 274, d. Dies, 275, a.
- Acra* S. *John de*, or *Acra*, description of its ruins, 588, a, b.
- Adisanes*, the *Ethiopian*, drives *Ammosis* from the throne of *Egypt*, 256, c, d. Unites *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, 257, b, c. Sends all the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers to *Rhinclura*, *ibid.*
- Adad*, or *Ader*, a chief deity of the *Syrians*, 272, a. How represented, *ibid.* (E).
- Adab*, first wife of *Esaü*. See *Judith*.
- Adam*, in what place created, 48, c, d. Whether men before him: See *Pre-adamites*. Placed in *Paradise*, and forbidden the tree of knowledge, 59. His happy state in the garden of *Eden*, 53, a. Names the birds and beasts, 59, a. Takes *Eve* to wife, *ibid.* b. His fall, as related by *Moses*, *ibid.* c, d, e. Some objections to the letter of that relation, 60, a, b, c, d. The literal sense defended, *ibid.* e, f. By whom tempted, 61. His trial, by forbidding a fruit, very rational, 64, and the punishment just, *ibid.* The circumstances of the coats and aprons explained, *ibid.* b. The effects of his fall on men and the ground, 65, a. Changes in the constitution of man, 66, a, & seq. Changes in the constitution of the earth; how effected, according to Dr. *Burnet*, 66, d, e, & seq. and Mr. *Whiston*, 67, a. Where he dwelt, after his expulsion from *Paradise*, 72, c. The eastern tradition, *ibid.* (N). Dies, 79. Uncharitable opinions with respect to his repentance, (N). Conjectures concerning the place of his burial, 79, b. *Adam* an appellative rather than a proper name, and includes both sexes, 44, (N). According to some *Rabbins*, made first with a tail, 44, (N). Other ridiculous notions of the *Talmudists*, 44, c. and *Mohammedans*, 45, d. Etymology of the name *Adam*, 153, (L).
- Adam*, the city of, above the place where the waters of the *Jordan* divided themselves, 553, c, (Y).
- Adar*, the 6th month of the *Jewish* year, answering our *February*, 611, (K).
- Adiabene*, a province of antient *Affyria*, 858, b. This name given sometimes to the whole country, *ibid.* (D).
- Adodus*, or *Adad*, called, in the *Phœnician* records, the king of the gods, 137, b. Perhaps the *Adad* mentioned by *Josephus*, *ibid.* (N), (W).
- Adonia*, the meaning of this word, 484, (I).
- Adonijah* conspires against *David*, 790. Pardoned by *Solomon*, 792, d. But afterwards put to death by him, *ibid.*
- Adonis*, river of *Phœnice*, at certain seasons and upon certain occasions appears bloody, 394, c, d. Whence the superstitions, in memory of *Shammuz* or *Adonis*, yearly wounded, *ibid.* The cause of that appearance in the river, *ibid.* *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*, *Shammuz* and *Ofiris* were but one, 400, a, & (S). One of the *Phœnician* deities, *ibid.* His father one *Cinyras*, an *Affyrian*, founder of *Paphos* in *Cyprus*, 402. The origin of the rites performed in honour of him by the *Phœnicians*, *ibid.* & seq.
- Adonizeb-bek*, king of *Bezek*, infamous for his cruelty and insolence, 333, d. His city taken by the *Israelites*, himself made prisoner and carried to *Jerusalem*, where he died, *ibid.* e.
- Adonizedek* king of *Jerusalem*, besieges *Gibron*, 332, a. He and his army cut off by *Joshua* in a most miraculous manner, 332, b, c, d.
- Adramelech*, an *Affyrian* deity, how represented, 861, b.
- Adultery*, laws against it, 676, a. The law against adultery in some *Greek* copies, placed before that of

- of murder, *ibid.* (G). Some have taken great pains to prove the former the most grievous crime of the two, *ibid.*
- Eolus*, who inhabited *Eolia* to the north of *Ionia*, made by *Josephus* to descend from *Elisba*, *Javan's* eldest son, 168, (D).
- Eon* and *Protoponus*, *Eve* and *Adam* in the history of *Sanchoiatho*, 86, c, & (N). Their issue, *ibid.*
- Aeria Egypt*, why so called by the *Greeks*, 174, d.
- Æsculapius*, a name given to *Tesfortrus*, or *Sesfortrus*, king of *Memphis*, more ancient than the greek *Æsculapius*, 218, d.
- Africa* and *Asia* their boundaries, 175, a.
- Agag* the first, or among the first kings of the *Amalekites*, 319, c. Their last king bore the same name, *ibid.* Taken and spared by *Saul*, but put to death by *Samuel*, 320, e. All their other kings supposed to have bore the same appellation, 319, e.
- Agenor*, first king of *Phœnice*, mentioned by the *Greeks*, 408, a. Account of his family, *ibid.* & seq.
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- Belus*, a river, its sand an excellent material for the making of glass, ministered the first hint for that invention, 582, d.
- Belzebub*, *Satan*, or *Sammael*, prince of the fallen angels, 51, a.
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- Ben-badad* I. son to *Tabrimon* king of *Damascus*, tempted with large gifts, by *Aja* king of *Judab*, to make war upon *Bascha* king of *Israel*, 383, a. His army takes all *Cineroth*, and the land of *Naph-tali*, and, in the end, he extends his power to the city of *Samaria*, *ibid.*
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- Betbagil*, a village, where no one circumcised is said to live above three days, 584, (T).
- Bethel Shechem*, city or land of *Canaan*, 324, a. The inhabitants subject to the king of *Asi*, join him against *Jehona*, but are all cut off, 331, b. Fall afterwards by fraud, and their city is seized by the house of *Joseph*, 334, a, b. *Bethel*, that is, the house of God, called formerly *Luz*, 440, c.
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- Bethsheem* city, in the land of *Canaan*, 324, a.
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- Bezaleel* and *Aholiabana*, appointed overseers for the making of the tabernacle, 523, b.
- Bezek*, city of *Canaan*, the residence of *Admizebek*, taken by the *Israelites*, and all who were within the walls put to the sword, 333, d, e.
- Bilbab*, *Leab's* maid, bears *Jacob Dan* and *Naphtali*, 441, d.
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- Bocchoris*, king of *Egypt*, surnamed the wise, 261, b. The fourth *Egyptian* lawgiver, *ibid.* Said to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive, *ibid.*
- Boethus*, an heterodox stoic, 8, c. Asserts the world's eternity and incorruptibility, *ibid.*
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- Bootesellab* the valley of, said to have this strange property, that no *Mohammedan* can live in it above two years, 584, a, & (T).
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- Botrys*, in *Phœnice*, built by *Ithobal*, 415, d.
- Bozrah*, *Bozor*, *Pazrah*, names of a city of *Edom*, 309, c.
- Brachmanes*, old *Indian* philosophers, 32, c. Their opinion as to the creation of the world, *ibid.*
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- Bull*, worshipped by the *Egyptians*, 206, e. Represented *Osiris*, *ibid.* Two of this kind kept in *Egypt*, *ibid.*
- Burnet Dr.* his theory of the earth, 36, d, & seq. How he accounts for the change in the constitution of the earth after the fall, 16, d, e. His theory of the deluge, 99, f. How he accounts for the changes made in the world after the deluge, 106, b.
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- Byssus*, super-fine linen of *Egypt*, 183, b.

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- C**ABBALA *Jewish*, or oral tradition full of carnal and ridiculous notions, 597, b. Another *Cabbala*, called by distinction *Kabla*, or reception, contains the mystical sense of the old testament, received by some of the ancient fathers, and defended by several modern writers, *ibid.*
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- Cadeb* and *Shur*, the names of two deserts, 429, c, & (U).
- Cadmus*, son of *Agenor*, 408, b. Sent by his father in quest of *Europa*, his sister; lands in *Thrace*, 409, a. Discovers there a gold mine in mount *Pangæus*, *ibid.* Advised by the oracle to leave *Thrace*, and pass into *Bœotia*, *ibid.* Drives from thence the *Hyantes*, and founds a new kingdom, *ibid.* Builds a city, called from his own name *Cadmea*, *ibid.* b.
- Cain*, when probably born, 72, e. The import of the word, 73, (N). His offerings, *ibid.* a. Why not accepted, 73, (N). Murders his brother, 73, b, & seq. His punishment, 74, a. Goes into banishment, and builds a city, 75, a. Grows more wicked, *ibid.* Traditions relating to his death, 76, (N). His descent, 76, 77, a. His posterity wicked, *ibid.* Traditions relating to his death, 76, (N). His descent, 76, 77, a. His posterity wicked, *ibid.* b. His race supposed to be meant by men, and the daughters of men, 77, b. His posterity employed in improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts, and musical instruments, 81, a, b. The pedigree of his line, as given by *Sanchoiatho*, compared with that given by *Moses*, 89, b, c. A table of his descendants, according to *Sanchoiatho* and *Moses*, 89, b, c.
- Cain*, a city in *Canaan*, 86, (N).
- Cainan*, one of *Seth's* descendants, 78, a.
- Calacine*, a province of *Affyria*, 858, b.
- Calab* city, where situate, 126, (B).
- Calasirians*, name of the military men in *Egypt*, 200, e.
- Caleb*, one of the twelve that were chosen by *Moses* to view the land of *Canaan*, 526, a. His and *Joshua's* report of it, c. *Caleb* takes and burns *Jerusalem*, 738, c.
- Calf* the golden, made by *Aaron*, probably a whole calf, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, 520, b, & (B).
- Cambyes* conquers *Egypt*, 272, & seq.
- Canaan*, the fourth son of *Ham*, 121, b. Signification of the word, *ibid.* (C). According to some born

- born in the ark, *ibid.* b. The curse of *Noah* peculiar to, and wholly compleated in, him, *ibid.* b, c. Why cursed by *Noah* for the crime of his father, 119, a, b. Probably lived and died in the country called after his name, *ibid.* d. His tomb formerly shewn not far from *Jerusalem*, *ibid.* Known to the ancient historians, *ibid.* Opinions of the *Mohammedans* concerning him, *ibid.* (D).
- Canaan*, or *Canaan*, includes the whole land possessed by the 12 tribes, but peculiarly belongs to no more than that country westward of the *Jerdan*, 566, (A). Its fertility, 706, a. Vid. *Land of Promise*.
- Canaanites*, descended from *Canaan* the son of *Ham*, 322, a. The seven primary nations of the *Canaanites*, *ibid.* b, c. Their country, 323, a, b. *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called, divided into two distinct bodies, 323, d. Inhabited two distinct divisions, the sea side to the west, and the river side to the east, *ibid.* Those on the sea side merchants, and known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Phœnicians*, *ibid.* Those who had an inland situation employed partly in pasturage, and partly in the exercise of arms, *ibid.* b. Retained the true religion to the days of *Abraham*, 325, b. Fall into idolatry, *ibid.* c. They used human sacrifices, 325, d. Guilty of all manner of wickedness, *ibid.* (I). They lived in subjection to limited princes or kings, 326, a. Probably their country peopled by *Canaan* and his descendants, upon the first dispersion after the flood, *ibid.* c. According to an ancient tradition, their country originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, *ibid.* (A). Some of them said to have penetrated into *Egypt*, and possessed themselves of the *Arabian* side of the country, from whence they were driven by the *Egyptians*, which some will have to be the expulsion of the shepherds, *ibid.* d, e. Their whole land oppressed by a famine soon after the arrival of *Abraham*, 327, a. Joined with the *Amalekites*, repulse the *Israelites* attempting to enter their territories, 330, a. Employ *Joshua* six years, 333, b. Supposed in the end to have left their country in great numbers, and in their way to *Afric* to have seized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, but were driven out, after having lorded it long over *Egypt*, 333, b. Little molested by the *Israelites* for 19 or 20 years, *ibid.* c. Invaded again by the tribes of *Israel*, *ibid.* d. Those in *Bezek* all put to the sword, *ibid.* Those of *Beitbel* fall by fraud, and their city is seized by the house of *Joseph*, 334, a, b. Those of *Beth-bean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*, preserve their several jurisdictions entire against the children of *Manasseh*, *ibid.* b. Those of *Gezer* cannot be expelled by the *Epbraemites*, *ibid.* Those of *Kitron* and *Nabulol* stand their ground, but submit to tribute, *ibid.* c. Those of *Acho*, *Zidon*, *Ablah*, *Achzib*, *Apluk*, and *Rebub*, instead of being driven out by the tribe of *Asher*, impose what conditions they think proper on them, *ibid.* Those who held *Beitshemish* and *Beth-anath*, are in the end made tributaries to the tribe of *Naphtali*, *ibid.* Some left to prove *Israel*, maintain their ground against the *Israelites* to the time of *David*, 336, d. Reduced with the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, and *Jebusites*, to a state of slavery by *Solomon*, and employed in the heavy labour of carrying on his sumptuous works, which slavery was entailed upon them and their posterity, though admitted into the *Jewish* religion, 337, b. Whether ever blended with the *Jews*, is uncertain, *ibid.* c, & (O). The *Canaanites* properly so called, remained independent on the sea-coast, and sprung to a great height of fame, being comprehended under the famous appellation of *Phœnicians*, 338, a.
- Canal*, still in being, cut from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, 57, b.
- Can Cam* a fabulous king of *Egypt*, 278.
- Candlestick* of the sanctuary described, 658, a, &c. Whether the lamps burnt only in the night, *ibid.* (Z). Entertained by the purest virgin oil of olives, *ibid.* (A).
- Canopus*, one of the *Egyptian* deities, 206, a. How he obtained a victory over the *Chaldean* god *Ser*, by the craft of a priest, *ibid.* b. How represented, *ibid.*
- Caphor*, probably an island, situate either in the lake of *Tennis*, or *Tanis*, extending from *Damietta* to *Tina*, 166, a.
- Caphorim*, the last of the offspring of *Misraim*, by all the fathers said to be the *Cappadocians*, and *Caphor Cappadocia*, 165, f. By *Cappadocia* here understood some place in *Egypt*, generally supposed by the *Rabbins* to be *Demot*, *ibid.* *Caphorim*, the progenitors of the *Philistines*, 338, b.
- Cappadocia*, in *Asia minor*, and some place in *Egypt* of the same name, 166, a.
- Caprus*, a river of *Affyria*, 859, a, & (I).
- Caraites*, a wife and ancient sect among the *Jews*, reject the *Cabbala*, 597, b. Hated by the *Talmudists*, *ibid.*
- Carchemish*, or *Circesium*, or *Circutium*, a considerable town on the *Mesopotamian* side of the *Euphrates*, 949, a. Taken from the *Egyptians* by *Nabopolassar*, 950, a.
- Carcob*, the meaning of the word, 661, (E).
- Cardu* mountains, remains of the ark said to have been formerly seen there, 109, c.
- Carmel* mount, its situation, 571, a. Famed for its fertility, and for being the favourite place of *Pythagoras*, *ibid.* *Elias* supposed to have sojourned here in a cave, before he was ravished into heaven, *ibid.* The name common both to a town and a mountain, *ibid.* (T). Distinguished very early by the *Christians* with particular marks of piety, *ibid.* (X). From hence proceeded the order of the frier *Carmelites*, *ibid.* Melons, olives, and such like fruits in stone found there, 582, c.
- Carpasia*, in the island of *Cyprus*, said to have been built by *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, 416, c.
- Carthage* the foundations of, laid by *Dido*, 415, c.
- Castubum*, where settled, 165, c.
- Cassotis*, part of the *Lower Egypt*, 176, b. Also part of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, 361, a. Likewise the name of a town in the said country, *ibid.*
- Cassius* mount, whence so called in the *Phœnician* history, 87, a.
- Cathim*, the last king of *Egypt*, of the race of the *Amalekites*, 282, b. Some oriental historians ascribe to him the pyramids, *ibid.* c.
- Cats* in high veneration among the *Egyptians*, 208, f, g. The killing of one was certain death, *ibid.* Instance of this in a *Roman*, *ibid.* Why so much veneration paid to them, 210, c, & 211, b.
- Causacus* mount, called by the *Arabs* the mountain of *Ras*, 102, (N). Its height, *ibid.*
- Cayumarras*, first king of *Persia*, said to have been the son of *Shem*, 126, b.
- Cedars of Libanus*, an account of them, 362, b, & seq.
- Celsus* would have had the *Christians* take *Orpheus* rather for a god than *Christ*, 16, c.
- Celts*, the same people with the *Gauls*, descended from *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet*, 166, d.
- Cephren*, *Cephrenes*, or *Chabrysi*, king of *Egypt*, 260, a. A tyrant, *ibid.* Erected the second of the three most remarkable pyramids, 184, & 260, b.
- Ceremonial* laws instituted, 516, a. Whether some of them were borrowed of the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* (V). Some of them typical, others political, 516, d, e, & (V), (Z).
- Cerebites*, the name by which the *Philistines* were known in *Egypt*, 343, (G).



- Ceteropha*, the first woman after the flood, according to the *Indians*, 107, c.
- Cetii*, a People mentioned by *Homer*, 168, f.
- Ceuta*. Vid. *Septis*.
- Chabryis*. Vid. *Cephren*.
- Chæremón*, according to *Eusebius*, thought there was nothing prior to the visible world, 13, b. Defended by *Jamblichus*, *ibid.* e.
- Chalcidene*, an island province of *Syria*, 361, b.
- Chalcis*, the capital city of *Chalcidene*, 361, b.
- Chaldaea*, whence so called, 905, e. What country comprised under the name of the proper *Chaldaea*, *ibid.* a. Its Divisions, extent, situation, and boundaries, 906, a, b, c. Climate and fertility, *ibid.* d. Productions, rivers, canals, natural and artificial rarities, 906, 907, 908.
- Chaldaea*, the antediluvian kings of, 90, d. Whence so called, 905, e.
- Chaldean* cosmogony, as delivered by *Diodorus*, 14, b. The same from *Berosus*, *ibid.* e. The *Chaldean* account of the flood, 91, d.
- Chaldeans*, celebrated for their acknowledging one sovereign deity, 15. Their account of the origin of things, drawn from the *Chaldaic* oracles of *Zoroastres*, 15, b. Probably founded by *Arphaxad*, 127, a. Their language the same with the *Syriac*, 377, d.
- Chaldeans*, or *Chaldres*, as distinct from the *Babylonians*, were their priests, 913, c. Their tenets, *ibid.* Authors of the *Sabian* religion, *ibid.* e. Their learning not had from the *Egyptians*, 929, b. An account of it, *ibid.* & seq. Their manner of institution, 930, e. Their doctrine about the world, 931, a. More astrologers than astronomers, *ibid.* b. System of their astrology, *ibid.* c. Their boasted learning condemned, 932, a. *Chaldeans* next to *Armenia*, the most valiant race of men under the *Babylonian* princes, 967, e. Subdued by *Cyrus*, *ibid.* f.
- Chalonitis*, a province of *Assyria*, 858, b.
- Chalybon*, chief City of *Chalybonitis* in *Syria*, 361, b.
- Chaos*, some philosophers suppose the origin of the earth from it, 10, c, d. Absurdity of this opinion, *ibid.* e. Maintained by some to have been animated by an evil spirit, 30, & seq.
- Charon*, why the lake of *Mæris* called at present the lake of *Charon*, 196, b.
- Chasadin*, a fabulous king of *Egypt*, 278.
- Chasleu*, the third month among the *Jews*, answering our *November*, 611, (K).
- Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, invades the *Zamzummins*, 294, c. Takes and pillages *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, 327, c.
- Chemia*, why *Egypt* so called by its ancient inhabitants, 174, e.
- Chemmis*, or *Chembs*. Vid. *Chrops*.
- Chemosh* and *Baal-peor*, idols of the *Moabites*, 287, b. Whether the same idol, 286. Etymology of *Chemosh*, *ibid.* (E).
- Chrops*, *Chemmis*, or *Chembs*, king of *Egypt*, 259, Shuts up the temples, and forbids all public sacrifices, *ibid.* f. Reduces his subjects to a State of slavery, *ibid.* Builds the greatest of the three most remarkable pyramids, 185, & *ibid.* f. Said to have prostituted his daughter, to get money for that end, 185, b. & *ibid.* f. His daughter said to have built a small pyramid, by obliging each of her gallants to contribute a stone towards the work, 260.
- Cherethites* and *Peletites*, who, 778, (C).
- Cherinus*. Vid. *Mycerinus*.
- Cherubim*, and flaming sword, placed to guard the way of the tree of life, 64, c, d. What meant thereby, *ibid.* *Cherubim* that overshadowed the mercy-seat, made of pure gold, 654. Their form, posture and attitude, *ibid.* d. Divers opinions concerning their shape, 654, (V). Etymology of the word, *ibid.*
- Chinese*, a sect of philosophers among them, 24. Hold nature to be the sole deity and soul which informs matter, *ibid.* Independent of all others, *ibid.* In what they differ from the *stoics*, *ibid.* a. Believe that numerous worlds have existed, and others to an infinite number will exist, *ibid.* The most common opinion among them, that God is the material soul of the world, *ibid.* Another opinion among them established by royal authority, and holding, that a void or emptiness is the principle and end of all things, *ibid.* c. Wherein it differs from *Spinozism*, *ibid.* e. They formerly acknowledged one God, 34, a. Which opinion obtains now with some of the better sort, *ibid.* Their physiology, *ibid.* b, c, d. Their historians mention the flood, 96, a. Strong marks of their language being the primitive language, 151, d.
- Chinzirus*, king of *Babylon*, 945, b.
- China*, mentioned by *Sanchoniatho*, seems to have been the same with *Canaan*, 121, d.
- Chrencriz*, thought by some to have been the *Pharaoh* that reigned when the *Israelites* went out of *Egypt*, 432, (B).
- Chronological* Table of the years of the patriarchs, according to the Computation of the *Hebrews*, 70. The same according to the Computation of the *Septuagint*, *ibid.* And of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 71. Chronology from the Creation to the deluge stated, 69. From the deluge to the departure of *Abraham* from *Haran*, 110, a, b. *Egyptian* Chronology, 95, d, 93, (I). From the time of *Alexander* the great, 228, & seq. *Jewish* chronology, 733, b. The *Jewish* chronicles, 735, d, e.
- Chrysor*, the same with *Hephaestus*, or *Vulcan*, 88, a. Inventor of iron, *ibid.* And of hooks, baits, &c. *ibid.* The first man that sailed, according to *Sanchoniatho*, *ibid.* Worshipped as a god, *ibid.*
- Chryser*, who in the *Phœnician* antediluvian history, 88, a. Etymology of the word, *ibid.*
- Chrysorrhoeas*, now *Barrady*, a river of *Syria*, 361, e.
- Chynladan*, king of *Assyria*, supposed, upon good grounds, to be the *Nebuchadonosor* of scripture, 897, a, & (Q), & 947, b. Calls in all the nations, subject to the *Assyrian* empire, to war against the *Medes*, 698, a. Defeats the *Medes*, gets possession of all their cities, demolishes *Erbatan*, capital of *Media*, and kills *Arphaxad* their king, *ibid.* b, c. Entertains his captives in banquets and revels, for the space of 120 days, *ibid.* Vid. *Nabuchadonosor*.
- Cilix*, son of *Agenor*, said to have settled in *Cilicia*, and given his name to that country, 409, b.
- Cimbri*. Vid. *Cimmerians*.
- Cimmerians*, or *Cimbri*, according to some, descended from *Gomer*, and the same people with the *Gauls* of *Asia* minor, 166, d.
- Circumcision*, a very ancient custom among the *Egyptians*, 213, f. Whether first introduced into the world by them, or the *Hebrews*, 427, (R). Discontinued in the desert, and why, 545, a. Renewed immediately after the *Israelites* passed the *Jordan*, 554, c, d. By whom, with what instrument, and in what manner performed, 690, f. & 691, a, b. Form of words used on that occasion, 490, (A). Several superstitious customs added to the ceremony by the *Jews*, 169, (I). The child used to be named then by the parents, *ibid.* b.
- Cities* of refuge. Vid. *Refuge*.
- Citium* in *Cyprus*, according to some took its name from the *Kittim*, 168, f.
- Cleanness*, laws of *Moses* concerning it, 688, c.
- Cneph*, the intellectual architect of the world, in the cosmogony of the *Egyptians*, 13, d. How represented, *ibid.*
- Cale-Syria*, and *Syria Cava*, the same, a province of *Syria*, 361, c.
- Colchi*, whether the *Cassubim* of *Moses*, 344, (K).



- Colchis*, an Egyptian colony, 256, b.
- Colour*, difference in colour between the whites and blacks accounted for, 47, d, e.
- Colpias*, a wind, and his wife *Baan*, parents of the first men, according to some, 46, a. The signification of the word, *ibid.* (N).
- Colpitis*, *Phœnice* so called, 391, d. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* (A).
- Columns of Hermes in Egypt*, 222, d.
- Combabus*, the founder of the *Galli*, or eunuch priests of the great Syrian goddess, his story, 374, d, &c.
- Comer*, the trajectory of one occasioned the deluge, according to Mr. *Whiston*, 101, a. Attested by several authors, that one appeared at the deluge, 101, (N).
- Commagene*, part of Syria, described, 360, d.
- Commandments*. Vid. *Decalogue*, *Tables*.
- Commerce*, the original of, after the deluge, 173, e, f.
- Confusion of tongues*. Vid. *Tongues*.
- Coptarim*, a fabulous king of Egypt, 281.
- Coptic letters*, whether the modern are the same with the antient and vulgar Egyptian, 224, (M).
- The *Coptic* alphabet, 225. The *Coptic* tongue, at present, consists of the old Egyptian and Greek, 226, b. Differs widely from all the oriental and European languages, *ibid.* b, c.
- Coptos*, an antient city of *Thebais*, 175, e. The chief residence of the native Egyptians for many ages, who are from thence called *Coptos*, *ibid.*
- Corban*, all the offerings that had life, so called, 624, (A). Etymology of the word, *ibid.*
- Cosmogony*, *Phœnician*, Egyptian, Chaldean, &c. Vid. *Phœnician*, Egyptian, Chaldean, &c.
- Cozbi*, daughter of *Zur* prince of *Midian*, 303, b. Sent by her father, among the rest, to debauch the *Israelites*, *ibid.* Is killed, *ibid.* c.
- Creation* true notion of, z, b. *Moses*'s account of it explained, 41, c, d, e. Creation of man, 44, a. The time and season of the creation, 48, a, b. Whether completed in six days, *ibid.*
- Crocodile*, the little, or land crocodile, probably the same with *Scincus* of *Pliny*, described 181, c, d. Found near the Nile and Red-Sea, *ibid.* The extravagant worship paid him by the Egyptians, 209, b, & (N). Why worshipped, 210, f, & b. How taken by the Egyptians, 181, b.
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- Cronus* the younger, sacrifices his only son, 138, a, b. consecrated after his death into the planet *Cronus*, or *Saturn*, *ibid.* Circumcised, and forced his auxiliaries to do the same, 138, b.
- Cronus*, or *Baal*, likely the *Baal-berith* antiently worshipped at *Berytus*, 397, b.
- Crown*, first used by *Nimrod*, according to the eastern historians, 123, (O). From whence the model of them taken, *ibid.* Formerly not peculiar to princes, 669, (T). The distinguishing ornament of persons in the highest stations in the courts of all the eastern princes, *ibid.* (V).
- Crucifying*, not a Jewish, but a Roman punishment, 674, (D).
- Ctesias of Cnidos*, his character, 867, a, b, &c. His History of the Assyrian kings, a gross forgery, *ibid.* An abridgment of it, 871, e, & seq.
- Cumberland* bishop, his amendments of *Sanchoiatas* considered, 139, (B), & seq.
- Cardestân*, the same as *Asbur* and *Affria*, 163, a.
- Cush*, wrongly supposed by some to be the country of the *Cossæans*, 56, b.
- Cush*, father of *Nimrod*, whether king, 124, a, & (R).
- Cush*, *Ham*'s eldest son, where fixed, 104, b, c. By *Cush* in scripture always meant *Arabia*, *ibid.*
- Cushat-rishajam*, king of *Mesopotamia*, defeated by *Israhel*, the first judge of the *Israelites*, 742, d.
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- Cushim*, the progenitors of the *Philistines*, 338, b. Whether the same with the *Colchi*, 344, (R).
- Cutheans*, the new inhabitants of *Samaria*, why so called, 835, c.
- Cynocephalus*, a large kind of ape in Egypt, 181, e. why so called, *ibid.* The figure of this beast often used by the Egyptians as a hieroglyphic, *ibid.*
- Cyprus*, according to *Josephus*, the seat of the *Kittim*, 168, f. Conquered first by *Amosi*, king of Egypt, 272, b.
- Cyreneans*, a colony of the Greeks, 268, f. Drive out the *Lydians*, *ibid.* Gain a signal victory over the Egyptians, 269, a.
- Cyrrhestica*, a province of Syria upon the *Euphrates*, 361, a.
- Cyrrhus*, or *Cyrus*, the capital City of *Cyrrhestica*, 361, b.
- Cyrus* subdues the Chaldeans next to *Armenia*, 967, e, f. Defeats *Neriglissar* king of *Babylon*, 968, a. And *Nabonadius*, last king of *Babylon*, 970, d, e. Besieges and takes *Babylon*, and puts an end to the *Babylonian* empire, *ibid.* Behaves kindly to *Nabonadius*, his prisoner, *ibid.*

## D.

- DÆMONS**, two kinds of, 82, (N).
- Dagon*, or *Sidon*, son of *Uranus*, 135, b. Worshipped by the *Philistines* in *Canaan*, 135, (N). Called *Jupiter Arotrius* from his contriving of ploughs, *ibid.* Worshipped at *Azotus* as the most favourite god of the country, 343, a. The import of his name, *ibid.* The form he was worshipped under, *ibid.* b. Opinions of the learned relating to him, (H).
- Dabrians*, or eternalists, a sect of philosophers among the *Mohammedans*, 4, a.
- Dairabunach*, a monastery in *Mesopotamia*, 116, a.
- Daluka*, surnamed *Ajiz*, or the old woman, queen of Egypt, said by the oriental historians to have succeeded the *Pharaoh* who perished in the Red-Sea, and to have been the most expert woman of her time in magic, 283, a, (C).
- Damascus*, now *Sham*, a city of Syria, 361, d. Built by *Uz*, the eldest son of *Aram*, 163, e. Seems to have been a republic in *David*'s time, 371, c. Rose upon the ruins of the kingdom of *Zobab*, *ibid.* A famous altar to be seen there in former times, 377, c. Chronology of the kings of *Damascus*, 380. The kingdom founded by *Rezan*, in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign, 381, b. The inhabitants transplanted to *Kir*, and *Damascus* taken away from being a city, according to the prophecy, 390, b.
- Dan*, *Jacob*'s first son by *Bilhah*, born, 441, d. *Jacob*'s prophecy to him and his tribe, 463, b. How verified, *ibid.* (L). Why compared by *Jacob* to a viper, 464, a, b. His lot in the promised land, 569, a.
- Dan*, a city built by the tribe of that name, 740, c. An idol set up there, continued till the captivity of the land, *ibid.*
- Dandera*, the city called *Tentyra* in antient times, in Egypt, 197, a. A magnificent temple there described, *ibid.* & seq. Believed by the inhabitants to have been a temple of *Serapis*, *ibid.* e.
- Daniel* prophet, his writings not admitted by the Jews among those of the other prophets, 732, (O). Why, *ibid.* He is sent captive to *Babylon*, 848, a. Interprets *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dream, 950, e, &c. By him is raised to great dignity, 951, e, d.
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- Dardus*, a fabulous king of Egypt, 282.
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- Darkness** during three days, one of the plagues of *Egypt*, 498, f, g.
- Darkun**, a fabulous king of *Egypt*, 283, b.
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- Ereoffbenet*, his list of the *Theban* kings considered, 239, d, e.
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G.

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- Gedaliah*, the Jewish deputy, murdered by *Ishmael*, 851, b.
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- Geography* the first rise of, 256, b.
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- Gerizim* mount, 540, c, 573, a.
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- Gethsemane* vale of, 587, a.
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## H.

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- Midianites* descended from *Midian*, the fourth son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, 300, b. Confounded in the most early times with the *Ismaelites*, *ibid.* Their religion, *ibid.* Their country a part of *Arabia petraea*, *ibid.* Described, *ibid.* c. Their manner of life, *ibid.* e. Had the use of writing very early, and, according to some, instructed *Moses* therein, 301, b. Those of the south part of *Midian* enlightened by a rational and sublime system of religion, *ibid.* d, e. They war with *Hadad the Horite*, and are smitten by him in the field of *Moab*, 302. They purchase *Joseph* of his brethren, and sell him to *Potiphar*, *ibid.* a. Signalized themselves above all others, in endeavouring to turn the children of *Israel* from God, 303, c, d. Are defeated by *Phineas*, their castles laid in ashes, and all of them, with their king *Balaam*, put to the sword, *ibid.* & seq. The loss of this branch supplied by another, who wage a cruel war against the *Israelites*, under the kings *Zebab* and *Zalmanna*, *ibid.* e. & 304, b. But are utterly routed by *Gideon*, with no other weapon than a ram's horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other, *ibid.* c, d, & seq. This downfall so great, that it is termed in scripture the day



- day of Midian, 305. They were a famous nation many ages afterwards, but in the first century were blended with the *Arabians*, *ibid.* a, b.
- Migdol*, signifies a tower, 503, (O).
- Milcab*, wife to *Nachor*, 431, c.
- Millo*, joined the *Shechemites* in proclaiming *Abimelech*, who meant by, 747, (K).
- Minchab*, all offerings which had not life, so called by the *Jews*, 624, (A). Divers sorts of them, *ibid.*
- Minerva*, how her festival was celebrated among the *Egyptians* at *Sais*, 208, b, c.
- Minuth*, a considerable city of the *Ammonites*, 294, f.
- Mint*, when first said to have been erected, 131, (U).
- Miriam*, *Moses*'s sister, whether one of the two *Jewish* midwives mentioned in scripture, 477, (K). Offers to fetch *Pharaoh*'s daughter an *Hebrew* nurse for *Moses*, 478, c. Calls her mother *Jacobeth*, *ibid.* d. Smitten with leprosy, on account of some reflections cast on *Moses* with regard to his wife *Ziphorah*, 526, a. Is cured by *Moses*, *ibid.* Dies in the 130th year of her age, 532, a. Her sepulchre was still to be seen, according to *Eusebius*, in his time, *ibid.* (Q). Said by some of the fathers to have died a virgin, and to have been the legislatrix and governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men, *ibid.*
- Misor*, in the *Phœnician* record, according to some, *Mizraim* of the scripture, and *Menes* of the *Egyptians*, 134, a, & (D).
- Mitre* of the *Jewish* high-priest described, 640, a, & (B):
- Mizraim*, supposed by many to have begun his reign before *Nimrod*, 123, a. Supposed to have been the second son of *Ham*, 165, a. Whether *Mizraim* the name of a single person or of a people, *ibid.* b. Nations descended from him, *ibid.* A word of the dual termination, 174, b. By land of *Mizraim* meant in the scripture *Egypt*, *ibid.* Its etymology, and why given to *Egypt*, *ibid.*
- Moabites*, descended from *Moab* the son of *Lot*, by his eldest daughter, 283, c. Description of the country which they possess, 286, b, c. Governed by kings, used circumcision, and employed themselves mostly in pasturage and breeding of cattle, 287, a. The *Israelites* expressly forbidden to disturb them, *ibid.* b. Had once the knowledge of the true God, *ibid.* Their idols, *ibid.* c, d. (E). They drive out the *Emims*, but lose part of their acquisitions by the *Amorites*, 289, & seq. Send their most beautiful women to the *Israelitish* camp to seduce the *Israelites* to idolatry, 290, d, e. Not admitted to intermarry with the *Israelites*, for having hired *Balaam* to curse them, 291, a. Invade *Israel*, seize the eastern parts of the country, and exercise great tyranny over them for 18 years, *ibid.* b, c. Defeated with great slaughter by *Ehud*, 290, c. Treat the parents of *David*, flying to them, with great hospitality, 292, a. They enter into a confederacy against *David* when he came to the crown, who puts to the sword two thirds of them, and makes the rest his vassals and tributaries, *ibid.* b. (S). Rebel against *Abaziah*, but are routed with great slaughter by *Jehoram*, *ibid.* b, c. Attempt to revenge their loss on *Jehoshaphat*, in conjunction with other nations, but destroy one another, *ibid.* & seq. Invade the *Edomites*, and put to a cruel death their king, *ibid.* A severe judgment denounced against them by the prophet *Amos*, and probably fulfilled by *Salmaneser* king of *Assyria*, *ibid.* (I). 293, b, c. Entirely subdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whose hands their king was given, 293, & seq.
- Marris*, or *Myris*, king of *Egypt*, dug the famous lake which bore his name, 247. According to some, he recovered *Memphis* from the pastors, *ibid.* (G). He built two pyramids, 185, a, & 247.
- Marris* the lake of, 195, c. Its circumference and depth, *ibid.* By whom dug, and why, *ibid.* d, e.
- Its communication with the *Nile* effected by large canals, *ibid.* Still subsisting, *ibid.* An isle in the middle of the lake, where there stood anciently two pyramids, 196, a. What sums the fishery of this lake yielded daily to the prince, during the six months of the river's retreat, 195, f. Why called at present the lake of *Charon*, 196, v.
- Mohammedans*, some divines among them admit atoms and vacuum endued with life and sense, 22, a. What was made, according to them, prior to creation, 48, d.
- Molae*, the primary particles of the earth, 27, b.
- Molech*, or *Molech*, the chief deity of the *Ammonites*, 295, b. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* c. Description of his image, *ibid.* Some accounts of the learned concerning this idol, *ibid.* (A). (B). Superstitions paid to him, *ibid.* & seq. Divers opinions of the learned relating thereunto, *ibid.* (C). The meaning of the phrase, that they made their sons and daughters pass through the fire, *ibid.* (C).
- Monad*, of *Pythagoras* what meant by, 25, d, e.
- Monarchical* government, how introduced, 171, d.
- Monastery* of the ark on the *Cardu* mountains, 112, d.
- Months*, the *Jews* had names for them before the captivity, 612, (K). Their names, *ibid.*
- Moon*, when created, 53, b. Worshipped by the *Egyptians*, 207, d. What victims offered to her, *ibid.* And what ceremonies used in offering them, *ibid.* New moons festivals of the *Jews*, 610, a. How they fixed the time of the new moon without astronomical tables, *ibid.* (H). Laws concerning this festival, 610, b, c, & seq.
- Morsh* land of, 424, a. The signification of the word, *ibid.* (G).
- Moriab* mount, etymology of the word, 431, a, & (C). The same on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon*, *ibid.*
- Mosaic* account of the creation, 35, a, b. *Mosaic* creation explained, 41, d, e.
- Moschici*, a people, and a long chain of mountains stretching along the north-west part of *Armenia*, and separating it from *Colchis* and *Iberia*, 167, e. From the people *Moschici* the *Muscovites* probably descended, *ibid.*
- Moschus*, a *Phœnician*, lived before the *Trojan* war, 19. Said by *Poſidonius* to have been the author of the atomic system, 19, e. Thought by some to have been no other than *Moses*, 20.
- Moses* born, 477, c. Etymology of the name, 153, (H). Concealed three months, but after exposed to be drowned, according to the king's edict, 478, a. But taken up by *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who educated him as her own son, *ibid.* b, c. Gives him the name of *Moses*, *ibid.* Is delivered to his own mother, *Jacobeth*, to be educated by her, *ibid.* Brought in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopts him for her son, and has him brought up in all kinds of learning, 479, a, & (N). Pretends the reproachful name of *Israelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court, *ibid.* Kills an *Egyptian*, *ibid.* c. Forty years of his abode in *Egypt* how employed, *ibid.* (O). Reproached with the murder of the *Egyptian* by an *Hebrew*, is forced to fly into the land of *Midian*, 480, b. Received by *Jethro*, in whose family he continues forty years, 481, b. Supposed by some to have wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, 481, c. God appears to him, at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, 484, a. And commands him to return into *Egypt*, *ibid.* b. Why God was pleased to appear to him in that manner, *ibid.* (B). Who was it that appeared to him, *ibid.* (S). God pleased to answer his question, a question which he had formerly refused to *Jacob*, 485, a. Bids him tell the *Israelites* that *I am, &c.* sent him to them, 487. Commanded to bring his people out of bondage, 448, a. His doubts cleared by two miracles wrought in his presence, *ibid.*

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## N.

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*Nabal*, his rude behaviour to *David*, 768, e. Dies, 769, a. And *David* marries his wife *Abigail*, *ibid.*

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*Nabonadus*, king of *Babylon*, 969, b. Had the chief hand in the murder of *Laborjarched*, *ibid.* What prompted him thereunto, b, c. In him the scepter falls again into the hands of the old *Assyrian* race, *ibid.* Said by *Herodotus* to have been chosen for mediator between the *Medes* and *Lydians*, 970, c. Vanquished by *Cyrus*, betakes himself to *Babylon*, *ibid.* d. Which the *Persians* take by surprise, *ibid.* e. Said by some to have retired not to *Babylon*, but to *Borsippa*, where being besieged by *Cyrus*, he surrendered himself to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and sent him as his lieutenant into *Carmania*, where he spent the remainder of his days, *ibid.* Whether he was the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, or *Darius* the *Mede*, 971, f, & 972, a, b.

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*Nadab*, the son of *Aaron*, by *Elizabet* the daughter of *Aminadab*, 490, a. Solemnly consecrated priest with his brother *Abihu*, 523, c. Killed by fire from heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with strange fire, contrary to *Moses's* command, 523, d.

*Nadab*, king of *Israel*, lays siege to *Gibbethon*, a city of the *Philistines*, 358, b.

*Nadius*, second king of *Babylon*, probably the *Ninias* of *Ctesias*, 945, b.

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- Nabals*, king of the *Ammonites*, 297, a. Wages war with the *Israelites* at first with good success, *ibid.* b. But his army is at last entirely routed and dispersed by *Saul*, c. Proved kind to *David*, *ibid.*
- Nahor*, inventions ascribed to him, 131, (W).
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- Naucratis*, a colony of the *Græcians* in *Egypt*, 227, b.
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- Nebo*, an idol of the *Babylonians*, 287, d, & 924, a. The *Chemosh*, or *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites*, 278, a. A town of the same name in the dominions of *Moab*, *ibid.* The mount of *Nebo*, from whence *Moses* is commanded to take a view of *Canaan*, 537, c. On mount *Nebo* *Moses* dies, 543, c.
- Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Affria*, takes *Tyre*, after a siege of 13 years, razes it to the ground, and puts all the inhabitants to the sword, 417, a, b. Defeats the *Egyptians*, 847, d. Takes *Jerusalem*, and rifies the temple, *ibid.* Besieges the city again, takes, plunders, and burns it, 849, d, e.
- Nebuzaradan*, general of the *Babylonians*, puts all *Ammon* to fire and sword, and carries away king *Baalis*, and most of the nobles, into captivity, 298, c.
- Néanabes*, king of *Egypt*, the first of the *Schennytic* race, 274, a. Defends *Egypt* against the *Persians*, *ibid.* Dies, *ibid.* b.
- Nittanebus*, king of *Egypt*, 275, d. His subjects rebel against him, *ibid.* & seq. But are vanquished, *ibid.* b. He is joined by *Sydonians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cypriots*, against the *Persians*, 276, b. Is invaded by the *Persians*, *ibid.* d. Abandons the kingdom to them, and flies into *Ethiopia*, *ibid.* f. He was the last *Egyptian* that ever governed *Egypt*, *ibid.* & seq.
- Necus*, king of *Egypt*, son and successor to *Psalmitchus*, 264, f. The *Pharaoh-Necho* of scripture, *ibid.* Attempts to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red-sea*, but is warned by an oracle to desist, *ibid.* His expeditions by sea, *ibid.* Fits out two fleets, *ibid.* Marches against the king of *Affria*, 265, a. Defeats *Josiah* king of *Judah*, who opposed him in his march, *ibid.* Routs the *Affrians*, and takes the city of *Carchemish*, *ibid.* Sends *Jehoahaz* king of *Judah* in chains to *Egypt*, *ibid.* c. Makes *Eliakim* king over *Judah*, imposing on him a tribute, *ibid.* c. Is defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and loses all *Syria* and *Judea*, *ibid.* d, e. Dies, *ibid.*
- Nezo*, an *Affrian*, or *Babylonian* deity, 925, a.
- Neburdea*, or river of knowledge, an account of it, 908, d.
- Nebemias* the well of, 586, b.
- Neomenie*, or new moons. Vid. *Moon*.
- Nephe*, or *Nephtys*, called also *Finis*, *Venus*, and *Victoria*, 239, b, c.
- Nepherius* king of *Egypt*, 274, c.
- Nepherotes* king of *Egypt*, and the last of the *Mendesian* race, 275, a.
- Nephtim*, how interpreted, 82, (N).
- Nephtys*, all the skirts of a country washed by the sea, and the promontories so called by the *Egyptians*, 165, d.
- Neptune* or *Pojidon*, son of *Pontus*, 137, a.
- Nereus*, the father of *Pontus*, supposed by some to be *Juphet*, 137, (S).
- Nergal*, a *Persian* deity, 861, b. Also an *Affrian* deity, 925, a.
- Neriglissar*, or *Niriglissaroor*, and *Niricassolussurus*, kills *Evil-merodach* king of *Babylon*, and usurps the throne, 965, e, & 966, c. Invites all the neighbouring nations to join him against the *Medes* and *Persians*, 967, b, c. Marches against them at the head of a numerous army, *ibid.* Battle between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, wherein the former are routed, and *Neriglissar* himself slain, 968, a, b. *Neriglissar* most likely to have been *Darius* the *Mede*, *ibid.* Arguments proving it, *ibid.* b, c, d, e.
- Nethinims*, persons dedicated to the worship of God, 650, c. Etymon of the name, *ibid.* Not of the children of *Israel*, but of the *Gibeonites*, *ibid.* c. This name not given them before the captivity, *ibid.* Condemned to the lowest and most laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*, *ibid.* c.
- New Moons*. Vid. *Moons*.
- Nicholls* holds the creation of other worlds before ours, 43, (N).
- Nile* springs of, anciently unknown, 177, b. Its course, *ibid.* d. Its seven mouths, and their names, *ibid.* Now they are reckoned above 30 but only two considerable ones, viz. that of *Rosetta*, or *Rohid*, and of *Damietta*, or *Dymid*, *ibid.* e. Its annual overflowing, *ibid.* e, f. To what height the waters swell, *ibid.* & seq. How they measure the daily increase of the waters, 178, d, e. To what height it must rise, before the great dam of the *Khalis* or great canal at *Bulek*, be cut down, *ibid.* f. This is one of the greatest solemnities of *Egypt*, and in ancient times solemnized with the sacrifice of a girl, 178, b, c. This ceremony abolished by the *Turks*, *ibid.* The manner of conveying the water on the lands, 179, c, d. Fattens the earth without any other manure, *ibid.* f. The fecundity caused by its waters, reaches not only the earth, but also mankind, and animals, 180, a, b. In what manner the cities, towns, and villages secure themselves from the inundations of the *Nile*, *ibid.* d, e. The cause of such inundations, *ibid.* e, f. Birds peculiar to the *Nile*, 182, a, b. What fish it affords, 182, c, d. First called *Egyptus*, but afterwards took its name from king *Nilus*, who made it universally serviceable, 259, e.
- Nilometers* described, 178, d, e.
- Nilus* king of *Egypt*, 257. Makes the *Nile* very serviceable, whence that river, formerly called *Egyptus*, took its name, *ibid.* e.
- Nimrod*, the sixth son of *Cush*, 122, a. Represented by some as a giant, as a great warrior, a great tyrant, &c. *ibid.* b. The signification of his name, 122, c, d, & (I). What gave occasion to the injurious opinions which have been entertained of him in all ages, *ibid.* & (K). Generally thought to have been the first king after the flood, *ibid.* Made by the eastern writers the first king

king of all the world, *ibid.* (C). And the first that wore a crown, *ibid.* Founder of the *Babylouish* kingdom, *ibid.* Probably not the builder of any of the four cities mentioned by *Moses*, 122, b, & 124, a. At what time he began to reign, *ibid.* a, b. Whether the same with *Belus*, 124, b. Several traditions as to his death, *ibid.* c, & (W). Whether to be found in profane history, 124, b, c. Several conjectures relating to him, *ibid.* Kept possession of *Shinaar*, and erected a kingdom there, making *Babel* the seat of the empire, 165, a. Thought to have been the first usurper on the rights of others, 172, d, e.

*Niniveh* built, 874, e. Where situate, 126, (B). Destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, 150, a. In the second, third, or fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, 949, (N).

*Ninus* the whole story of, seems a copy of that of the *Egyptian Sesostris*, 872, (Y). Takes *Babylon*, 873, a. Subdues *Armenia*, *ibid.* Routs *Pharmus* king of *Media*, *ibid.* The nations he subdued, *ibid.* Returns into his own country, 874, b. Builds *Niniveh*, *ibid.* c. Resolves upon a war with the *Bactrians*, 875, a. His extraordinary preparations for this war, 876, b. Smitten with *Semiramis*, 877, b. Marries her, and has a son by her, *ibid.* c. Takes *Bactra*, *ibid.* e.

*Ninyas* employs an eunuch to assassinate his mother *Semiramis*, 882, e. What prompted him to get rid of her, 882, (H). Succeeds his mother, 883, a. His character 884, & seq.

*Nisan*, the seventh month of the *Jewish* year, answering our *March*, 611, (K).

*Nisroch*, the chief deity of the *Affrians*, 861, b.

*Nitetic*, daughter of *Apries* king of *Egypt*, 272, c.

*Nitocris*, queen of *Memphis*, a most beautiful woman, 245, a. 247, b. (F). Succeeds her brother, *ibid.* To revenge his death, puts many of the *Egyptians* to death, *ibid.* b. She was by birth an *Ethiopian*, *ibid.* c. Builds the third pyramid, *ibid.*

*Nitocris*, wife to *Evil-merodach*, and mother to *Nabonadius* kings of *Babylon*, 969, d. Fortifies the city of *Babylon*, *ibid.* e. Did several other great works ascribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, *ibid.* A monument erected by her, with an extraordinary inscription, 970, a. Supposed to have been a *Mede* by birth, 967. Has all the glory of the reign of her son *Nabonadius*, *ibid.* d, e, f.

*Noachide* the policy of, 171, e.

*Noah*, the import of the word, 85, (N). Endeavours to reclaim men from their wickedness, 84, b. The son of *Lamech*, 85, a. Groundless surmises with respect to his piety, 84, (N). Departs from among men with his wife and children, 85, a. Directed to make an ark, *ibid.* c. Retires into it, *ibid.* d, & 105, b. Different opinions as to the name of his wife, *ibid.* (N). Comes out of the ark, 114, & 106. The precepts given him by God, *ibid.* d, & seq. Assured that the world should not perish by a second deluge, 115, c. Becomes a husband-man, *ibid.* d. Said by some to have invented the tools of husbandry, 85, (N). Where first settled, 115, d. Not *Fo bi* first king of *China*, *ibid.* e, f. Acknowledged a prophet by the *Mohammedans*, 85, (N). The genealogy of his descendants, 117. First migration of his sons, 141, d, e. Divides the earth among his three sons, 157, a.

*Nod* land of, where situated, 75, a.

*Nomes*, prefectures, or governments, into which *Egypt* was divided, 176, c, d. This division ascribed to *Sesostris*, *ibid.* How many nomes the country was divided into, *ibid.*

*Numbers*, held by *Pythagoras* to be the principles of all, 26, c, d.

*Numenius*, his opinion of the origin of the universe, 30.

*Nysa* by whom built, 245, b.

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**O A N N E S**, a monster mentioned by *Herodotus*, 90, a, b. Delivered the knowledge of letters, of arts and sciences, *ibid.* Called also *Oet*, *ibid.* Fabled to have been the first instructor of the *Chaldees*, and their stories concerning him, 929, c, & seq.

*Oasis*, two cities of this name on the borders of *Lybia*, and one of the 16 nomes of the middle *Egypt*, 175, f.

*Obadiab* governor of *Abab's* house, 810, b.

*Obedom*, the ark deposited in his house, 776, b.

*Obollab*, a town towards *Babrah*, 170, b.

*Obob*, called by *Pliny*, *Oboda*, the 37th encampment of the *Israelites*, on their march to the promised land, 533, a.

*Ocean*, or water, according to the most ancient phylogogers, the original of all things, 17, d.

*Ocela*, or *Ocelis*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the port of *Sanna*, or *Uzal* in *Yaman*, 170, a.

*Ocellus Lucanus*, one of the most ancient asserters of the world's eternity, 3, b. His arguments absurd and ridiculous, *ibid.* b, c, d.

*Oebus*, king of *Persia*, brings all *Phoenice* under the *Persian* yoke, 411, & seq. His cruelty to the *Sidonians*, *ibid.* e, f.

*Offerings*, peace-offerings, laws concerning them, 623, c, d. Meat and drink-offerings, *ibid.* e.

*Offerings* for cleansing, *ibid.* f, & 624, a, b.

*Offerings* of the first-fruits, 625, a, b, & seq.

Of the first cake of every lump of dough, 626, a.

Of the first born, of the tribes, &c. 627, b, c, & seq.

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*Og*, king of *Babhan*, reckoned a king of the *Amorites*, 330, c. The last king of the race of the giants of *Rephaim*, 324, (E). & 330, c. Espouses the cause of *Sidon* the *Amorite*, and attempts to stop the progress of *Moses* and his people, *ibid.*

Falls in battle, and his kingdom is transferred to the *Israelites*, *ibid.* d. *Jewish* fables of his size, 534, (X).

*Ogges*, his flood, 96, (N).

*Olivet* mount, or the mount of olives, why called by the *Jews* the mountain of three lights, 572, d.

Famous on many accounts, 572, a. Described, 573, a. Falsely supposed to be in or on the skirts of *Galilee*, *ibid.*

Held in particular veneration by the *Christians* for our Saviour's ascension into heaven, *ibid.* Nor much less by the *Mohammedans*, *ibid.*

*Olympus* mount, its height, 102, (N).

*Omoroca*, a woman so named in the *Chaldean* cosmogony, 14, e. The governess of living creatures, *ibid.* Signification of the word, *ibid.* (N).

*Omri* chosen king of *Israel* by the army, 808, d.

*On*, *Heliopolis* once so called, and by *Ptolemy*, *Onium*, 453, (N).

*Onan*, *Judah's* son by his *Canaanitish* wife, 450, c.

Marries *Tamar*, his brother's wife, *ibid.* His sin and death, *ibid.* d.

*Ophir*, one of *Joktan's* sons, where settled, 170, d.

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*Oracles* of *Egypt*, 211, a.

*Oreb*, prince of *Midian*, 304, d, e. Defeated by *Gideon*, *ibid.* Killed by the *Ephraimites*, *ibid.* & seq.

And their heads carried to *Gideon*, 745, e.

*Origen* favours the dogm of the *Platonists*, concerning the world's eternity, 4, e.

*Ormazd*, or *Horminda*, the good principle among the *Mages*, 31, d.

*Orontes*, a river of *Syria*, 361, c. A fabulous tradition concerning its origin, *ibid.*

*Ophus*,



*Orpheus*, the introducer of the rites of the heathen worship among the *Greeks*, 15, c. Followed therein by *Homer*, *ibid.* Said to have been quite silent in his theology, as to any thing intellectual, 16. And to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, *ibid.* Looked upon by the *Greek Pagans*, as a profound philosopher, *ibid.* *Celsus* would have had the *Christians* take him rather for a god than *Christ*, *ibid.* Is thought to have acknowledged one supreme unmade deity, from the esteem he was in with the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, *ibid.* a. His cosmogony made by *Timæus* the chronographer, *ibid.* a, b. His verses assert a supreme deity, *ibid.* d. His theology preferred to that of other *Heathens*, by the *Christian* fathers, *ibid.* d. His establishing of *Polytheism* owing rather to necessity than to his own approbation, *ibid.* He held two principles, æther and chaos, 16, e. He first introduced the doctrine of the mundane egg, 17, a.

*Orphic* theologers, in what sense they taught that God was all things, 17, b.

*Orus*, an *Egyptian* deity, 238, & seq. His history, *ibid.* Confounded often with *Apollo*, 206, a. How represented, *ibid.* The last of the *Egyptian* gods, or demi-gods, 243, d.

*Osiris*, according to the *Egyptian* philosophy, the same as the sun, 13, c. *Osiris* and *Isis* the chief deities of *Egypt*, 204, a. How represented by the *Egyptians*, 205, c, d. *Osiris* and *Isis*, said to be the son and daughter of *Rhea*, 238, f. Their history, *ibid.* & seq. His tomb, 242, c.

*Osmandus*, or *Imandes*, buried in one of the pyramids mentioned by *Herodotus*, 185.

*Osmandus*, king of *Egypt*, according to some, the same as *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, 245, (D). Reduced the rebellious *Bactrians* with an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, *ibid.* & 246, a. His tomb, the most magnificent in *Egypt*, described, *ibid.* His statue, with an inscription, *ibid.*

*Othniel* takes *Kirjath Sepher*, 783, f. Marries *Caleb's* daughter, *ibid.* The first judge of *Israel*, 742, d. Gains a signal victory over *Cushan-rishataim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, 742, d.

*Ovens*, used in *Egypt* for hatching chickens, described, 201, (B).

*Oayartes*, king of *Bactria*, routs *Ninus*, 876, d. But is at last entirely defeated by him, *ibid.* e.

*Oxyrinchus*, now called *Casbous*, a kind of fish in the Nile, 182, d.

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**PALMYRA**, the metropolis of *Palmyrene* in *Syria*, 361, c. Its name and situation, 367, a, b. Description of its great court and temple, *ibid.* c. Of its promiscuous ruins, obelisk, and two pillars, 368, e, f, g. The great piazza, 369, a. Banqueting house, *ibid.* c. Porphyry pillars and palace, *ibid.* d, e. Marble pillars, and little temple, *ibid.* f, g. The sepulchres, 370, a, b, & seq.

*Palmyrene*, a province of *Syria*, 361, c.

*Pamyles*, the nurse of *Osiris*, 242, c.

*Pan*, worshipped by the inhabitants of *Mendes* in *Egypt*, 207, c, d. *Chremis*, 240, a.

*Pantubibla*, seems to be the same with *Sippara*, 91, b. & (N). Several opinions relating to it, *ibid.*

*Paplagenians*, originally called *Riphatheans* from *Riphat*, 167, a.

*Papyrus*, or *Byblus*, a reed growing in *Egypt*, 182, f. Called by the natives, *al herdi*, described, *ibid.* The ancients made their paper with the pith of its stalk, *ibid.* Or of the inner rind, 183, a. Of great use to the ancients, affording them both food and cloaths, *ibid.*

*Parables*, that of *Joshua* the first we read of, 48, (I.). The *Greeks* falsely boast themselves the authors of

parables, *ibid.* In use among the *Jews* when unknown to the *Greeks*, *ibid.* Who the first authors of them uncertain, *ibid.* How that expression of our Saviour, that *he spoke in parables to the people, that hearing they might not understand*, is to be understood, *ibid.*

*Paradise*, several paradises, 58, a, b. Obscure traditions relating to it among the *Heathens*, *ibid.* d, e. Vid. *Eden*.

*Parcentes*, the first woman's name in the physiology of the *Indian Bramins*, 33, b.

*Paris* and *Helen*, their arrival in *Greece*, 259, e.

*Parmenides*, his opinion of the origin of things, 7, b.

*Parfondas*, his story, 938, c, d, & seq.

*Partamis* king of *Egypt*, 268, a.

*Parvaim*, the gold of ophir seeming to be so called in scripture, has occasioned some groundless conjectures, 170.

*Passover*, or *Easter*, its first institution, 500, a. The order and manner of it, *ibid.* b. Laws relating to it, 602, a, & seq. Penalties appointed for such as should omit the celebration of it, 604, a, & (P). The etymology of its name, *ibid.* (Q). At what time it was to begin, *ibid.* Unleavened bread, 500, c.

*Pastors Egyptian*. Vid. *Shepherds*.

*Patæci*, the tutelar gods of sea-faring men among the *Phœnicians*, 400, a. Carried about in the prows of their ships, *ibid.* & (T).

*Pathros*, wrongly taken by some for *Pelusium*, the Upper *Egypt*, or *Thebais*, 165, e.

*Pathrusim*, the inhabitants of *Pathros*, or the Upper *Egypt*, 165, d.

*Patriarchs* antediluvian. Vid. *Antediluvian*.

*Paulicians*, admitted two self-existent Gods, 31, a.

*Pausiris* reigns over the *Egyptians* with the consent of the *Persians*, 274, b.

*Peniel*, or the face of God, the place where *Jacob* wrestled with an angel, 445, b.

*Peserius*, his system concerning the standing of the sun considered and confuted, 560, a, & seq.

*Petab*, king of *Israel*, enters into a league with *Rezin*, king of *Syria*, against *Aban* king of *Judah*, 389, b. Besieges *Jerusalem* to no effect, *ibid.*

*Pekabiah* succeeds his father *Menabem* in the kingdom of *Israel*, 825, a. Murdered, 830, d.

*Pelasgians* of *Greece* and *Italy* not descended from *Pelag*, 169, d.

*Pelag*, son to *Eber*, 129. Signification of the word, *ibid.* Remained with his posterity in *Chaldea*, 169, d.

*Pelastites*, who, 778, (C).

*Pelusium*, probably first founded by the *Philistines*, 344, (L).

*Pendets*, *Indian Gentiles*, 23, c. Their cosmogony, *ibid.*

*Pentapolis*, one of the most beautiful parts of the land of *Canaan*, 323, b.

*Pentecost*, or the feast of the weeks, instituted in memory of the law being given on mount *Sinai*, 606, a. When to be kept, *ibid.* What sacrifices to be offered, *ibid.* a, b. Other regulations relating thereto, *ibid.* & (W), (X).

*Pennel* refuses a refreshment to *Gideon* and his men, 745, b. All the inhabitants by him put to the sword, *ibid.* e.

*Peor* a moabitish deity, 287, b. Whence so call'd, *ibid.* (E).

*Peræa*, the *Greek* name of the country of *Bashan* beyond the *Jordan*, 137, (Q). & 568, c.

*Pergamus* king, rather the improver than the inventor of parchment, 727, a.

*Peri*, or *series*, among the orientals, 51, c.

*Perjury*, the law of *Moses* punished it with death, 684, d.

*Perizzites*, inhabitants of *Canaan*, 323, d. Their habitation, *ibid.* The original signification of the word, *ibid.* (D). Invaded by the tribes of *Simcon* and *Judah*, and cut off, 333, d. Some left to prove *Israel*, and live in common with them, 335, a.



- But reduced by *Solomon* to a state of slavery, 337, b.
- Persians*, a peculiar tradition of the modern *Persians*, relating to the creation of the world, 32, c, d.
- Their traditions concerning the flood, 107, a, b.
- Pern* not the true name of that country, but given to it by the *Spaniards*, on their mistaking the answer of the natives, 170, e, f.
- Petra*, a city of *Edom*, 309, c. Vid. *Selab*. Placed by *Josephus* under the jurisdiction of the *Amalekites*, 319, a, & (D).
- Peyrerius* held that the flood extended no farther than *Judea*, 97, (N).
- Phagus* of the ancients, now called *Karmûd*, a fish to be found in the *Nile*, 182, d.
- Phalix*, king of *Sidon*, flourished in the time of the *Trojan* war, 410, b. Honoured by *Homer* with the title of most illustrious, *ibid.*
- Phanes* of *Halicarnassus* betrays *Ameftis* king of *Egypt* 272, b.
- Phares* and *Zarab* born to *Judab* by *Tamar*, 452, a. Their strange birth, *ibid.*
- Pharaoh*, in the *Coptic* tongue, signifies king, 280, f. An appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt*, 423, b. Several etymologies of it, *ibid.* *Wahid*, the first king who took that surname, 280, f.
- Pharaoh* surnamed *al Araj*, or the lame king of *Egypt*, 281, e. Refuses to deliver up to *Nebuchadnezzar* the *Jews* who had fled into *Egypt*, *ibid.* f. Is taken by him and hanged, *ibid.* *Pharaoh's* two dreams interpreted by *Joseph*, 452, d. e. Raises him to the highest post of the kingdom, 453, a. Gives him the daughter of *Potipherab* to wife, *ibid.* b. *Pharaoh's* cruel orders to the *Hebrew* midwives, 475. Several things that may, in some measure, authorize the cruel measures he took against the *Israelites*, 475, b. His cruel usage of the *Jews*, 474, b. Several conjectures about his true crime, *ibid.* d. Commands the *Israelites* to drown all their male children, 477, a. His heart not hardened by God, 494, (D). The words of the scripture ought to have been translated, that God suffered the heart of *Pharaoh* to be hardened, *ibid.* Dismisses at last the *Israelites*, 501, e. Repents and pursues them, and is drowned in the *Red-Sea*, 507, b, c. An oriental fable concerning him, 282, (B).
- Pharpar* and *Abana*, the only streams of the *Chrysorrheas*, or *Barrady*, which waters *Damascus*, 362, a.
- Phasu*, mistakes of the learned about its source, 55, d, e.
- Phelles*, or *Helles*, kills his brother *Astarimus* king of *Tyre*, and usurps the throne, 415, b. Is murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Ithobal*, *ibid.* c.
- Phereides* of *Syrus*, master to *Pythagoras*, 25, c. His opinion as to the origin of the world, *ibid.* c, d.
- Pheryades* *Syrus*, said by *Theopompus* to have wrote the first of nature, and the gods of the *Greeks*, 18, (N). His treatise of the beginning of things extant in the time of *Leontius*, *ibid.*
- Phron*, also stiled *Sesofus*, *Sesoftris's* son succeeds him, 258, b. Is struck blind, *ibid.* c. Recovers his sight, and raises two obelisks, *ibid.* d.
- Phiala*, the lake of the true source of the *Jordan*, 577, c, & (S). Described, 578, a.
- Phicol*, the chief captain of *Abimelech* king of the *Philistines*, 345, e. Name probably peculiar to their chief minister, 347, (Q).
- Philadelphia* antiently the metropolis of the *Ammonites*, 293, b.
- Philistines*, descended partly from the *Castahim*, and partly from the *Caphisorim*, 338, b. *Egypt* their first seat, *ibid.* Migrate from *Egypt*, and seize the land, which was afterwards called by their name, and known to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Palestine*, *ibid.* c, d. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* & (B). Description of the country, *ibid.* & 339, a. Gaza their chief city, 339, b. Its situation, *ibid.* Called *Azza* in *Hebrew*, and *Aza* by the *Syrians*, *ibid.* c. Why called *Gaza*, *ibid.* Called also *Iam* and *Mina* in latter times, c. Description of its present ruins, *ibid.* & 340, (C). Their other chief cities, 339, b, & seq. Their government monarchical, but limited, 341, d. All their kings honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*, *ibid.* An aristocracy introduced among them, and after that again kings called by the appellation of *Achish*, *ibid.* e. But of very small power, *ibid.* A very warlike, ingenious, and industrious people, *ibid.* f. Famous for their inveterate enmity against the *Israelites*, 342, b. The bow and arrow their invention, *ibid.* d. Under their first kings of one religion with the *Hebrews*, *ibid.* In after-times erred into endless idolatries, *ibid.* e. Their idols, *ibid.* & 343, a, & seq. Came directly out of *Egypt*, and expelling the *Avims*, seized on their country, 344, a. From whence they borrowed their name, 344, (N). The obliging behaviour of their king *Abimelech* towards *Abraham*, 345, a, b, & seq. *Abraham* obliges himself by oath, that he and his posterity should live in love with his posterity, *ibid.* e. *Abimelech* II. his kind behaviour towards *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, 346, a, b. He renews with *Isaac* the covenant made by his father with *Abraham*, 347, c, d. *Gaza Askelon*, and *Ebron* taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judab*, 347, e. But they get possession again of the said cities, *ibid.* Hold the *Israelites* under their yoke till they are delivered by *Shamgar*, who kills 600 of them with an ox-goad, 347, e, & 348, a. Suffer in common with the *Israelites*, by the incursions of *Zabab* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Midian*, 348, a. Oppress the *Israelites*, in conjunction with the *Ammonites*, in the days of *Jephthab*, 348, a. A third time reduce the *Israelites*, and keep them under for 40 years, *ibid.* Sustain great losses by *Samson*, 348, a, b, & seq. Recover their loss, make war upon the *Israelites*, kill 4000 of them, and put them to a precipitate flight, 350, a. Disheartened at the arrival of the ark, but being by their chiefs inspired with fresh courage, fall upon the *Israelites*, kill 30,000 of their foot, and take the ark, *ibid.* c. Smitten with a sudden plague, remove the ark from *Ashdod* to *Gath*, from *Gath* to *Ebron*, but their affliction gathering strength, send the ark back with a trespass offering, 351, a, b, & seq. The plague they were afflicted with, *ibid.* & (D). Twenty years afterwards march out against the *Israelites*, but are frightened by a storm of thunder and lightning, and slaughtered by the *Hebrews*, 352, b, c. In a few years return more formidable than ever, ravage the country of the *Israelites*, but are first put in disorder by *Jonathan*, and after entirely routed by *Saul*, 353. Overthrown in a battle by *David*, 355, a. Oblige their king *Achish* to dismiss *David* from the army, 356, b. March against *Saul*, who is routed and killed with his three sons, *ibid.* c, d. Make war upon *David*, 356, e. By whom they are routed in four successive battles, and made tributaries to him, 357, e, & seq. Many of their giants killed by the *Israelites*, 357, b, c. Being increased by the fugitive *Edomites*, apply themselves to trade, 358, a, & (B). Harassed by *Nadab* king of *Israel*, 358, b. Pay a voluntary tribute to *Jehoshaphat* king of *Israel*, 358, c. Rebel against *Jehoram* break into his kingdom, rife his house, and put to death all his family, except *Ataliah* and her son *Ahaziah*, 358, c, d. Invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judab*, who dismantles *Gath*, *Jabneb*, and *Ashdod*, *ibid.* d. War against *Ahaz*, reduce several of his cities, and settle themselves in them, 356. Their whole country over-run by *Hezekiah*, *ibid.* b. Subdued by

- by the *Affrians*, and their country become the seat of a long and obstinate war between the *Egyptians* and the *Affrians*, *ibid.* c, d. Tributaries to the great monarchies as they succeeded each other, *ibid.* They are said to have planted the island of *Crete*, 348, (G). The foundation of this notion, *ibid.* Called in several places of scripture *Cerethites*, *ibid.* Two hundred of them killed by *David* for their fore-skins, 355, a.
- Phineas*, the son of *Nadab*, and grandson of *Aaron*, 490, a. Put to death *Zimri*, for bringing a *Midianitish* prince's into the camp, and, for his zeal, the high-priesthood is confirmed to him and his seed, 536, a.
- Phinehas* and *Hophni*, sons of *Eli*, their vile character, 755, b.
- Phlox*, who, in the *Phœnician* history, 87, a.
- Phœnice*, from whence it borrowed its name, 391, d. Called also *Clna*, being a contraction of *Canaan*, *ibid.* Called also *Rhabbath* and *Celphis*, etymology of this name, *ibid.* Its situation, 392, a. And division, b. And cities, *ibid.* Its soil and climate, 394, c. Natural curiosities, *ibid.* c, d. Antient curiosities, 395, a.
- Phœnicians*, *Canaanites* by descent, 396, c. Their territory included several kingdoms, and they were governed by kings, 397, a. Had once a knowledge of the true God, whom they called *Baal*, or *Lord*, *ibid.* But became blind idolaters, *ibid.* Their duties, *ibid.* Their religion hardly different from that of the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* d. Their religious ceremonies, 401, b, c, d. Said by *Herodotus* to have used circumcision, which is contradicted by *Josephus*, 403, f. Abstained from the flesh of swine, *ibid.* Arithmetic and Astronomy, either took rise among them, or were brought by them to a great perfection, 404, a. Most of the sciences flowed from them into *Greece*, together with their letters, *ibid.* Their characters probably the same with the *Samaritan*, *ibid.* b. Their manufactures, *ibid.* c. Their trade and navigation, *ibid.* c. & 405, a, b. Their shipping, *ibid.* f, & 406, a, b. Series of the kings of the different kingdoms of *Phœnice*, 407. Their kings from the ancient fabulous history of the *Greeks*, 408, a. Enter into a confederacy to shake off the *Persian* yoke, 410, f. Betrayed by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Ienues* king of *Sidon*, 411, c, d. And are again subdued by *Ochus* king of *Persia*, 412, a. Their account of the original of the world, 11, d, e, & seq. Their cosmogony, according to *Eusebius*, directly brings in atheism, 12, a. It was taken from that of *Thoyth*, and agrees in substance with the *Egyptian*, 12, c. *Phœnician* antediluvian history, 86, d. *Phœnician* history from *Sanctoniatho*, 133, b. Mentions only the idolatrous line of *Cain*, *ibid.* *Phœnician* records, supposed by bishop *Cumberland* to have been corrupted, 133, (C). His amendment of them, *ibid.*
- Phœnicia*. Vid. *Phœnice*.
- Phœnicopteri*, or *Flamingo's* bird of *Egypt*, 182, a.
- Phœnix*, *Herodotus's* account of one, 211, b, c.
- Phœnix*, son of *Agenor*, supposed by the *Greeks* to have succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, and given his name to the country, 410, a. Said to have been the first that found out the scarlet colour, called therefore at first *Phœnicinus*, and with a small alteration *Puniceus*, *ibid.* b.
- Phos*, who, in the *Phœnician* history, 87, a.
- Phtha* among the *Egyptians*, the same as *Vulcan* among the *Greeks*, 13, d.
- Phua*, one of the chief *Hebrew* midwives in *Egypt* Vid. *Shiprah*.
- Phunon*, since known by the name of *Metallo Phunon*, one of the encampments of the *Israelites*, on their march to the promised land, 533, a.
- Physic* owing probably to the *Egyptians*, 218, d, e.
- Physicians*, each applied himself among the *Egyptians* to the cure of one disease only, 218, f. Had a public provision made for them by law, 219, b. Their method of practising, *ibid.* b, c.
- Pico de Adam*, why so named by the *Mohammedans*, 45, a.
- Pieria*, part of *Seleucia*, 361, a.
- Pi-babiroth*, the city of *Heroum*, on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulf, or the *Phagariopolis*, placed by *Strabo* near the same place, 503, (U).
- Pillars*, one of brick, another of stone, made by the offspring of *Seth*, 81, b. Their inventions engraved upon them, *ibid.* Said by *Josephus* to have been extant in his time, *ibid.* What led him into this mistake, *ibid.* (N). Pillars from whence *Menestho* extracted his history, 81, (N). Others, mentioned by *Sanctoniatho*, consecrated to the wind and fire, 87, c, & (N). Of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, 222, d. *Pthagoras* and *Plato* borrowed their philosophy from thence, *ibid.* e. Remaining in the time of *Preclus*, *ibid.* Used by the *Egyptians*, and other nations, to preserve the memory of things by inscriptions, 222, d. Miraculous pillars of fire and smoke, which conducted the *Israelites* in their march, 504, a, b.
- Pircm*, king of *Yarmuth*, joins *Adonizedek*, king of *Jerusalem*, against the *Gibeonites*, 332, a. Is cut off by *Joshua* in a miraculous manner, *ibid.* b, c, & seq.
- Pisgag*, an encampment of the *Israelites* on their march to the promised land, 533, b.
- Pisón*, some imagine this name preserved in *Pasitigris*, or *Pish-tigris*, 55, a.
- Plagues of Egypt*, 496, & seq. How long a time *Moses* took in bringing all the plagues on *Egypt*, 499, (H).
- Planets*, how they came first to be worshipped, 730, (L). The planetary division of the week, by whom invented, *ibid.*
- Plantation*, the order of the first, 161, b, c. The first plantation of the earth, 162, a, b.
- Plato*, several of his followers held the world to be eternal, both in matter and form, 3, a. He himself acknowledged the world to be made by God, 4, b. Some of his expressions misinterpreted by his followers, favouring the eternity of the world, 4, b, c. His own notions as to the origin of the universe, 27, c, & seq. His ideas, 8. Held two distinct principles, God and matter, 25, c. What meant by his finite and infinite, 26. Borrowed his philosophy from the pillars of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, 222, e.
- Platonic* argument for the world's eternity, 5, a, b. An answer to it considered, *ibid.*
- Platonism* early introduced into the church 4, c. Favourably received by *Origen*, and zealously opposed by others, *ibid.*
- Platonists* misinterpret some of their master's expressions, as if he had asserted the world's eternity, 4, b, c, d.
- Pliny* the elder, held the eternity and incorruptibility of the world, 8, d.
- Plutarch*, his opinion as to the origin of the universe, 29, & 30, c.
- Poetry*, the nature, meter, cadence of the *Hebrew* scarce possible to be determined, 710, d, & seq. Lyric poetry not invented by *Orpheus*, 713, a.
- Poets*, old *Pagan* poets contributed to the depravation of theology, 15, d. Countenanced the opinion of the world's being produced from a chaos, *ibid.* d. Make love to preside at the ranging of the confused matter, *ibid.* d. Their cosmogony the same with their theogony, *ibid.*
- Poets Hebrew*, when introduced, 724, c, d, & seq. An account of them, 725, (B).
- Polygamy* allowed the *Jews*, 678, e. Distinction among them between the wives of the first and second rank, *ibid.* (M). The second no where in the

- the *Hebrew* text called concubines, harlots, or prostitutes, as most versions render the word *Pilgashim*, *ibid*.
- Pools of Solomon* described, 590, b, c.
- Porus* king of *Babylon*, 945, c.
- Posion*, or *Neptune*, the son of *Pontus*, 137, a.
- Postdiluvian* patriarchs, a table of their years to the birth of *Abraham*, 110, d. Of the same to the call of *Abraham*, according to the computation of the *Hebrew*, 111. The same according to the computation of the Septuagint, *ibid*. The same according to the computation of the *Samaritan* pentateuch, 112.
- Putiphar*, *Joseph* sold to him, 450, a. His wife solicits *Joseph* to an amour, *ibid*. His refusal makes her accuse him to *Putiphar*, who sends him into the king's prison, 450, c.
- Putiphar*, prince or priest of *On*, his daughter married to *Joseph*, 453, b.
- Porter's field*, now *Campo Santo*, its earth said to be of an extraordinary nature, 586, d, (C).
- Pourous*, the first man's name, according to the *Brahmins*, 33, b.
- Pre-adamites* think mankind was in being before *Adam*, 47, b. Their arguments and objections answered, *ibid*. & seq.
- Priaps*, or *Pballi*, columns, or pillars, of an extraordinary height, in the porch of the great goddess of *Syria* at *Hierapolis*, 372, c, d. Twice a year a man went up to the top of them, and remained there seven days, 375, f, g.
- Priesthood* among the *Jews*, or sacriificate at first belonged to the first-born, 632, c. Afterwards the tribe of *Levi* set apart for the inferior, and the family of *Aaron* for the higher offices of the ministry, *ibid*. d. High-priesthood given solely to the family of *Aaron*, 633, b.
- Priest*, high-priest the head of the *Jewish* church, 633, a. The final judge of all controversies, both as to religion and common justice, *ibid*. Laws relating to his office, 634, a, b, c, d. To his consecration, 635, a, b, c, & seq. To his dress, 636, a, b, & seq.
- Priests* among the *Jews*, their consecration, 641, d. Office, 642, b. Dress, 643, c, d. Subordinate to the high-priest, and of a rank superior to the *Levites*, 641, d. Laws concerning them, *ibid*. c, d.
- Procession*, an account of an ancient *Egyptian* one, given by *Clement of Alexandria*, 242, d, e.
- Proclus*, a great champion for the world's eternity, 4. Acknowledges the generation of the gods, *ibid*.
- Prometheus*, his flood in *Egypt*, 96, (N). Government there, 240, & seq.
- Property*, laws against coveting another man's, 686, c.
- Prophet*, the signification and import of the word, 731, (M). The prophets from *Abraham* to *Malachi*, 732, b. Their names, and those of the prophetesses, *ibid*. (O). How God revealed himself to them, 733, a. Their food, dress, and manner of living, 731, c, d. Their number, 732, a.
- Proselytes* among the *Jews*, such as were circumcised admitted to eat of the passover, and to all other religious privileges with the *Israelites*, 664, c. Such as were not circumcised kept in a state little better than slavery, *ibid*. d. What meant by proselytes of the gate, and proselytes of righteousness, *ibid*. c. Difference made by *Moses*, between nation and nation, with respect to their admission, 665, c.
- Proteus*, or *Cetes*, king of *Egypt*, 257, c, (K). The fable of *Proteus* whence derived, *ibid*. e. In his reign *Paris* and *Helen* arrive in *Egypt*, *ibid*. Has a sumptuous temple erected to him at *Marmphis*, *ibid*. Believed by some to be *Setbos* of *Menebo*, the typhon of the poets, *Homer's Proteus*, &c. *ibid*. (K).
- Proteogenus* and *Een*, *Adam* and *Eve* in the history of *Sanchoniatho*, 86, c, & (N). Their issue, *ibid*. c.
- Psammenitus*, son of *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, 271, c. Is overthrown by *Cambyses*, *ibid*. f. Taken prisoner, loses his kingdom, 272, a. The particulars of his captivity, *ibid*. b. His death *ibid*. e.
- Psammis* king of *Egypt*, 265, c. Dies in an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, 266, a.
- Psammithus*, at first king of one of the 12 kingdoms into which *Egypt* was divided, 263, b. Occasion of his falling out with his colleagues, *ibid*. Hires an army of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and reduces all *Egypt*, *ibid*. c, d. He was of the tribe of *Sais*, *ibid*. e. Gives great encouragement to the *Greeks*, *ibid*. f. His public buildings, 264, a. Keeps an army of foreigners in pay, *ibid*. b. The *Egyptians*, upwards of 200,000 desert him, *ibid*. Opens the ports of *Egypt* to strangers, *ibid*. c. Besieges and takes *Acatus* in *Syria*, after a siege of 29 years, *ibid*. d. Prevails upon the *Scythians*, ready to pour themselves into *Egypt*, with presents and entreaties to march back, *ibid*. His expedient to find out which was the most ancient language, 151, (U). Dies, 264, d, e.
- Psammithus* II. king of *Egypt*, 274, b. A barbarous and inhuman prince, *ibid*. c.
- Psammuthis* king of *Egypt*, 275, a.
- Ptolemais*, or *St. John d'Acre*, or *Acre*, its ruins described, 588, a.
- Pul*, called also *Pbul*, and, through mistake, by the Septuagint *Phul*, 888, (W). The seeming founder of the *Affyrian* monarchy, *ibid*. a. The first king of *Affyria*, mentioned in scripture, from the time that land was planted by *Abur*, 888, (W). Was a pure *Affyrian*, and not a *Chaldean*, or *Babylonian*, *ibid*. The same as *Belus*, *ibid*. Receives 1000 talents from *Manabim* king of *Isra-el*, and seems to have taken that kingdom into his protection, 889, a. Probably received voluntary homage from *Syria*, as he had from *Israel*, *ibid*.
- Punishments*, an account of those which were either appointed by the *Mosaic* law, or made use of at the prince's will before the captivity, 672, & seq.
- Pur*, who, in the *Phœnician* history, 87, a.
- Purim*, or lots, feast of, 611, a.
- Pygmalion*, king of *Tyre*, murders his uncle *Sichan* in hopes of seizing on his treasures, but is disappointed by his sister *Elisa*, the wife of *Sichan*, 415, f, & seq. Said to have built the city of *Carpasia* in the island of *Cyprus*, 416, c. Sends a rich donative to the temple of *Hercules* at *Gadu*, *ibid*. d.
- Pyramidal* figure, why made use of by the *Egyptians*, and also other nations, in erecting monuments, 186, a.
- Pyramids* of *Egypt*, the most remarkable on the west side of the *Nile*, not far from *Tizab*, about 20, in number, 183, e. Whence so named, *ibid*. f. By whom built, 184, a, & seq. Some mentioned by *Herodotus* and *Pliny*, long since ruined, 185, a. The time when they were built, *ibid*. e. The end for which they were erected, *ibid*. e, f. Three most remarkable ones, 184, b. Their description, 186, c, & seq. The dimensions of the first pyramid, *ibid*. c, d, & seq. The outside of it, 187, a. The inside, *ibid*. d, & seq. The second pyramid, 190, c, & seq. The priests lodgings near it, *ibid*. f. The third pyramid, 190, c, & seq. A fourth pyramid, *ibid*. d. Other pyramids, 193, a. How the pyramids were built, 191, f. Inscriptions on them mentioned by the *Copts*, 184, e.
- Pythagoras* held two distinct and independent principles co-existent from eternity, viz. God and matter, 25, c. What meant by his *dyad* and *monad*,

*manud.* *ibid.* d. The reason of his superstitious abstinence from beans, 26, a. His theology, 26, a, b. Borrowed his philosophy from the pillars of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, 222, c. With what reluctance of the *Egyptian* priests he was admitted to their secret learning, 223, a, b. *Pyth. orans.* their reasons why God should be called *Sotiafys*, 26, b, c.

Q

**Q**UAILS sent to the *Israelites*, thought by some to have been locusts, 509, (Q). *Quarantana*, or *Quarantania*, the mountain where the devil, they say, took our blessed Saviour to tempt him with the delusive sight of the earth, 583, a. Stones shewn here, which the inhabitants believe to be the same which the devil would have converted into loaves, *ibid.*

R

**R**AAMAH, or *Rhegma*, where settled, 164, d. *Rabbab*, the metropolis of the *Ammonites*, called *Rabbab of the children of Ammon*, 294, c. Famous for being the place where the great iron bedstead of *Og* king of *Hasan* was to be seen, *ibid.* f. In process of time called *Philadelpbia*, from *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who rebuilt it, *ibid.* Besieged by *Joab*, and after two years siege, stormed, plundered, and laid level with the ground, 298, d, e. *Rachel*, daughter of *Laban*, *Jacob* serves *Laban* 14 years for her, 440, e. Marries her, 441, a. Being long barren, is at last brought to bed of a son, whom she calls *Joseph*, 442, b. Steals her father's gods, 443. Vid. *Teraphim*. What induced her to it, *ibid.* (R). Brought to bed of *Benjamin*, 448, c. Dies and is buried in the way to *Ephraim*, 448, e. Her tomb near *Bethlem* remarkable for small stones to be seen there resembling peas, and ascribed to a miracle of the virgin *Mary*, 582, d. *Rack*, one of the *Babylonian* and *Affyrian* gods, 294, a. *Raguel* the same as *Jethro*, 303, (E). *Rahab* of the scripture, supposed to have been the western part of the *Delta* in *Egypt*, called at present *el Rif*, 176, c. *Rahab* spared in the destruction of *Jericho*, 330, e. Because she received and concealed in her house, the two spies sent by *Joshua*, 554, a. It does not appear from the text that she was an harlot, but an inn-keeper, *ibid.* (X). Receives assurance that her house should be exempted from the common ruin, *ibid.* b. Her whole family saved with her, 556, a. Embraces the *Hebrew* religion, is married to *Solomon*, and incorporated into the *Hebrew* common-wealth, *ibid.* *Rain*, some deny that there was any on the primitive earth, 111, b, c. Rain of stones, which fell upon the *Canaanites*, considered, 564, b, c, & 103. Like instances out of history, *ibid.* *Rainbow*, whether any before the flood, 111, e. *Rameses*, *Moses*'s dwelling place in *Egypt*, 502, a. Not above threescore miles distant from the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.* b. *Reshakeb*, one of the *Affyrian* generals sent against *Jerusalem*, 892, d. His boasting speech to the deputies of king *Hezekiah*, *ibid.* & 893, a. *Raven* sent out of the ark by *Noah*, 106. Why chosen, *ibid.* (N). *Rennais*, his account of the ruins of *Babylon*, 146, (M). *Rebub*, king or prince of *Midian*, 303, c. *Rebecca*, daughter of *Bethuel* son of *Nachor* by *Milcah*, 431, d. Given to *Isaac*, 433, d. After having continued barren a'ove 19 years, brings forth two sons, *Esau* and *Jacob*, 436, a, & 437, a. Favours *Jacob*, 437, a. Procures *Isaac*'s blessing for him, 439, a. *Reckabites*, who they were, their founder, institution and manner of life, 820, (T). Some wild

notions concerning them confused; how far they were bound to their founder's injunction, 821. *B. Tudel*'s fabulous account of them confused, *ibid.* *Red Sea*, more properly call the *Arabian* gulf, 308, (I). Called by the *Hebrews*, *Yam suf*, the weedy or flaggy sea; by the *Arabians*, *Bahr Al-kolzum*, or the sea of *Kolzum*, a small town at the northermost end of it, *ibid.* Why called the *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea*, *ibid.* The *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea* of the ancients is the *Indian* ocean of our days, *ibid.*

*Refuge*, cities of, among the *Jews*, 647, c. Designed to protect innocent persons only, *ibid.* These cities were designed not only for the *Israelites*, but for all strangers, 648, a. Several laws relating to them, *ibid.* c, d, & seq. The tabernacle, and afterwards the temple and altar places of refuge, 649, d, & seq.

*Rehoboam* succeeds *Solomon*, 804, d. His folly occasions the revolt of ten tribes, 805, a. Who chose *Jeroboam* to be their king, *ibid.* b. His death, 806, d.

*Rehoboth* the city of, where situated, 126, (B).

*Rekem* king of *Midian*, 303, c.

*Relicks*, the oldest consecration of relicks to be met with in history, 138, (Y).

*Rephan*, one of the *Hebrew* idols in the desert, 531, b.

*Rephaim* the vale of, called also the vale of *Titan*, or giants, 574, a. One of the ten nations of *Canaanites*, 322, (N). Men of a gigantic stature placed in *Bashan*, where *Og*, the last of their race, reigned, 324, (E). Thought by some to have been the *Gephyraei*, who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*, *ibid.*

*Rephidim*, the place where *Moses*, by smiting the rock, made waters gush out, 511, a.

*Risen* city, where situate, 126, (B).

*Reu*, invention of several arts ascribed to him, 131.

*Reuben*, *Jacob*'s first son by *Leah* born, 441, b. What meant by the mandrakes he brought home, 441, (Y). His incest, 448, c. Dissuades his brethren from killing *Joseph*, 449, c. Designs to save him out of the pit, and send him home to his father *ibid.* d. His lot in the promised land, 569, c.

*Rezin* last king of *Syria*, 389, b. Enters into a league with *Peckab* king of *Israel*, against *Abaz* king of *Judah*, *ibid.* Besieges *Abaz* in *Jerusalem* without effect, *ibid.* Marches into *Edom*, and makes himself master of *Elath*, *ibid.* Where he plants a colony, which subsisted many years after the subversion of the kingdom of *Syria*, 389, c. & 390, a. Invades the kingdom of *Judah*, and returns to *Damascus* loaded with spoils, 390, a. *Abaz* stirs up *Tiglath-pileser*, king of *Affyria*, against him, who kills him, and carries the inhabitants of *Damascus* away to *Kir*, *ibid.* a, b.

*Rezon*, first king of *Damascus*, revolts from *Hada-dizer*, whose forces he commanded, 382, b. Seizes on *Damascus*, and founds that kingdom, 382, c.

*Rhabbothin*, *Phoenice* so called, 391, d.

*Rhampsinitus*. Vid. *Rhemphis*.

*Rhea* daughter of *Uranus*, 136.

*Rhebus*, *Rhebeus*, or *Rhebanus*, a river near *Paphlagonia*, and a country of the same name, 167, a.

*Rhemphis*, or *Rhampsinitus*, king of *Egypt*, 257, e. Builds the western portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, 258, a. And a treasure-house, which is plundered by the artiched's two sons, *ibid.* c, d, e. Said to have gone down to hell, 259, d.

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*Rhincolura*, a town built by *Adisanes* king of *Egypt*, in the desert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, 257, b. Why so called, *ibid.*

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- Tyrians*, dispersed, with 12 vessels, the mighty fleet of the *Affyrians*, 416, e. Hold out a five years siege against *Shalmaneser*, king of *Affyria*, *ibid.* f. Tributary to the *Affyrians* for 70 years, 417, e. All murdered in one night by their slaves, except *Strato*, who was assumed to the crown, 417, f. & 418, a, b, c.

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*Uchortus* king of *Egypt*, 247, a. Some ascribe to him the building of *Mempbis*, *ibid.* Translates the imperial seat from *Thebes* to *Mempbis*, *ibid.* b.

*Ueadar*, or second *Adar*, the intercalary month among the *Jews*, 611, (K).

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*Ventphes*, king of *This*, built the pyramids at *Cochome*, 238, (C).

*Venus* the *Affyrian*, called *Sacoth Benoth*, 916, c. Derivation of the name *Venus*, *ibid.* d. Both masculine and feminine, *ibid.* f. Whether the same with the *Phœnician Astarte*, 919, b.

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*Xisathrus* the tenth of the *Chaldean* kings, according to *Berosus*, who reigned before the flood, 90, d. & 92, a.

*Xois*, one of the chief cities of the *Lower Egypt*, 176, c.

*Xylophoria*, a festival of the *Jews*, so called by *Josephus*, 650, d.

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*Yarab*, the son of *Joktan*, gave his name to *Arabia*, and the *Arabic* language, according to the *Arabs*, 131, a, b. Founded the kingdom of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, *ibid.*

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- Z**AB, a river in *Affrica*, 859, (I).  
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*Zachariah* slain by *Joash*, 824, c.  
*Zachary* sepulchre of, in the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, described, 592, c, & (M).  
*Za-chu-ne*, a remarkable fruit in the plain of *Jericho*, so called by the *Arabs*, 583, b.  
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*Zaimonab*, so called from the image or figure of the brazen serpent, which *Moses* caused to be erected there, 532, d.  
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*Zamzummins*, people of a gigantic race, the ancient inhabitants of *Ammonitis*, driven out by the *Ammonites*, 294, c. & 296, b.  
*Zaphir*, *Moses's* rod so called by the *Jews*, 489, (Z). Their stories concerning it, *ibid.*  
*Zaphnath-paaneh*, name given by *Pharaoh* to *Joseph*, 453, b. The meaning of it, *ibid.*  
*Zarab* and *Phares* born to *Judab* by *Tamar*, 452, a. Their strange birth, *ibid.*  
*Zarab* supposed to be the father of *Job*, 481, a.  
*Zarcaum*, a mountain, said to have been levelled by *Semiramis*, 880, c.  
*Zaretan*, a city, called afterwards *Zeredathab* famous for the copper-works which *Hiram* cast there for the temple of *Solomon*, 553, e, & (Y).  
*Zeal* the right of, made it lawful to kill some kind of offenders upon the spot, 675, c.  
*Zebab* heads the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and *Arabians* against the *Jews*, and wages a cruel war, 304, b. Defeated by *Gideon*, and killed, *ibid.* c, d.  
*Zebul*, servant of *Abimelech*, by his command kills him, 749, d.  
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*Zeib*, prince of *Midian*, 304, d, e. Defeated by *Gideon*, and killed by the *Ephraimites*, *ibid.* & seq.  
*Zelophchad*, of the tribe of *Manasseh*, his five daughters petition *Moses* and *Eleazar* for an inheritance with their father's brethren, 530, a. A portion allotted to them in their kindred's inheritance, *ibid.* A law made in favour of the daughters on this occasion, *ibid.* b.  
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*Zenadika*, a sect among the *Mohammedans*, maintaining, that whatever we see is God, 8, a.  
*Zeno of Elea*, holds the eternity and immutability of the world, 6, d. His notions of the origin of things, 23, b, c.  
*Zerab*, the *Ethiopian*, at the head of 10,000,000, Defeated by *Asa* king of *Judab*, 807, e.  
*Zeus Belus*, son of *Cronus*, supposed by some to have been *Mizraim*, 137, (R).  
*Ziba*, the treacherous servant of *Mephibosheth*, his behaviour towards *David*, 784, a.  
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*Ziglag*, the abode of *David*, taken and burnt by the *Amalekites*, 321, b, & 769, f. 770, a.  
*Zilpah*, *Leah's* maid, bears *Jacob* two sons, *Gad* and *Asher*, 441, d.  
*Zimri*, one of the chiefs of *Simoon*, brings a young *Midianitish* princess into the camp, 555. For which crime he is killed by *Phineas*, son of *Eleazar*, 536, a.  
*Zin* wilderness of, 531, b.  
*Zion* fortress of, taken by *Joab* from the *Jebusites*, 775, a. Enlarged and fortified by *David*, and made his residence, *ibid.*  
*Zipporah*, *Yethro's* daughter, and wife of *Moses*, 302, c. Falls out with her husband about circumcising a child, and is by him sent home to her relations, *ibid.* *Moses* is reconciled to her, *ibid.* d. Why called by *Miriam* and *Aaron* a *Cushite*, or *Ethiopian*, 489, (Y). The cause of her falling out with *Miriam*, *Moses's* sister, *ibid.* Circumcises her child, 492, a. Comes to *Moses* with her two children, and her father *Yethro*, 512, c.  
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*Zebab* kingdom of, in *Syria*, 371, b. The kingdom of *Damascus* rose upon its ruins, 371, c. The chronology of its kings, 380. Called also *Sophene*, *ibid.*  
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